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Marketizing municipal park management organisations in Denmark
a study of policymaking and organisational change in the period 1985-2005

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Marketizing municipal park management organisations in Denmark

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Christine Nuppenau

FACULTY OF LIFE SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY OF COPENHAGEN

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Power is “the capacity of individuals to overcome resistance on the part of others, to exert their will and to produce results consistent with their interests and objectives”

Buchanan & Huczynski 2004:828

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SUMMARY

Addressing the prevalence of marketization in Danish municipalities this dissertation studies current organisational change in Danish municipal park management organisations. Based on six cases and interviews with a total of 41 local politicians, park managers, works managers and staff in municipal contractor organisation, this study addresses the relations between political decision-making, park manager roles and influence, organisational change and its consequences on day-to-day green maintenance performance.

It is argued that a discursive change in society has stressed increased marketization efforts in Danish municipal organisations. This has led, in general, to both structural and corporate cultural change.

Impulses of change affecting park management organisations have been identified emphasizing external pressures like 1) state level politics in favour of efficiency, adaptability and competitiveness in the public sector; 2) administrative reforms stressing decentralisation of governmental power and responsibilities; and 3) local politicians translating external pressures in favour of marketization, focusing mainly on the ability to prove efficiency and competitiveness of the municipal contractor organisations. Moreover, mutual inspiration between municipal park management organisations, and normative influence from surrounding professional institutions and through networking activities has been addressed.

Locally, decision-making has been intentional, primarily in order to stress efficiency and competitiveness. However, the cases have not pursued coherent and intentional long-term strategies when actually applying marketization-related change within park management organisations. As a consequence, the process of change comes about unplanned, unpredictable and at best, as a stimulating step-by-step learning process.

In paper A the role of park managers in policy and decision-making has been scrutinized. Four different park manager types have been identified those of the Agenda setting, the Responsive, the Post-rationalizing and the Obedient park manager. In order to act as ‘change engines’ in the process of change, park managers must show strategic skills. Strategic park manager characteristics have been identified pointing towards a skilled professional with a supplementary ability to develop performance, lead the organisation and participate proactively in political processes.

In paper B the use of competitive tendering, contracting out and separation of purchaser and provider functions have been found to be typical changes supporting the market-orientation of municipal park management organisations. Moreover, decentralisation initiatives in terms of introducing self-management agreements and self-governance working groups have been noted. Over time, several of the cases studied seem to have been moderating the use of market-like mechanisms in order to retain advantages from previous practice.

In paper C the consequences of the cultural transformation from political to commercial organisation has been addressed. In order for the municipal staff to deal with this transformation, the importance must be emphasized of creating a common corporate culture and spirit in order to overcome existing cultural differences, improve internal relations and create a satisfactory, productive and qualifying working environment.

In general, marketization can be regarded as a new set of rules and roles in municipal park management, with the potential to strengthen the organisation and provide staff with an improved sense of professionalism, responsibility and solidarity. However, determination, joint concern and a persistent behaviour are critical for successfully changing municipal park management organisations.

Keywords

Marketization, organisational change, public park management, Denmark, Danish municipalities, park manager role, cultural change, case study

SAMMENDRAG (DANISH SUMMARY)

Med det formål at bidrage til en forståelse af betydningen af markedsorientering i danske kommuner, undersøger denne afhandling aktuelle organisationsforandringer i danske kommunale parkforvaltninger. Baseret på seks udvalgte kommuner (cases) og interviews med i alt 41 lokale politikere, parkforvaltere, driftsledere og medarbejdere i kommunale entreprenørvirksomheder, fokuserer studiet på relationerne mellem den politiske beslutningsproces og parkforvalterens rolle og indflydelse på denne proces samt forandringer i organisationen og disses konsekvens for den daglige grønne drift.

Det argumenteres, at en forandring i samfundets generelle diskurs har ført til øget markedsorientering i danske kommunale parkforvaltninger, hvilket har betydet såvel strukturelle som kulturelle forandringer i organisationerne.

En række forandringsimpulser er blevet identificeret herunder udefrakommende pres som statslig politik med fokus på effektivitet, tilpasning og konkurrenceevne i den offentlige sektor; administrative reformer som fremmer decentralisering af magt og ansvar samt en lokal politisk oversættelse af disse impulser til en øget interesse for markedsorientering, primært med fokus på evnen til at bevise de kommunale entreprenørvirksomheders effektivitet og konkurrenceevne. Ydermere er gensidig kommunal inspiration, samt normativ indflydelse fra de omgivende professionelle institutioner og deltagelse i netværksdannende aktiviteter blevet fremhævet som væsentlige impulser til forandring.

Beslutningsprocessen for at fremme markedsorientering i kommunerne har været intentionel med det primære formål at fremme effektivitet og konkurrenceevne. Alligevel ser det ikke ud til, at de udvalgte kommuner har haft sammenhængende, langsigtede udviklingsstrategier at lægge til grund for at de markedsorienterende forandringer, som har fundet sted. Som en konsekvens har forandringsprocesserne karakter af at være uplanlagte, uforudsigelige og i bedste fald, stimulerende trinvise læringsprocesser.

I artikel A er parkforvalterens rolle i beslutningsprocessen blevet undersøgt. Fire forskellige parkforvalter-typer er identificeret; den proaktive, den reagerende, den efterrationaliserende og den adlydende. For at kunne agere som forandringsagent, må parkforvalteren vise strategiske færdigheder. Ka-

raktertræk for den strategiske parkforvalter er blevet identificeret, hvilket peger i retning af en dygtig fagprofessionel, som også evner at udvikle og lede organisationens aktiviteter samt deltage proaktivt i politiske processer.

I artikel B er konkurrenceudsættelse (udbud og udlicitering), kontraktaftaler og adskillelse af bestiller og udfører funktioner identificeret som typiske forandringer, der udgør en del af markedsorienteringen i de kommunale parkforvaltninger. Desuden er der registreret decentraliseringstiltag i form af indførelse af selv-forvaltningsaftaler og selv-ledende grupper. I løbet af den undersøgte periode har flere kommuner lagt en dæmper på brugen af markedslignende mekanismer i forsøg på at bibeholde fordele fra den hidtidige praksis.

I artikel C er konsekvenserne af den kulturelle transformation fra politisk til kommerciel organisation blevet studeret. For at sikre at de kommunale medarbejdere er i stand til at håndtere denne transformation fremhæves vigtigheden af at skabe fællesskabsfølelse og udvikle en fælles virksomhedskultur, dels for at overvinde eksisterende kulturelle forskelle og dels for at skabe et tilfredsstillende, produktivt og kompetenceudviklende arbejdsmiljø.

Generelt kan markedsorientering betragtes som et nyt sæt af regler og roller i den kommunale parkforvaltning, med potentiale for at styrke organisationen og øge medarbejdernes fornemmelse for professionalisme, ansvarlighed og solidaritet. Målbevidsthed, fælles interesse og en vedholdende adfærd er dog kritiske faktorer, hvis forandringen af de kommunale parkforvaltninger skal blive en succes.

Keywords

Markedsorientering, forandring, offentlig parkforvaltning, Danmark, danske kommuner, parkforvalter rolle, kulturel forandring, case studie

PREFACE

Research is a journey, not mining (Kvale 1997).

I always thought that writing the preface for this dissertation would be the least of my worries. But now, reaching the end of a long journey into the fascinating world of municipal park management, it seems that words have ran out. Maybe, I just don't want the journey to end. Most of the questions I asked long time ago, in the application for the scholarship, has now been dealt with and answered. However, along the way new questions have arisen and interesting, hitherto unrecognised understandings still transpires.

In my everyday life during the past two years, I have learned about park management in a more practical sense as an employee in the municipality of Copenhagen. My experience is, that what I have learned throughout this study is useful and necessary, however not sufficient in my job as a park planner. The discussion of strategic professional values, as you will find in this dissertation, has been highly influenced by my present working experiences. The role of the strategic park manager is definitely one of the aspects of this work, on which I will continue the journey.

Theoretically, the dissertation has been a real challenge, as I have entered unfamiliar territory. Hence, one of the major tasks on this journey has been to draw a map of the new land. I started off with an almost blank sheet of paper, and worked my way through the countryside. Now, a rough sketch has been made, and at least I have an idea where I have - and haven't - been.

Many people have contributed to make the journey possible, and I owe a debt of gratitude to them all.

First of all, Kjell Nilsson, Jens Ole Juul and Susanne Guldager, at the former Danish Forest and Landscape Research Institute who provided me with the opportunity to soak myself in municipal park management. I am still grateful for that. Finn Helles, professor emeritus at the Faculty of Life Sciences, who introduced me to his 'young lions', and helped me being true to my initial interests; thank you for taking on the challenge, even though park management wasn't really your treat.

Along the road, a mixed collection of fellow students and colleagues were always ready to travel along and engage in interesting discussions on

the most preferable route; Tove Enggrob, Nico Hjortsø, Anne G. Busck, Marianne Høyen, Jens Balsby Nielsen, Per Brøgger, Christian Lindholst, Petra Bengtsson and Liv Oustrup; And, in certain periods where I was lost, to help me find my way back to the track; Christine Waage Rasmussen, Li Liu and Elsebeth Rønne. Thanks to you all for being great travel mates.

When travelling, it is always nice to make new friends. On this journey I have met a total of 41 municipal employees, who have contributed with their local knowledge. I thank all of you for sharing that knowledge with me, and taking your time to help me add colours to the map.

A special thanks is owed to my co-supervisor Cecil C. Konijnendijk for being my guide on the journey and for providing me with the possibility to discuss my findings and their presentation, in order to draw the best possible map of the new land. Finally, I owe thanks to my supervisor, Thomas B. Randrup, for providing me with the ticket home, after all.

Personally, it has been part of this journey to recognize, that words and inspiration to find the right path will come to me, when time is due. I have waited for the words to write this preface for a long time. Now it is written, and this part of the journey has come to its end. Thank you to my entire family for supporting the journey, and especially to my children Mille and Sebastian, who haven't seen their mother for quite some time. I owe it all to you.

Copenhagen, June 2008
Christine Nuppenau

1. INTRODUCTION

"1st of January 1997 a purchaser and provider organisation was introduced in the park and road organisation in the municipality of Greve. The green contractors yard and the majority of the staff from the road section in the Technical Department were detached and turned into an independent provider organisation named Park & Vej (Parks and Roads). With this provider organisation the municipal Technical Committee agreed on a contract covering maintenance of municipal open spaces. In a tendering in 2001 Park & Vej gave the economically most preferable offer, and from the 1st of January 2002 a new contract for 3-5 years were agreed upon with the municipal Technical Committee. Likewise a new agreement was made with the municipal Economics Committee giving Park & Vej more businesslike working conditions." (Ojgaard 2002).

This report, from an average Danish municipality in the outskirts of Copenhagen, is not outstanding when looking back at the past 10-15 years of municipal organisational development in Denmark. Rather, reports from municipalities having introduced contracting, competitive tendering, purchaser-provider organisations and self-management initiatives in order to increase efficiency in the municipal contractor organisations are frequent (Andersen 2005, Boye 2005, Flensburg 2004, Frandsen 2000, Haaning & Ladefoged 2005, Lau 2001, Magnussen 2005, Prehnum & Kristiansen 2002, Ulnitz & Borch 1999). Showing considerable impact on structural as well as cultural conditions of municipal organisations and furthermore, on the physical as well as the psychological working environment of a large number of municipal staffs (Deloitte & Touche 2003, PLS Consult 1997, Rådgivende Sociologer ApS 2000) the reports address a situation of organisational change in Danish municipalities, subjective to a generic interest.

Departing from a general discussion of efficiency in the Danish public sector in the 1980s, this dissertation address market related change in Danish municipal organisations in the period 1985-2005. With a specific focus on municipal park management organisations, the dissertations ask why and how such changes occur.

1.1 Reforms in public organisation

Public organisations in Denmark have been experiencing several administrative reforms since the 1970s (Klausen 2001). The first reform strategy occurred in 1970 where responsibilities were decentralised from state to regional and local governmental levels. In the 1980s an efficiency problem occurred in public service delivery (Pedersen 1998, Klausen 2001) causing the rise of a second reform strategy leading to increased decentralisation to public institutions and use of self-management in public organisational units (Klausen 2001). Supported by modernization endeavours initiated at state level (Finansministeriet 1983, Ingvartsen & Mikkelsen 1991), the content of this reform strategy was related to the ideas of the New Public Management concept (Klausen 1998).

As part of a global reform movement New Public Management (NPM) can be regarded as a reaction to and against the bureaucracy of public organisations (Klausen & Ståhlberg 1998). New Public Management has by some been referred to as a managerial revolution in public bureaucracies (Pierre 1995), while others see it as a differentiated movement of change, usually not pursued as a coherent strategy even when many of the consequential changes occur together (Dunleavy 1997). According to Hood (1995) the traditional bureaucratic public administration stresses two basic management doctrines; 1) to keep the public sector distinct from the private sector in terms of organisational design, ethos, methods of doing business, rewards and career structure and 2) to prevent favouritism and corruption through the elaboration of a structure of procedural rules and to keep distance between politicians and administration. With a wide range of elements New Public Management has challenged this mode of management, basically reversing the doctrines into a new administrative doctrine, integrating sense of corporatism, competition, private sector styles, management practice and values in the public sector (Hood 1991, 1995).

As a management concept, New Public Management has been dominant in the OECD-countries, however levels of implementation vary across countries with Britain and New Zealand as the most dramatic transformers of public service systems (Dunleavy 1997). In the Nordic countries the approach to New Public Management has been pragmatic rather than ideological in its foundation (Klausen & Ståhlberg 1998). Its primary issue has been

to support the welfare state by continuously improving public organisation and service delivery. Thus, the development of public organisations has been evolutionary rather than revolutionary, introducing New Public Management related changes step by step on a learning basis (Klausen & Ståhlberg 1998).

In Denmark, it were changes in the Municipal Act, that in 1989 truly introduced liberalization in local government and gave rise to a third, genuinely New Public Management-influenced reform strategy, which supported the shift from goal and frame regulation, goal steering, new budget forms and independent organisational units to more competitive arrangements, partnerships and genuine privatisation initiatives (Klausen 2001). This reform strategy is also described as a decentralisation from public organisations and units to the private market (Klausen 2001). According to Bryntse & Greve (2002) this development in Danish local government has been influence by Swedish and British experiences and policies regarding compulsory competitive tendering. However, the concept of competitive tendering has been transformed differently in these countries according to different cultural contexts and institutional interests (Bryntse & Greve 2002).

Following the administrative reform theory, the New Public Management related decentralisation on neighbourhood level within democratic municipal structures as found in the Nordic countries can be regarded as an upcoming fourth reform strategy on local governmental level (Klausen 2001). Thus, while at the same time strengthening the influence of employees in municipal organisations, decentralisation demands increased commitment from managers and employees, whose values and obligation towards their functions become determining for decision-making and organisational development (Klausen 2001). Jørgensen (1999) has described the introduction of new governance structures as being in a time of ‘in-betweens’ stressing the need for supplementing values of ‘efficiency’ with a re-invention of ‘public’ values. Incidentally, this development scheme can be related to emerging trends of empowerment (Gore 1993) and governance (Rhodes 1997).

1.2 Marketization - a process of change

The process of transforming public organisations into competent market players as seen in a wide sense will be referred to - in one term - as a “marketization process”.
Conceptually, competitive tendering and contracting can be viewed from three different perspectives (Aulich 1999); 1) they can be seen as procurement, i.e. as a tool used by organisations to procure services from external providers; 2) they can be a chosen as a competition strategy aimed at testing in-house providers against competition in the market place. Alternatively; 3) they can be used to enhance privatization where public corporations are in fact sold off.

Colling & Ferner (1995) use the phrase marketization as a form of reducing the role of the public sector in general, involving attempts to introduce competitive pressures and managerial disciplines into public services, thus regarding marketization as an internal oppositional alternative to privatization.

In this dissertation the use of the word marketization is adopted from Colling & Ferner (1995), relating to competitive tendering and contracting as procurement as well as a competition strategy within this use. Considered as a competition strategy within a Danish municipal context, any change aimed at improving efficiency, productivity and competitiveness through testing price and quality of municipal in-house providers will be seen as part of the marketization effort.

Following this definition the prevalence of marketization in municipal park management is not a definite process, with an exact beginning and final state. Rather it is an ongoing chain of organisational events of change that can be analysed and categorised in terms of marketization.

1.3 Municipal park management in Denmark

In Denmark today, most public service is provided by local government organisations, i.e. the municipalities.

Before 1970 the number of municipalities in Denmark, i.e. market towns and parishes, exceeded 1100. However, in order to decentralise public service delivery the overall number of municipalities was reduced to 275 in

1970. As a consequence, the municipal administrations were enlarged and provided with expert knowledge in order to take on new assignments (Ingvartsen & Mikkelsen 1991). Since then, Danish municipalities have developed into local governmental organisations with a high level of autonomy based on local political representation as well as administrative and professional competences. Based on intentions to further improve sustainability of local government, in 2007 the number of municipalities was reduced again to 98 by means of a structural reform (Indenrigs- & Sundhedsministeriet 2006).

In Denmark, the municipalities are amongst the primary owners of public green space. In this dissertation the term 'municipal park management' refers in general to the maintenance and development of public green space owned by the municipalities, i.e. the local governments. From the early days municipal green space has covered public parks, churchyards, school gardens, the rectory garden, sports areas, road trees, groves, forests, beaches and landscape relics of the past (Sørensen 1931, Andersson et al 1976). In the 1970s the overall responsibility for managing rural landscapes, e.g. nature areas and landscape relics was placed on regional level of government (Folketinget 1973 & 1975). Municipal park management, then, was focused on the management of public urban green areas. Over the following years this focus encompassed the incorporation of a range of new environmental and economical demands adopted by the municipalities (Nuppenau 1997). With the structural reform in 2007 parts of the management of rural landscapes has been transferred back to the municipalities (Miljøministeriet 2007, Randrup & Lindegaard (2005)).

In Copenhagen and other larger market towns the organisational history of park management dates back to the late 19th century, when the first city gardeners were appointed (Bohsen 2005). In 1931, a park policy statement was distributed to the municipalities, emphasizing the importance of political focus on supplying municipal green space in order to qualify city development. Also the importance of appointing qualified gardeners was stressed. At that time, the overall number of city gardeners in Danish market towns and parishes was summed up to 13 (Sørensen 1931).

Following up on the public sector reform in 1970, an overview of municipal park management was provided, showing a considerable variation in green space resources as well as in organisational and economical resources

(Andersson et al. 1976). During the 1980s economical pressures led to extensive cutbacks in municipal park management organisations. As a direct consequence, increased demands for efficiency emerged (Juul and Nuppenau 1996, Pape 1983). This, in turn, led to organisational changes within the park management organisations, to an increased use of maintenance specifications and resource management systems, and to increased cooperation with private contractors (Dam & Holgersen 1989, Nilsson & Nuppenau 2000, Nuppenau 1997). During the 1990s, studies confirmed tendencies of market orientation in the municipal park management organisations (Juul & Nuppenau 2000a, Kommunernes Landsforening 2001). Professionally this new market orientation led to an increased focus on how to describe technical quality and complete competitive tendering (Juul et al. 1998, Tang 2000).

Within the field of municipal park management in Denmark today, indicators exist of increased market focus (Lindholst et. al 2004) and efforts to improve co-operation between public and private actors (Haaning and Ladefoged 2005, Lindholst 2004, Lindholst 2008, Lindholst and Randrup 2004, Randrup et al. 2004,). As shown by Randrup and Persson (2006) this tendency corresponds with the development in the Nordic countries in general. Likewise, a similar development has been experienced in Great Britain and New Zealand (Beer 2002, Lindholst & Randrup 2006).

Based on the structural reform implemented in Danish municipalities in 2007 an increased use of contracting and more tendering initiatives can be expected in the future (Rytter 2005). Moreover, as part of recent economical agreements between the state government and the municipalities (Regeringen & Kommunernes Landsforening 2007 & 2008) a 5%-increase in the general level of using competitive tendering in the municipalities has been agreed upon. Hence, in the future, Danish municipalities will have to put 25% of their service delivery out for tender.

1.4 Research objectives

In this dissertation marketization is considered as an on-going process of organisational change. Thus, an organisational focus has been chosen, emphasizing structural and cultural change when addressing the consequences of marketization in Danish municipalities.

The development objectives for the dissertation are thus twofold: 1) to contribute to a broader understanding of marketization-related organisational change in Danish public service organisations by investigating the case of municipal park management organisations in the period 1985-2005, and 2) to derive lessons for the strengthening and development of Danish municipal park management organisations.

The immediate objectives of the dissertation are

- To gain insight in the preconditions for marketizing municipal park management organisations and to understand why and by whom the decision to marketize municipal park management organisations is made.
- To understand the roles and influence of park managers in the policy process.
- To understand how marketization-related change is implemented within municipal park management organisations.
- To address consequences of marketizing municipal park management organisations, emphasizing in particular the implications on day-to-day working life of the staff in municipal contractor organisations.

1.5 Dissertation structure

The dissertation embraces a theoretical and methodological framework for the conducted research, a synthesis addressing the nature of change in municipal park management organisations and three distinct papers addressing selected issues related to the immediate objectives of the dissertation (Figure 1.1).

The synthesis is unfolding as a genuine discussion focusing on marketization as a specific case of organisational change in municipal park management organisations. Hence, in turn, the synthesis addresses impulses of change, the intentionality of change, mechanisms of change and consequences of change (see Antonsen & Jørgensen 2000). The synthesis is based on literature studies as well as results from the three distinct papers.

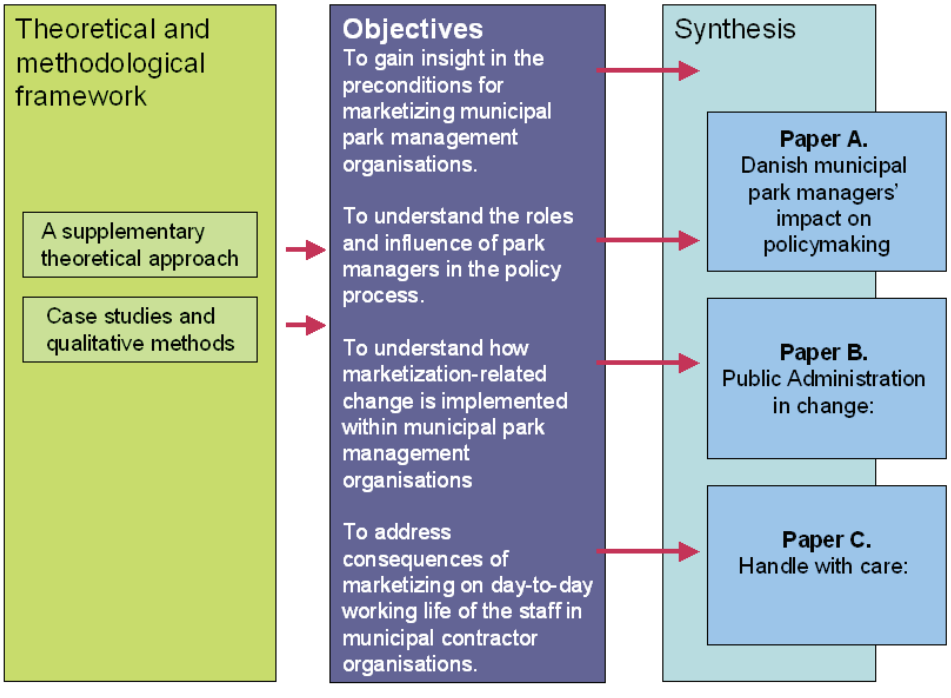

Fig 1.1 Dissertation structure

In paper A, a stage-approach is applied when analysing the policy process (see e.g. Parsons 1995), specifically addressing the role and influence of park managers in formation and implementation of the policy of marketization in municipal park management.

Paper B offers a historical perspective on the process of marketization in municipal contractor organisations. Applying a reform theoretical approach (Klausen 2001), the paper focuses on institutional changes, i.e. organisational restructuring and the implementation of new steering reforms. The paper includes a discussion of the influence of New Public Management (see e.g. Hood 1991) on Danish municipal park management organisations.

Paper C adds a bottom-up evaluation approach to the study, as it addresses the consequences of marketization from a staff perspective. For this purpose organisational changes have been identified and evaluated within the framework of social impact and organisational cultural studies (as decribed by e.g. Aulich 1999).

Finally, conclusions and lessons have been drawn up based on the synthesis and papers.

The papers appear in Chapter 8 and will in the following be referred to as:

A. Danish municipal park managers' impact on policymaking. Submitted to Urban Forestry and Urban Greening (presently in revision).
B. Public Administration in change: A case study of steering reforms within municipal park management in Denmark. Manuscript for Public Administration & Management (An Interactive Journal).
C. Handle with care: Impact of marketization efforts on the working life of gardeners in Danish public service provider organisations. Manuscript for Urban Forestry and Urban Greening.

2. RESEARCH FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

2.1 Research design

Apart from being a contemporary challenge to municipal park management organisations, marketization and the struggle for efficiency have urged municipal park managers in general to improve their performances in order to keep up with the new demands (Hansson & Lind 1997). Hence, departing from a practitioners' point of view, one of the basic driving forces in this dissertation has been to understand the potentials of improving policy and management processes when seeking to optimise the use of resources in park management. From the beginning, this position was linked to a limited theoretical knowledge about public organisation as a particular context for park management.

ADOPTING AN EXPLORATIVE INTEGRATIVE DESIGN

Inspired by Maaløe (1999) an explorative integrative design was adopted for this study. This type of design is basically to be understood as a cyclic approach, where theoretical studies exchange with, are stimulated by and stimulate empirical findings in a continuous process. This kind of recognition process cognate to the hermeneutic helix, where interpretative text studies leads to new recognition and yet again to further interpretation (Kvale 1996). The research process is illustrated in Figure 1, showing the theoretical development of the study along with the continuous clarification of the research objectives and the outline and execution of the empirical study. Each step will be described below.

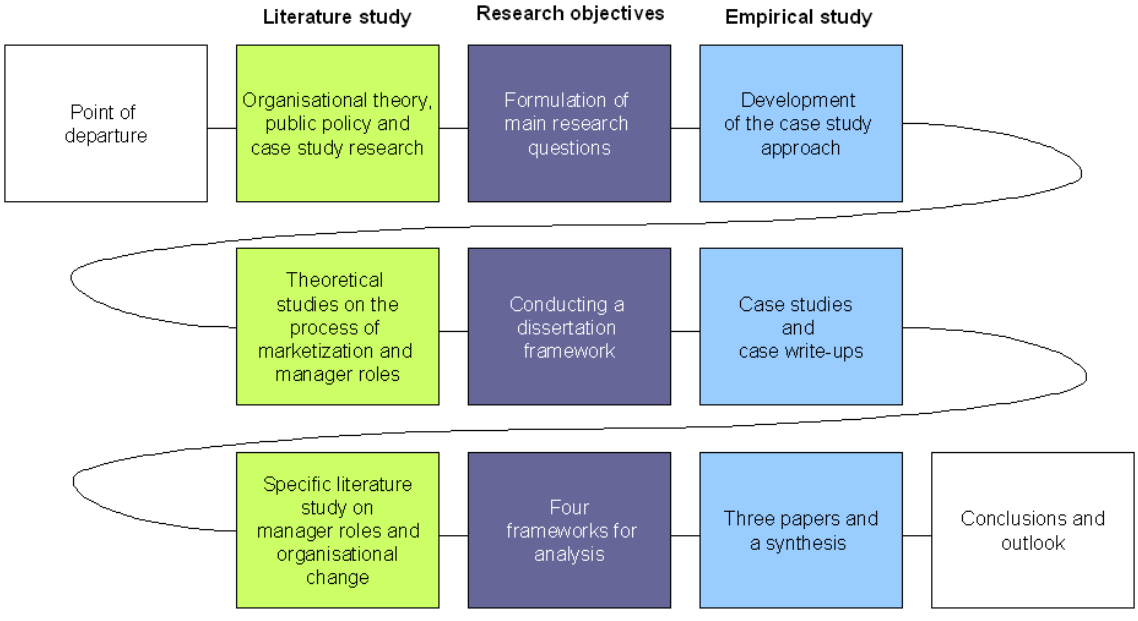

Fig. 2.1 Outline of the explorative integrative design (the cyclic approach, Maaløe 1999).

Point of departure

In the very first project description a broad research approach was developed, seeking to understand the influence of the municipal system on park management processes, i.e. political, administrative and operative decisions and actions dealing with municipal park management. Inspired by the work of Bakka and Fivelsdal (1996) the project aimed at unfolding the municipal organisational context in terms of organisational structure, culture and processes. This broad approach to municipal park management can be explained from an interest in organisational aspects of park management developed previously in Nuppenau (1997). Theoretically, the point of departure for this dissertation was inspired by the work of Bakka and Fivelsdal (1996) on organisational structure, culture and processes and that of Sehested (1996) on professions and structural change in public organisations.

Literature study on theories of organisation, public policy and case study research

Departing from a structural approach to Danish municipal park management organisations (see e.g. Juul & Nuppenau 1996, 2000a) the literature study was founded in traditional organisational theory in general (e.g. Bozeman 1987, Heffron 1989, Mintzberg 1979), as well as in theoretical analysis of Danish public organisations in particular (Andersen 1996, Ejersbo 1997, Jørgensen & Melander 1992, Klausen 1996 & 2001). Especially the latter offered a contextual framework for enhanced understanding of the development process in municipal park management organisations as described in Nuppenau (1997).

Adhering to the broad research approach the literature study was developed further in order to understand the various themes in the initial project description, aiming at providing a more specific focus for the study.

The policy and decision-making focus was explored from a political science perspective and specifically in policy theory (Colebatch 1998, Enderud 1976, Lundquist 1992, Parsons 1995, Premfors 1989). Considering park management as a web of political, administrative and operations processes (Juul & Nuppenau 2000b), the process approach made immediate sense. Thus, a stage-approach was adopted as a way of structuring policy and decision-making processes related to municipal park management. Additionally, the explanatory value of a cultural approach was considered (Collin 1987, Dahler Larsen 1993, Schein 1992), yet found currently deficient in the light of the strong process focus of the project.

Moreover, study of social science literature led to a sociological perspective for the study as well. This offered inspiration for analysing municipal park management as ‘social practice’ in the light of Giddens’ theory of structuration (Busck & Nuppenau 2001, Giddens 1984). Also, new institutionalism was explored (see for example DiMaggio & Powell 1991, Scott 2001) in search of a more historical/sociological approach to understanding organisations.

Emphasizing the empirical outset of the project, methodological literature was studied as well (e.g. Denzin & Lincoln (eds.) 2000, Kvale 1996, Maaløe 1999).

Formulation of main research questions

Following this broad literature study, a more specific project focus was eventually chosen. As a present substantial challenge to municipal organisations in general, as shown in the introduction, the prevalence of marketization was evident and thus, chosen as a main subject of the dissertation. By adopting a policy focus, the project focused on the relationship between political decision-making and its organisational consequences. Hence, the study aimed at investigating why and how marketization was implemented in municipal park management organisations, and furthermore on analysing the organisational consequences of this (Figure 2.2).

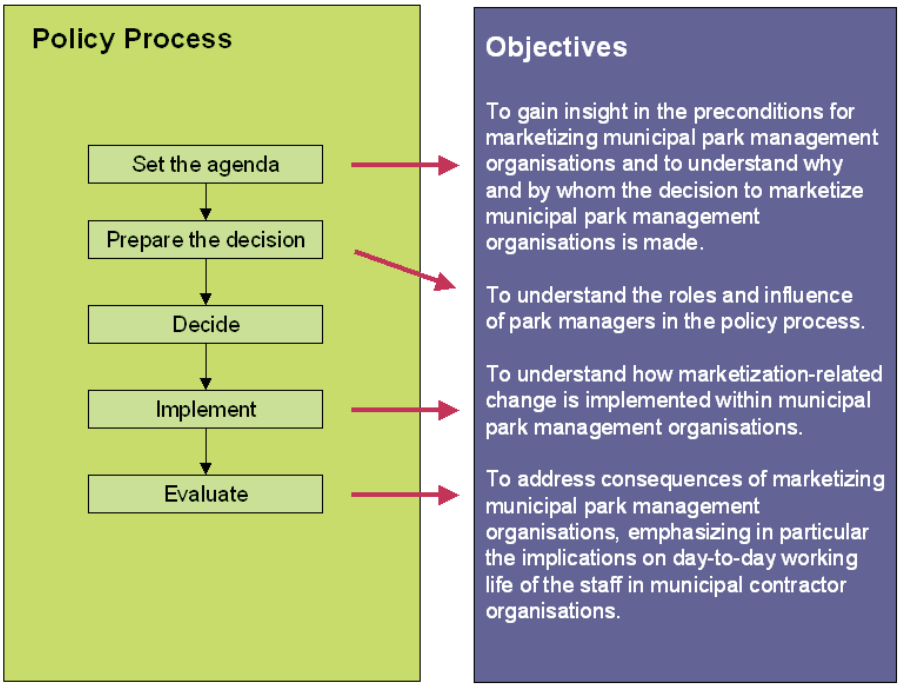

Fig. 2.2. Correlation between the policy focus and the immediate objectives. The dissertation address decision-making as well as the implementation and consequences of marketization within the municipal contractor organisation.

Development of the case study approach

Once the focus was placed on the prevalence of marketization, empirical studies were initiated. For this purpose, a collective case study approach with

an instrumental purpose (Stake 2000) was selected. It considered each case as an instrument to support and facilitate the understanding of municipal park management. Based on a collection of cases a multiple case study was performed in order to obtain a broader perspective on the phenomenon of marketization within municipal park management than would be obtained from just a single case (Yin 1984). Working with a collection of cases furthermore provided an insight in the variation of the prevalence of marketization in municipal organisations and eventually allows for theorizing related to municipal park management (Eisenhardt 1989, Stake 2000).

Based on the population of Danish municipalities operating in the field of park management, a sample of six municipalities was purposefully and strategically selected (Flyvbjerg 1991) in order to provide a basis for analytical generalization (Maaløe 1999). The primary selection criterion for the sample of cases was a maximum variation in marketization characteristics (Flyvbjerg 2003). Hence, three cases were known to follow a policy of large-scale contracting accomplished within a period of one to five years. The other three cases were known to use small-scale contracting or other means to achieve efficiency and competitiveness within their own organisation. Moreover, the selected municipalities differed in size, geographical location and park management organisation. Municipalities chosen for study were Assens, Fredensborg-Humlebæk, Herning, Køge, Nordborg and Roskilde (see Table 2.1 for a brief overview of municipal characteristics).

In each municipality the park management case was outlined as comprising all organisational units dealing with park issues. All selected municipalities had their own municipal contractor organisation providing all or major parts of the road and park services. Moreover, five municipalities had a purchaser unit within the municipal organisation. Today, none of the municipalities studied exists in the same form due to the structural reform. They have all been merged with one or more neighbouring municipalities (Indenrigs- & Sundhedsministeriet 2006).

A short introduction to the cases is given in section 2.4, while a more thorough overview of municipal policy and implementation processes as well as organisational characteristics is included in Appendix 1.

Municipality	Inhabitants (2004)	Total area of municipality (ha)	Area of city green space (ha)	Green space maintenance budget (mio D.kr. per year)	Contracting policy (1)	Primary contractor (2003)	Number of workers employed (2)
Assens	10,900	14,024	87	4	Large-scale	Public	40
Fredensborg-Humlebæk	19,900	7,209	Data not available	16	Large-scale	Public	24
Herning	59,000	54,160	1712 (3)	21	Small-scale, 30% on contract	Public	110
Køge	39,600	11,938	320	14	Large-scale over a five-year period	Public	120
Nordborg	14,100	12,478	86 (4)	6	Small-scale if convenient	Public	46
Roskilde	53,600	8,075	200	16 + on account	Small-scale, 20% on contract	Public	110

Table 2.1 Municipalities chosen for study – an extended overview of municipal characteristics
(1) Large-scale contracting is contracting out all municipal road and park service delivery at one time. Small-scale contracting is contracting out parts of municipal road and park service delivery (Nuppenau et al 2005)
(2) Occupied with park and road services. In Køge the municipal contractor also carries out sewage and environmental services and the total number of employees is 235.
(3) Situated in a rural district. City green space includes larger nature areas
(4) Estimated Figure

Further theoretical development

To support the case studies (i.e. formulation of interview guides) and advance analyses at this point, supplementary theoretical development was required on the process of marketization (e.g. Colling & Ferner 1995, Hood 1991, Massey (eds.) 1997) and manager roles (Hansson & Lind 1997, Sehested 2002 & 2003, Sørensen & Jæger 2003).

Conducting a dissertation framework
As a result of the broad approach to studying marketization-related change, a supplementary theoretical approach was preferred (Antonsen et al. 2000, Roness 1997). With a supplementary theoretical approach, new theories are applied, in principle, as long as this provides increased understanding of the phenomenon in study (Antonsen et al. 2000), i.e. in this case the process of marketization-related change in Danish municipal park management organisations. Thus, theories must be applied in a balanced way giving distinct perspectives to specific aspects of organisational change. Theoretical choices are outlined in section 2.2.

Case studies
Case studies were carried out in two series in 2003 and 2004/05, based on qualitative methods such as interviews (as the primary data source) and document studies. The first series of interviews addressed the policy process and marketization characteristics of the cases and was based on interviews with politicians, head park managers and works managers. The second series of interviews addressed the consequences of marketization within the contractor organisations and was based on interviews with works managers and staff (see section 2.3 for an outline of methodological choices and Appendix 2 for more details).

Specific literature study
In the final stages of the study further theoretical elaborations were made on organisational change in the public sector (Antonsen & Jørgensen 2000), organisational cultural change (Aulich 1999, Schein 1992), manager roles (Buchanan & Huczynski 2004, Sehested 2003) and work motivation (Scheuer 1999).

Frameworks for analysis
Based on interviews, archives and field notes within-case analysis has been performed (Eisenhardt 1989). In each case a distinct case study write-up has been developed describing, respectively, the policy and decision-making process (a policy narrative), the process of organisational transformation (a transformation narrative) and how the staff in the municipal contractor or-

ganisation experienced this (an experience narrative). The write-ups are all part of the final case reports that can be reviewed in Appendix 1.

Subsequently, the case study write-ups and narratives were brought into the papers A, B and C in order to perform across-case analysis focusing on the policy process (paper A), organisational change based on a historical analysis (paper B) and the consequences of change in municipal contractor organisation based on a pattern analysis (paper C) (Figure 2.3).

In each case the study has focused on describing the policy process, organisational transformation and staff experiences. Comprising a policy narrative, a transformation narrative and an experience narrative each case adds to the across-case analysis carried out in the papers. The primary data source for each narrative is indicated in the Figure. However, when developing the case write-up, data has been used for triangulation transverse the narratives if possible.

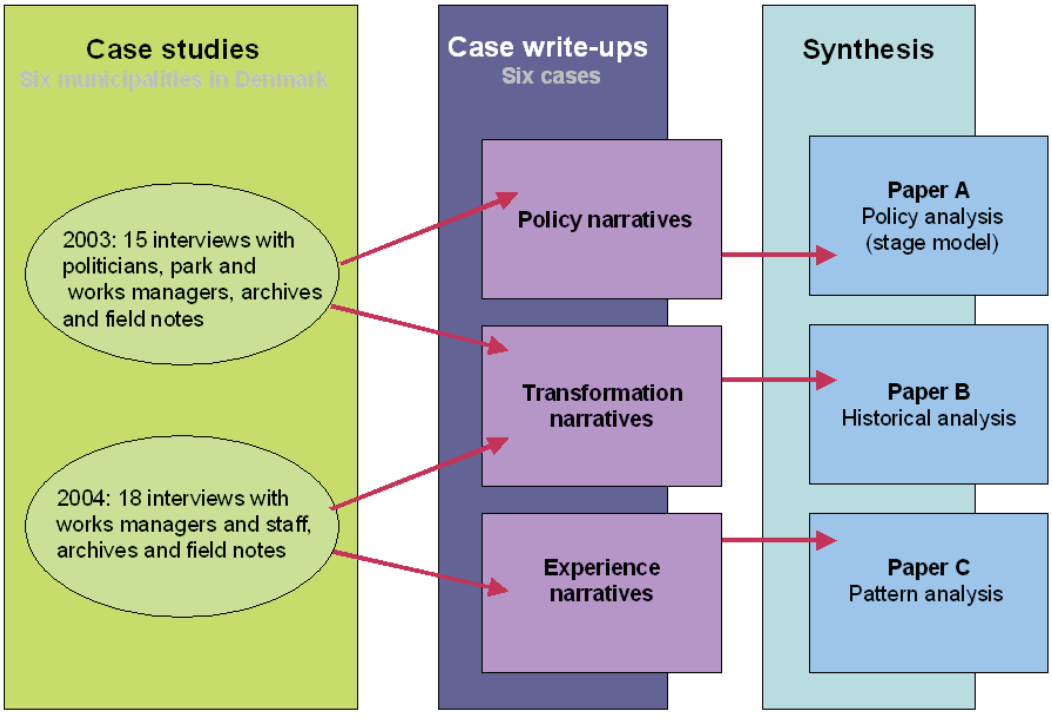

Fig. 2.3 The relation between case studies, case write-ups and frameworks of analysis.

2.2 Theoretical approach

Regarded as a specific case of change in public organisations. According to Jørgensen (2000) studying change in the public sector must be addressed with a broad and open-minded theoretical approach due to the current disaggregation and complexity of the sector. Thus, in order to explain various aspects of institutional change, if necessary, a number of different theories must be applied.

THEORETICAL TYPOLOGIES

The public sector in Denmark, including the municipalities on local governmental level, is based on democratic principles and a parliamentary chain of control (Olsen 1978). Hence, politicians, chosen by the public, are principals and decision makers in public organisations. Employees are agents, serving the politicians, i.e. within the administrative system their role is to implement political decisions (Klausen 2001).

Based on the parliamentary chain of control it is a normative principle in traditional bureaucratic public organisations in Denmark, that change is planned and intentional, as well as hierarchically (top-down) controlled or at least authorized (Antonsen & Jørgensen 2000). For studying change, however, this normative principle is not sufficient. Unplanned (un-intentional) as well as non-hierarchical (bottom-up) change, must be considered as well (Antonsen et al. 2000).

Antonsen et al. (2000), have explored a theoretical field addressing change in public organisations, i.e. theories covering the transformation of impulses into change in the public sector and its organisations. In order to constitute this theoretical field, Antonsen et al. (2000) have suggested a four-quadrant model, in which theories regarding change in public organisations have been distinguished according to the dimensions of intentionality and direction of the impulses leading to change. In table 2.2 the four-quadrant model of Antonsen et al. (2000) has been developed into providing an overview of key characteristics allocated to theories of change in public organisations. Hence, in table 2.2 situations of change has been specified based on the ways that theories understand and characterise organisations regarding e.g. hierarchy, rationality and complexity. Moreover, relevant examples of theories have been specified.

		Direction of impulses	
		Hierarchical	Non-hierarchical
Intentionality	Planned	One superior rationality determines objectives, i.e. change All actors pursue these objectives Formal structure determine behaviour E.g. Rational reform theory and functional cultural theory 1	Multiple rationalities interact Rational actors pursue their own objectives and maximise utility based on own preferences Utility maximisation determine behaviour Behaviour supporting change can be stimulated with incentives Organisations are transformed in order to maximise utility E.g. Rational choice theories 2
	Un-planned	3 Multiple rationalities interact Intended superior rationality is contradictory. Political compromises and in-certainty determine organisational behaviour Organisations are rational actors pursuing their own interests and objectives (bureaucratic politics) Organisations react against superior objectives E.g. theories on political dis-functionality and implementation, symbolic adaptation and resistance to change	4 Change can not be explained in terms of rationality or organisational hierarchy Dynamic mechanisms, regarding the development of organisations or organisational fields, determine change Organisations influence each other through their technical (related to production and distribution) or institutional surroundings (related to norms, values and legitimacy). E.g. Life cycle theories, sociological institutionalism, historical institutionalism

Table 2.2: Theories of change – a four-quadrant model developed from Antonsen et al. 2000. Theories regarding change in public organisations can be distinguished according to the dimensions of intentionality and direction of the impulses leading to change (Antonsen et al. 2000). In this table, key characteristics regarding the theories in each quadrant, are accentuated.

According to Antonsen et al. (2000), the four-quadrant model is an ideal model, whereas en explicit positioning of all theories can be difficult. Moreover, theories placed in the model together can in fact relate to different political and administrative levels (individual, organisational, field, sector, systems) as well as epistemological and ontological points of departure.

APPLICATION OF RELEVANT THEORIES

In this dissertation, theories have been applied in order to understand selected aspects of the practice studied, i.e. the process of marketizing munici-

pal park management. As a consequence, not one of the four quadrants has been chosen as the primary theoretical viewpoint. Nor, has a consistent overall theoretical construction been applied from the beginning (as described in section 2.1).

Rather, with a supplementary approach, relevant theories have been added continuously in order to address issues identified in the empirical study. This implies however, that the theoretical framework presented in this section, has been developed conclusively. As shown in Figure 2.4 the study has been addressed theoretically in two dimensions; 1) related to phases, that has eventually been identified in the process of marketization (horzontal) (Jørgensen 2000) and 2) related to a more general perspective addressing the basic anatomy of change in public organisations (vertical) (Antonsen & Jørgensen 2000).

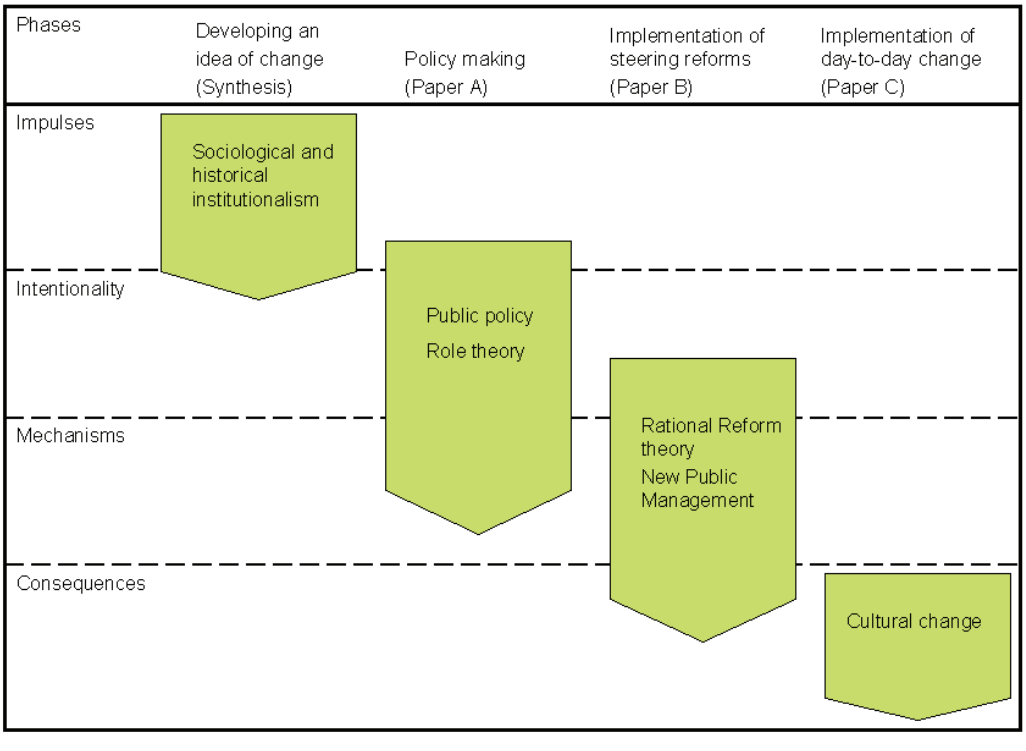

Figure 2.4. Outlining a theoretical framework. Relation between the phases identified in the process of marketization (horizontal) (Jørgensen 2000) and the basic anatomy of change in public organisations (vertical) (Antonsen & Jørgensen 2000).

Jørgensen (2000) suggests that the choice of theoretical framework is related to phases that can eventually be identified in the process of change. In this study the preconditions for marketizing municipal park management organisations have been addressed, considering the phase were the idea of change is developed, as an initial phase in the process of change. This phase has primarily been addressed theoretically with a focus on the organisational field of municipal park management. Moreover, three phases in the process of change have been identified and explored empirically; 1) the policy and decision-making process, 2) the implementation of steering reforms in municipal contractor organisations and 3) the implementation of change in municipal contractor organisations with a direct impact on the day-to-day working life of the staff.

To embrace and discuss the phase-related findings, a framework based on Antonsen & Jørgensen (2000) addressing the basic anatomy of change in public organisation has been added as a structuring element in the synthesis (Chapter 3). According to Antonsen & Jørgensen (2000) a study of change in public organisation must focus on 1) ideas, that in some form, directly or indirectly, address the question of change (impulses); 2) the process or type of change, i.e. is change planned or does it appear coincidentally (intentionality); 3) how impulses are transformed into change (mechanisms), and 4) the consequences of change, i.e. is change stabilizing or de-stabilising the system (consequences).

In the following, theories that have been found useful in order to address the phases of change identified, will be outlined. Moreover, the characteristics of these theories (as outlined in Table 2.2) will be emphasised.

Developing an idea of change

Change begins with an impulse or an idea that some things could be different (Antonsen & Jørgensen 2000). Theoretically, such impulses or ideas can be explained in different ways. Addressing the organisational field of municipal park management, theories belonging to quadrant four (Table 2.2) will be emphasised.

Some theoretical approaches in quadrant four (Table 2.2) suggest, that change is the result of various forms of institutional dynamics within organisational fields (Antonsen et al. 2000). Hence, on this level institutional dynamics can be regarded as impulses of change. In the introduction (Chapter

1), municipal park management has been indicated as an organisational field due to a common professional and organisational history and development. According to DiMaggio & Powell (1991) organisations within an organisational field will, eventually, enhance a uniform organisational development. This development is described as a process of institutional isomorphism, i.e. homogenisation, which is a constraining process that forces one unit in a population to resemble other units that face the same set of environmental conditions (Hawley 1968 cf. DiMaggio & Powell 1991:66). To explain this process, Powell and DiMaggio (1991) has identified and described three mechanism of isomorphic change: 1) Coercive isomorphism, resulting from political influence, formal or informal pressures exerted on organisations by other organisations on which they depend and by cultural expectations in the society; 2) mimetic isomorphism, which is organisations modelling themselves on other organisations due to uncertainty towards organisational technologies, goals or future; and 3) normative isomorphism stemming from professionalisation, induced by formal education and professional training as well as the elaboration of professional networks across organisations.

Other theories in quadrant four (Tabel 2.2) emphasize however, that ideas of change (change impulses) travel among organisations and are translated locally according to e.g. timing and coincidences (Czarniawska & Joerges 1996) or organisational history (Steinmo et. al 1992). Hence, even though influenced by the same impulses, organisations can eventually develop differently. Following the idea of a historical explanation 'path dependency' has been suggested as a mechanism of transformation (DiMaggio & Powell 1991, Steinmo et al.1992) where simply choosing the most passable paths in decision making and day-to-day performance will, eventually, lead to change. The translation of change into choosing passable paths can be determined by certain constellations of interests within the organisation, or simply by a consequence of previous choices. Likewise, any line of action chosen based on path dependency will determine future development options.

POLICY AND DECISION-MAKING

The policy and decision-making process in the municipalities has been addressed (in paper A) from the viewpoint of the traditional bureaucratic public organisation, i.e. with a theoretical outset in quadrant one (Table 2.2).

In the hierarchical, bureaucratic organisation, policy- and decision-making is carried out as a top-down exercise of government to pursue objectives that are more or less determined and agreed upon from the start (Colebatch 1998). As a consequence, intentional change is planned, i.e. has a purpose, which is pointing forward (Antonsen et al. 2000). Moreover, intentional change is based on rational decisions and voluntary actions. According to Colebatch (1998) the policy process can be described as consisting of a number of stages in a more or less linear order progressing directly from objective to. In paper A the policy process has been analysed using a stage-model, describing the policy process in nine stages (Figure 2.5). As an analytic tool the stage-model depart from a description of the policy process within public organisations developed by Lundquist 1992 and is detailed by suggestions from Hogwood and Gunn (1984) and Premfors (1989).

In recent years Danish municipal government has been influenced by governance characteristics (Sehested 2002) suggesting an increased complexity in determining the legitimate policy actors, and a more complex policy process. Thus, traditional hierarchy is challenged by single actor motives (explained with theories in quadrant two) and the complexity of the political/administrative system (explained with theories in quadrant three).

As a theoretical response to the challenge of traditional hierarchy, stage models have been criticized for creating an artificial and much too simple picture of what is really happening in the policy process (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1993). Nevertheless, a stage-model has been applied with the overall purpose to provide an analytical tool that could eventually reduce the complexity of decision making to a more manageable form (Parsons 1995). The word phase is preferred however, in order to reduce the sense of serial relations between the phases in the process.

Supplementary of the hierarchical understanding of the policy process, the behaviour of a single actor, the park manager, is emphasised. In a theoretical perspective departing from quadrant two, the park manager can be considered as a rational actor with potential powers to influence the policy process (Buchanan & Huczynski 2004), even though he is tied up in a system (hierarchy) with a determining influence on his actions (Giddens 1984). Moreover, adding a theoretical perspective departing from quadrant four, the park manager can be regarded as a determined and purposeful actor, i.e. a ‘change engine’ in the process of change. The ‘change engine’ as a mechanism of

transformation has been suggested by Van den Ven & Poole (1995) in order to explain the transformation of impulses of change into organisational change. Hence, the role of the park manager acting as a 'change engine' is to overcome friction and resistance in the organisation.

In order to explore the possible range of the influence of the park manager in the policy process, as well as the park managers' ability to act as a 'change engine' the role and role setting of municipal park managers is addressed.

Lundquist 1992	Hogwood & Gunn 1983	Premfors 1989
Setting the agenda / initiating	Deciding to decide	Problem
	Deciding how to decide	
	Issue definition	
Preparing the decision	Forecasting	Alternatives
		Recommendations
Deciding / choosing among alternatives	Setting objectives and priorities	Decision
Implementation	Options analysis	Implementation
	Policy implementation, monitoring and control	
Evaluation	Evaluation and review (outcome)	Evaluation
	Policy maintenance, succession or termination	Guidance and programs for future action, continuing, change, termination

Phase model Nuppenau 2008	Phase
Issue search or agenda setting	1
Issue analysis, definition and filtration	2
Alternatives	3
Recommendations	4
Setting objectives and priorities	5
Options analysis	6
Policy implementation, monitoring and control (output)	7
Evaluation and review (outcome)	8
Guidance and programs for future action	9

Figure 2.5 A phase model describing the policy process in nine phases is developed based on theoretical contributions from Lundquist 1992, Hogwood & Gunn 1983 and Premfors 1989.

Roles are structurally determined expressing expectations towards specific positions within the organisation (Andersen 2000, Parsons 1995). However, depending on the flexibility of a system's (organisations') role definition, roles can be handled or even constructed by the actors holding them (Jæger & Sørensen 2003). With a strictly defined role, role taking can be challenging to the previous identity of the actor. With a more loosely defined role, employees are stressed to act as role-makers when fitting the new role to their own identity.

Moreover, roles can be challenged by contextual change such as structural change, discursive change and a change of identity (Jæger & Sørensen 2003). Structural change has recently been applied widely in municipal park management organisations, e.g. in terms of separating purchaser and provider functions (Nilsson & Nuppenau 2000). On a more general level a discursive change have been recognized based on the introduction of more indirect (meta) steering forms, like frame regulations and network steering (Jæger & Sørensen 2003) and by challenging 'legitimacy' as the traditional discursive criterion of success in public organisations with a criterion of 'efficiency' (Hood 1991).

When operating in a manager position, a park manager will be expected to draw on structural sources of power (Buchanan & Huczynski 2004), i.e. his formal position and authority (status), ability to cultivate allies and supporters, access to and control over information and other resources and the centrality of the park unit within the municipal organisation.

IMPLEMENTATION OF STEERING REFORMS

The implementation of steering reforms in municipal contractor organisations has been addressed (in paper B) from the viewpoint of rational reform theory with a specific emphasis on New Public Management (NPM). This viewpoint belongs in quadrant one since it is based on the assumption that planned and centralised reforms will lead to change in formal structures and institutions, which will, eventually, cause a change of behaviour. Change can have different consequences for the organisation depending on whether change adds to the stability of the system or not. Therefore, a theoretical explanation departing from quadrant four has been added in order to further understand the consequences of organisational change in municipal contractor organisations. According to Meyer et al. (1993), organisational change

can be of first or second order. First-order change is continuous, adding to the stability of the system, while second-order change is dis-continuous, transforming fundamental properties or states of the system. Continuous adaptations can eventually, in time, turn into dis-continuous and more fundamental change (Antonsen & Jørgensen 2000). The sense of systems stability can thus be a matter of the analytical time-perspective chosen.

As described in the introduction the development of the public sector can be regarded as the result of four reform strategies that emphasize decentralisation of governmental power and responsibilities from state to regional and local level of government (1970s), to sub-organisational units of local government (1980s), to private parties (1990s) and to users of public service (2000s) (Klausen 2001). It was changes in the Municipal Act that in 1989 gave rise to the genuinely NPM-influenced reform strategy of the 1990s, supporting the shift from goal and frame regulation, goal steering, new budget forms and independent organisational units, to more competitive arrangements, partnerships and genuine privatisation initiatives (Klausen 2001).

In order to address the longitudinal effect of continuous as well as discontinuous change, a historical analysis is applied (in paper B), scrutinizing the use of steering reforms in Danish municipal contractor organisations in the period of 1985-2005.

IMPLEMENTATION OF CHANGE

When change, i.e. marketization initiatives, is implemented in municipal park management organisations, change is profoundly affecting the day-to-day working life of the municipal staff. Hence, in order to understand the nature of the impact of change on municipal staff a cultural approach has been applied (in paper C). In the quadrant model, functional cultural theory belongs in quadrant one, based on the assumption that cultural change can be applied top-down by making an effort to create a 'common spirit' as a supplement to structural changes, e.g. related to organisational fusions. Supporting however the un-planned aspects of change on this level, theories based in quadrant three have been included in the discussion in paper C, emphasising specifically the role of leaders and resistance to change.

The shift from political to commercial organisation has been addressed as a process of major cultural change (Aulich 1999, Fenwick et al. 1994, Hood

1991) affecting, for example, the set of relationships, attitudes and values within the organisation (Aulich 1999). According to Schein (1992) culture is something that groups or organisations share or have in common and something, which has been structured and integrated within the group or organisation over time. Thus culture is about having the same norms, values and standards, about using common language and sharing symbols and rituals.

According to Gagliardi (1986) three strategies for cultural change can be identified; a) the evil circle, in which the organisation is not able to learn from its experiences, and therefore holds on to previous practice which is, however, defying new conditions; b) a cultural revolution, where old ideals and values are instantly replaced with new ones, leading to resistance and opting out by members of the organisation; and c) cultural incrementalism, where new values are slowly implemented alongside traditional values, in order to broaden the perspectives of organisational action.

2.3 Methods and data

Following the methodology of the instrumental case study (Stake 2000) the phenomenon of marketization within municipal park management was studied within each case, using qualitative methods such as interviews and document studies. Since the study has been primarily descriptive and the marketization process studied is partly historical, on-site observations were not considered. Interviews were chosen as the primary data source, since the purpose of the study has been to explore single actor motives, policy actions and change experiences in relation to processes of organisational change. Along with chains of ‘pro and con argumentation’ these issues where rarely specifically documented in the archives of the municipal organisations.

In each case actors on all levels of the organisation were interviewed in order to provide an adequate picture of the distinct process of marketization. Focusing on the process of marketization-related change as the overall unit of analysis and the park managers’ role in the policy process, organisational transformation and staff experiences as subunits of analysis, the study has employed an embedded design, where multiple levels of analysis are carried out within a single case (Yin 1984).

ARCHIVES

Municipal archives were studied as a supplementary data source. Policies, statutory service strategies and political and managerial resolutions provided knowledge of the organisational development progress and historical timeline of policy and decision-making. In one case, local newspapers provided detailed information about historical political discussions in support of municipal resolutions. The accomplishment of organisational change has to some extent been documented by internal job-satisfaction studies, evaluating the work place after having gone through a tendering process. In general, accessibility to written documentation differed widely between the cases.

INTERVIEWS

Interviews were carried out in two series in 2003 and 2004/05 (see Table 2.3 for an overview). The first series of interviews was aimed at understanding the policy process as well as marketization characteristics in each case. Hence, politicians, park managers and works managers were interviewed.

Politicians were interviewed in order to shed light on the political motivation and pre-evaluation of consequences related to the marketization decision. Relevant politicians were identified as members and chairmen of the municipal Technical or Cultural Committees, under which the process of marketization was generally dealt with. Specifically, politicians to be interviewed were identified from available documents dealing with the process of marketization, through municipal homepages and after recommendation from park managers. The politicians were contacted by an appointment made by the park managers and interviews were carried out via the telephone. The interviews lasted 15—30 minutes and followed a standard interview-guide (see Appendix 2).

Being top managers and leading officials in the municipal park management administration, park managers and works managers were seen as the primary sources for information about the marketization plan, its organisational consequences, organisational and management experiences and future development. The park and works managers were known in advance or were identified from the telephone book listing municipal green staff (Holgersen 2003). Interviews had an open-ended format (Fontana and Frey 2000) and followed a basic interview-guide, which focused on the above-mentioned topics (see more details in Appendix 2). The interviews were carried out

face-to-face with one, two or three persons at a time. Attendance in group-interviews was voluntarily and on the initiative of the interviewees, in order to help each other to recollect periods of change.

The second series of interviews were aimed at further investigation of the implementation of marketization in the municipal contractor organisations and particularly as concerning the individual and common experiences from this phase. Some works managers were interviewed again with this specific focus, while further works manager assistants, foremen, team-leaders and workmen were also interviewed. Interviewees were selected strategically in order to cover the variety of roles within a municipal contractor organisation i.e. foremen, team leaders, shop stewards and members of work-place security committees and the like, semi-skilled workers (working with roads and construction tasks) and gardeners (both skilled gardeners and unskilled workers with supplementary courses in gardening are included). However, the interviewees were not seen as representatives for these groups, rather as informants giving unique information about the process of marketization, each for a unique case. Moreover, criteria for selection of the interviewees were employment during the period of change, characteristics placing the interviewee in a special position in the organisation (e.g. shop stewards) and education skills or working experience within park maintenance. In all cases a number of potential interviewees were suggested by the works manager and thereby chosen to broadly meet the criteria (for a list of interviewees see Appendix 2).

Interviews in the second series were carried out face-to-face with one or two persons at a time, following a semi-structured interview guide with the following headlines: position and role, day-to-day working life, relations at work, supervision and management, process of change, motivation and work satisfaction, corporate culture and identity and social responsibility (see Appendix 2). Also in this second series of interviews, attendance in group-interviews was voluntarily and on the initiative of the interviewees with the aim to help each other recollect the period of change.

		Total number of persons interviewed	Total number of interviews carried out	Interview length
Interview series 1	Politicians	6	6	15-30 min.
	Park and works managers	14	9	1½-2½ hours
Interview series 2	Works managers	3 (1)	3	1-1½ hours
	Foremen and team leaders	8	7	½-1 hours
	Workmen	12	8	½-1 hours
Total		43	33	

Table 2.3 Overview of conducted interviews
(1) Two works managers have been interviewed in both series 1 & 2. The overall number of interviewees within this dissertation is 41 (see Appendix 2).

WITHIN-CASE ANALYSIS AND NARRATIVES

During interviews with politicians minutes were taken on a standard interview-guide. Interviews with park managers, works managers and staff were taped and transcribed, resulting in an extended report from the interview following closely the progression of the interview and the language used by the interviewee.

Since the reports from the first series of interviews with park managers and work managers came out rather unstructured, the reports were restructured with focus on the marketization process and its organisational consequences. Interviews from the second series were coded and restructured seeking to identify patterns in the staff's change-related experience (see paper C for further details on this process, and Appendix 2 for the interview-guide and code-tree).

Based on the interview reports within-case analysis were performed (Eisenhardt 1989). For each case a detailed, mostly descriptive case write-up was developed which compiled the distinct interviews from the case into common narratives. The primary data sources for the narratives are indicated in Figure 2.3, however all interviews within each case have been used for triangulation if possible. Archive studies and field notes supplemented the writing-up process and were also used, if possible, to triangulate data.

Initial case write-ups were prepared after the first series of interviews focusing on the policy process and organisational change. These write-ups were used for preparing the second series of interviews. When compiled, each case write-up comprised three narratives addressing in turn the policy and decision-making process (case policy narrative), the process of organisational transformation (case transformation narrative) and how the staff in the municipal contractor organisation experienced both (case experience narrative). The case-write ups can be reviewed in Appendix 1.

2.4 Introducing the cases

In this section the selected cases are presented. Based on field notes the presentation is aimed at providing a picture of the circumstances round the interviews, rather than providing an accurate reference to the marketization process. Hence, the presentation should be regarded as supplementary to the marketization process in each case as described in the papers A-C and Appendix 1.

ASSENS

Assens is a quite small municipality with around 11.000 inhabitants situated at the west coastline of the island Funen. In 2000 the road and green-space services were put into tender. The municipal contractors organisation held the lowest bid and the tender was cancelled. Due to changes within the municipal organisation the internal contract agreement was not due until January 2003. In the in-between period the municipal contractor worked according to the tendering documents.

In Assens the municipal contractors yard is situated near the harbour and the city centre. It was difficult to find the right address, as no signs or plates could be observed. Only the cars, with name and escutcheon on the front doors showed me the way. There was no garage for the machinery and trucks; it was damaged in a storm some years ago and was never rebuild.

At first, the meeting with the works managers in their office was a little tense. Apparently, an interest in municipal park management, beyond day-to-day maintenance, seemed a little odd. However, things got better along the way. In this specific case a lot of questions had to be asked to keep the interview going. After finishing the interview we had a look in the contracting documents. It turned out, that this was a much better way to get the works managers to talk. The staffs were met one by one in a very small room, with cigarette smoke as the only amusement. I knew, that they were all working to fulfil the same contract. However, it was pretty obvious, that they were not striving together.

FREDENSBORG-HUMLEBÆK

Fredensborg-Humlebæk is a mid-size municipality with 20.000 inhabitants situated in North-Zealand. The decision to contract out all road- and park services was made by a liberal majority of local politicians in 1999. The officials of local government were given influence on the details of the contracting decision and in 2001 the competitive tendering was held covering all municipal road- and park services. Since 2003 road- and park services has been provided from the municipal contractors organisation based on internal contract agreements.

At my visit the municipal contractors yard was small, but tidy. In the building everything were well kept and the works managers' office were integrated with other common facilities. The door was open and a couple of cats were sleeping on the table. In the corridor the notice board was well-stocked and in the hall a computer and pages with bar codes on the wall made it easy for the staffs to register their working hours.

The interview with the works manager went well despite for a few interruptions from the telephone. She was pleased to tell me about the changes they had gone through and did not hide the fact, that it had been a learning process for her as well. Three team-leaders were interviewed separately and

they all confirmed the impression of a positive and inspiring working environment.

HERNING

Herning is a larger municipality with around 59.000 inhabitants located in mid-Jutland. The decision to contract out, where made by the park managers in the mid 1990. Since 1999 the municipal contractors organisation has provided 80% of the municipal road- and park services on internal contracts. Road- and park services are regularly sent into competitive tendering in order to test prices against the private market and an average of 20% are continuously contracted out.

The works manager in Her-ning spends most of his time at the town hall, close to the park manager and the politicians. He and the park manager are former colleagues and their collaboration goes back many years. Together they expressed an obligation to work for the best result for the public, which is not always compatible with working in a contracting arrangement. Moreover, the works manager expressed a high level of social responsibility, which is, likewise, not always compatible with being the manager of a competitive contractor organisation.

The contractors yard is in the countryside, big and orderly. The entrance is covered in plants and in the hall, a carved wooden gardener, tall as a man, invites you in. The brand new ISO certificate is hanging on the wall in a frame. The office is big and holds a considerable staff. Situated almost in the middle of the building it is well integrated with common facilities for the staff. A mailbox for ‘whips and praises’ is hanging next to the entrance.

Interviews with park and works managers were held in the town hall in the city centre. We are acquainted through another research project, and the story was unfolding easily. Interviews with the staffs were carried out at the yard. I was there for a whole day and one interview followed the other. Everybody seemed very confident about his/her place of work, at least in a long-term perspective.

KØGE

Køge is a mid-size municipality with almost 40.000 inhabitants situated 40 km south of Copenhagen at the east coast of Zealand. The separation of purchaser and provider functions was initiated in 1995 when a self-management agreement was introduced. In 2001 the politicians decided to send some road- and all park services into competitive tendering over a transformation period of 5 years. Hence, since 2002 parts of the road- and park services has been provided in free competition amongst the municipal contractors organisation and private contractors.

The purchasers are situated at the town hall in the city centre. I met with three of them, since the leading park manager was new in his position and wanted back up while interviewed. It is striking how well separated the purchaser and provider function seems to be compared to the other purchaser-provider organisations I have met. Because I am well acquainted with 'park management history' in Køge (through my master thesis among others), I also looked up the former park manager, who took part in preparing the political decisions in the mid 1990s.

The director and a few staffs ´were interviewed at the yard, which was big, clean and with absolutely no mess. It was the only yard I visited, were I did not see pin-up girls on the walls in the garages. The directors' office and conference room is separated from the foreman offices and common facilities for the staff. Everything inside looks new. In the interviews the staffs address the developing distance between the director and the working staffs, which, along with a sudden increase in the number of employees, make some of them, feel uncomfortable. Other than that, they seem to be preparing for the competitive future each in their own way.

NORDBORG

Nordborg is a quite small municipality with around 14.000 inhabitants situated at the northern part of Als, an island in the southern part of Jutland. Road- and park services are provided from the municipal contractors organisation, which in 1999-2001 was run by an internal contract in order to approach market terms and prices. Since 2002 the organisation was run by goal- and frame regulation and the park manager was obliged to assess prices and quality delivered by both municipal and private contractors.

The yard is situated in the fringe of a small village. It is small, relatively tidy but with a little storage and weed in the corners. In the back of the yard was a small greenhouse, which was used for growing flowers. In general furniture and equipment seemed a little unfashionable.

Interviews with the park manager and staffs were carried out in the park managers' office, which is integrated with the common facilities. The staffs' office is an open space in the centre of the house and works also as a reception desk. The interview with the park manager was interrupted a few times by the telephone and a lunch break, but despite from that, the story was unfolding easily. Interviews with the staffs were carried out the next day, equally easily. My biggest concern, really, was to understand the significant dialect.

ROSKILDE

Roskilde is a larger municipality with around 54.000 inhabitants, situated 35 km west of Copenhagen. An extraordinary characteristic for Roskilde is the fact, that the market town has royal duties. For instance, members of the royal family are buried there. In order to handle such incidents, it has been considered necessary to have a basis contractor organisation providing 80% of the municipal road- and park services. Thus, private contractors work on contracts for the municipality providing 20% of municipal service-delivery based on competitive tendering. Caused by political budget negotiations the

first small-scale competitive tendering was held in 1995 and the second in 2000. Today, park managers assess prices and quality delivered by both municipal and private contractors, however there is no current political claim for contracting activities.

I met with the park managers in a bright and friendly office in the town hall. The leading park manager was newly employed and had invited a colleague to back up the interview on bygone subjects. This was my first interview, and it started off a little disorganized because my letter of introduction had not reached the park managers. Hence, the interview came out rather long and disordered.

I met with the works manager and staffs in the municipal yard, which was big and quite orderly, but currently under extension. The works manager's office was integrated with the common facilities. The interview with the works manager was carried out in his office. I was there for a day and met with the staffs one by one or two by two in a conference room. Moreover, I had the opportunity to wander round on my own in the contractors yard and talk to some of the employees present.

3. SYNTHESIS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter the immediate objectives of the dissertation are addressed, linking the results from the three included papers to an overall discussion of change in the Danish public sector. As described in section 2.2 the discussion is structured according to four key issues when studying change in public organisations; change impulses, intentionality, mechanisms and consequences of change (Antonsen & Jørgensen 2000).

3.1 Impulses of change

In this section external influences on Danish municipalities will be addressed, considering these as institutional dynamics that will, eventually, push municipal park management organisations towards homogenisation.

Antonsen & Jørgensen (2000) suggest that impulses can occur as a result of management strategies, inspiration from other organisations, politics, technological improvement, internationalisation, influence from users and interest groups/ NGO's, competition, media or by pure coincidence. External influences identified in the study, like e.g. state level politics, administrative reforms and inspiration from others, will be discussed based on the description of coercive, mimetic and normative isomorphism as mechanisms of change supporting the process of homogenisation (DiMaggio & Powell 1991).

According to DiMaggio & Powell (1991) coercive isomorphism results from political influence, formal or informal pressures exerted on organisations by other organisations on which they depend and by cultural expectations in society. Coercive isomorphism is thus, the result of external pressures on an organisation. In this section state level politics and administrative reforms will be addressed as external pressures having an impact on the transformation of municipal park management organisations. Moreover, the result of local political translations (Czarniawska & Joerges 1996) of these pressures will be addressed.

Mimetic isomorphism is organisations modelling themselves on other organisations due to uncertainty towards organisational technologies, goals or future (DiMaggio & Powell 1991). Hence, in this section the diffusion of

market-orientation between municipalities, e.g. as a result of actively seeking inspiration from other organisations will be addressed.

The third impulse of change, which will be addressed, is normative isomorphism stemming from professionalisation in the organisational field of municipal park management. Professionalisation can be induced by formal education and professional training as well as by the elaboration of professional networks across organisations (DiMaggio & Powell 1991). In this section, professionalisation is addressed with a focus on the education and employment of park management professionals in municipal organisations as well as common tools developed in order to improve municipal park management performance, i.e. what has been called common technical property in the business (Byggestyrelsen 1986).

In general the cases studied were all heading towards increased market adaptation in their in-house service provision in terms of how to organise and steer (paper B). However it is evident, that local political interests and previous organisational development has formed the organisational choices in the process of marketization. Hence, as addressed in section 3.3 the adapted features of marketization differ widely among the cases (paper B).

RESPONDING TO EXTERNAL PRESSURES

Danish municipal park management organisations have over the years responded to overall economical conditions and state level demands with intense marketization efforts, particularly since the mid- 1990s (paper B). This development has however, been slightly postponed compared to the four reform periods indicated by Klausen (2001); decentralisation of governmental power and responsibilities from state to regional and local level of government (1970s), to sub-organisational units of local government (1980s), to private parties (1990s) and to users of public service (2000s). In municipal park management organisations, the decentralisation to sub-organisational units of local government occurred from the mid- 1980s and ten years onward, reaching its peak in the early 1990s. In the mid- 1990s, the first contracting experiments were taking place due in municipal park management organisations (Juul 1996). According to the cases, decentralisation of park management tasks to private contractors primarily developed from 2000 and onwards. Inspiration from the New Public Management (NPM) reform of public organisations is evident, although it appears that New Public Man-

agement-related change is not pursued based on a coherent managerial strategy (paper B). Based on increased use of competition strategies in the municipalities, separation of the purchaser and provider function occurred during this period as well. Especially the municipal contractor (provider) organisations have had to rapidly commit to the new conditions in order to enhance competitive performance (paper B).

Corresponding with other studies (Klausen & Ståhlberg 1998) it is concluded that Danish municipal park management organisations have responded to various state level demands and economical pressures in an evolutionary and pragmatic way, emphasizing the 'learning by doing' aspect when developing professional and competitive park management organisations (paper B). Thus, the results indicate a development from focusing on green-space maintenance practice based on craftsman values, to focusing on competitive strategies and the use of contracts based highly on economical values. Subsequently, along with learning how to use competitive tendering and contracting as tools (procurement), it seems that park management organisations are moving towards a more outcome and service-quality oriented focus based on strategic professional values.

In recent years, increased decentralised responsibility and steering competences have been recognized in particular in the municipal contractor organisations (paper B). Along with a more general retreat from the use of market-like mechanisms in order to sustain the benefits of in-house service-provision (paper B), this development suggests a future situation for Danish municipalities still accommodating in-house service provision based on competitive prices and performance. Supportive of this scenario is the fact that Danish municipalities have recently become larger and thus, expectedly, more competitive units (Indenrigs- & Sundhedsministeriet 2006).

State level demands for increased tendering in future municipal service delivery has recently been put forward (Regeringen & Kommunernes Landsforening 2007), suggesting a re-modelled mixture of private and public service-providers. It has been indicated however, that tenders won by the municipalities will also be counted as part of the tendering ratio (Regeringen & Kommunernes Landsforening 2007), hence this demand will not necessarily lead to more private service-providers in municipal park management.

The drawback from using tendering and private contractors is a development well known from park management organisations in other parts of the world (Aulich 1999, Beer 2002).

Local Politicians translate external pressures

The most common political argument for marketizing municipal service delivery has addressed the economical pressures experienced in general in the public sector, as described by Pedersen (1998). However, also ideological and social arguments have been mentioned.

In general, marketization has been considered an option for testing own prices and proving efficiency and competitiveness of the municipal contractor organisation. In some cases this argument has been linked to arguments of a more ideological nature, such as wishing to increase the number of private actors in municipal service-delivery.

According to other studies (Bertelsen 2001, Christoffersen & Paldam 2003, Pallesen 2004), contracting out municipal service delivery is generally not chosen for ideological reasons. Rather, as Bertelsen (2001) argues, contracting out public service delivery becomes possible when a short-term profit is possible, and when existing power relations can be challenged. In the latter case contracting out can be a rational strategy for politicians wishing to express their own skills and influence (Bertelsen 2001). The importance of political power relations was stressed in some of the cases where the decision to marketize and enter a process of tendering was part of a local 'power puzzle' for many years. In one of the cases small-scale tendering was suggested and implemented twice, in order to please a liberal oppositional group when settling political budget negotiations. In another case a sudden political set up made it possible to introduce large scale tendering and thus create a more competitive environment for the municipal contractor organisation.

Moreover, a couple of social arguments for contracting out municipal green-space service delivery were identified. One addresses, what some local politicians called a common prejudice against municipal workers, i.e. that they are more inefficient than workers from private contractors. In order to disprove this prejudice and evidently change the tradition-bound performance in municipal contractor organisations, the politicians found the initiation of a competitive situation both necessary and valuable.

Politicians who basically wish to maintain municipal in-house service delivery put another social argument forward. Along with changing the municipal contractor organisation in order to prove efficiency and competitiveness, oppositional demands in favour of contracting out may descend. Thus, according to these politicians, marketization in-house can be in favour of sustaining municipal jobs and other social benefits from having a municipal contractor organisation, i.e. the employment of people with social problems.

MODELLING ON OTHERS

Christoffersen & Paldam (2003) has found that market-orientation tends to be spread out from larger cities. Moreover, that diffusion of market-orientation related to specific tasks is strong in neighbouring municipalities. None of the cases in this study were neighbours. However, when developing their organisation some cases refer to co-operation with neighbouring municipalities. Moreover, inspiration for the process of marketization has been sought for in municipalities with certain similarities to the case itself or with an outstanding reputation in the business (a benchmarking approach). However, still, inspiration from others seems to be customised according to local political interests.

When facing political demands for efficiency and having to adapt to more competitive situations, some municipal park management organisations have been insecure on how to develop their skills and competences regarding, for example, procurement and contracting procedures in order to handle the new conditions (paper B & C). Initially, when beginning to contract out maintenance tasks during the early 1990s, park management organisations relied on a mimetic process while adopting a contracting paradigm used elsewhere in the municipal technical sector (Juul et al. 1998). Besides this, examples of municipalities seeking inspiration and help from other municipal organisations have been reported (Klasterer 1995).

Within this study, however, inspiration from others in the preparation phase of decision-making has only been explicitly requested and performed in a few cases (paper A).

A MORE PROFESSIONAL BUSINESS

Professionalisation of municipal park management organisations has been ongoing for many years. In general the number of academic professionals

(i.e. primarily landscape architects and forest- and landscape engineers) has increased in the municipalities in the period 1976-1996 (Nuppenau & Juul 2001a). It is especially in municipalities with more than 16.000 inhabitants that these groups of professionals are in charge of park management.

Besides the increase of the number of professionals in the municipalities there is evidence, that the focus on municipal park management has been strengthened in the education of these professionals. According to previous study programmes, municipal park management has previously been a minor part of the landscape architect education at the Agricultural University of Copenhagen (Royal Veterinary and Agricultural University of Copenhagen 1990). Likewise Forest- and landscape engineers have been educated from the Forestry College focusing primarily on forest management and forest and nature maintenance. In 2003 however, the first professor in park management was appointed at the Agricultural University. In 2005 a Nordic master education in Urban Forestry and Urban Greening was launched and from 2007 a bachelor education in Landscape Architecture and Urban design has been available (Forest & Landscape 2008). In 2004 the Forestry College became part of the Agricultural University and a Diploma education in Park Management was launched. Together these initiatives are intended to help increase the level of professionalism within municipal park management organisations in the forthcoming years (Forest & Landscape 2007).

Another way of adding to the level of professionalism in municipal park management organisations has been to provide the business with tools for development. Hence, in 1998 the Forest and Landscape Research Institute, then an independent state level research institution, developed a common tool, aimed at helping park management organisations to develop their procurement skills (Juul et al.1998). Even although locally customized by park managers in the municipalities, the tool has become widely adopted and now forms the basis for quality management in many Danish park management organisations. In 2004 the Centre for Forest, Landscape and Planning, at the Agricultural University of Copenhagen (now University of Copenhagen) developed a concept for increased public-private cooperation in municipal park maintenance (Randrup et. al 2004). Both tools can be regarded as normative influences on the development within the organisational field of park management.

In general, research institutes and universities must be considered important actors within the organisational field, providing research findings and education opportunities for practitioners within the organisational field of park management. Furthermore, over the years, a range of professional associations in Denmark has provided room for networking activities and knowledge exchange amongst practitioners within the field of park management (e.g. Association of Municipal Park and Nature managers, Association of Municipal Contractors, Association of Danish Landscape Architects).

3.2 Intentional or unintentional change

All cases studied have shown that marketizing municipal park management organisations is a difficult and often rather exhausting process for the people involved. However, local politicians do not seem to have been specifically aware of the consequences of marketization for day-to-day park management performance and the job-satisfaction of workers. Actually, according to Lohmann (2002), it is not at all certain that politicians consider the consequences of contracting out, even when making the contracting decision.

INTENTIONAL DECISION MAKING

Deciding to marketize municipal park management organisations did not vary particularly from the ideal of traditional decision-making (paper A). In most cases a decision to introduce market-related change in the park management organisation was made by the politicians, without involving park managers in the decision. In one case the park managers made the decision to introduce market-related change in the organisation. This decision was made in order to comply with overall political intentions of making public service delivery competitive and was customarily authorized by the politicians.

As discussed previously, local political intentions were related primarily to economical considerations. Hence, in an overall view, the decision to marketize was intentional aiming for a more efficient and eventually competitive municipal contractor organisation.

UNINTENTIONAL PROCESSES OF CHANGE

A common political strategy to place marketization on the municipal agenda has been to decide to go into competitive tendering with some (small-scale) or all (large-scale) green-space maintenance tasks. This decision often appears to be one of principle, since it does not involve any specific requirements for the process of change needed nor for specific goals to be achieved. Rather, this process has to be established by the top managers afterwards. Subsequently, a new phase of political decision-making (or authorization) is needed based eventually on a more qualified dialogue between politicians and professionals (paper A).

Within this study short-run as well as long-run marketization processes were identified (paper B). Short-run processes are in general the results of principle decisions as described above. Some short-run processes have a relatively short time-span (2-5 years) and are adapted and implemented based on well-planned coherent schedules. In other situations short-run processes are constantly recommenced due to political decisions made with at few years distance. In the latter case, organisations are left in indeterminate states for longer periods of time. In contrast, longer-term processes (10-20 years) are the results of continuous and dedicated organisational development processes, however with no obvious point of departure and no declared aims. Changes are made continuously in order to improve internal relations and procedures.

With processes of change expanding from two to 20 years, some kind of long-term strategic planning could be expected in order to settle aims for the organisation. There is no indication, however, that Danish municipalities have pursued coherent and intentional long-term strategies when marketizing park management organisations (paper B).

3.3 Mechanisms of change

When impulses of change are to be transformed into organizational change, a mechanism of transformation is most likely necessary (Antonsen & Jørgensen 2000). The introduction of a ‘change engine’ has been suggested by Van den Ven & Poole (1995) for overcoming friction and resistance in the organisation. A ‘change engine’ can be a determined and purposeful actor,

but also differences of opinion within the organisation or even competing for limited resources can support a process of change.

In this section the role of park managers as change engines will be discussed. This role is based on the conception of park managers involved in policymaking as determined and purposeful actors seeking as much influence as possible.

Another mechanism of transformation is 'path dependency' (DiMaggio & Powell 1991, Steinmo et al.1992) where simply choosing the most passable paths in decision making and day-to-day performance will lead to change. Passable paths can be determined by certain constellations of interests within the organisation, or simply as a consequence of previous choices. Likewise, any line of action chosen based on path dependency will determine future development options.

PARK MANAGERS AS 'CHANGE ENGINES'

Four park-manager roles in municipal policy making has been identified and evaluated in terms of impact on the policy process and outcome (paper A). The 'Agenda-setting' park manager is characterized as a highly strategic actor engaged in the very early phases of policy making and thus with a high impact on both policy process and outcome. The 'Responsive' park manager has a moderate impact on the policy process in a broad sense. However, due to high level of strategic involvement in the initial phases of policy-making, the impact of the Responsive park manager on policy outcome can in fact be moderate to high. The 'Post-rationalizing' park manager is defined as a moderately strategic actor with a low impact on the policy process and a moderate - although possibly long-term - impact on policy outcome. The latter is due to his participation in developing various options when implementing policy. Finally, the 'Obedient' park manager has a performance strictly limited to policy implementation, monitoring and output. Thus he has no impact on the policy process and a low, if any, impact on policy outcome. As a result, his level of strategic involvement can be characterised as low.

The strategic involvement of park managers in decision making can primarily be linked to their timing as regards the decision making process, i.e. in which phases of decision-making they decide to participate (paper A). In this section, however, this perspective is developed further in order to provide a more thorough description of strategic park manager characteristics.

In general, authority and expertise are both considered important qualifications for actors in the policy process (Colebatch 1998). To be more specific, managers must have management, leadership and political skills, as well as experience in government, strong personalities and technical expertise in order to gain influence even during the early phases of the policy process (Van Slyke & Hammonds 2003).

All park manager roles developed in this dissertation are based on the role of the expert. Indeed, park managers have been concerned with responding to and implementing political decisions in the most professional and best possible way. Thus, it has been a common challenge for the park managers studied to improve park management performance and practice, while at the same time managing new challenges such as the purchaser or the provider role and the new demands brought along with those.

Especially the Agenda-setting and the Responsive park managers have benefited from the challenges and have eventually, formed their roles as park managers. By entering the policy process in the very early stages, these park managers have challenged their expert role and have, in part, become policy makers themselves. In fact, the park managers concerned have increasingly been developing their relationship with the politicians. They have been aware of the importance of good timing and have taken existing power structures into account when acting. Hence, they have practised leadership, focused on utilizing their position within the organisation. They have worked to develop a professional municipal enterprise as well as to create better prospects for the park management organisation.

As Danish municipal park management organisations complied with a new focus in organisational development during the 1990s, the main objective became to turn municipal contractor organisations into modern, competitive municipal enterprises. However, in some of the cases, this objective was supported by the immediate development of a topical and professional purchaser organisation.

The importance of possessing contracting capacity when working within market conditions is stressed in other studies. These show that public purchasers are key actors in contracting out, as they are responsible for the initial feasibility assessment, for developing good contracting agreements, acting as ‘smart buyers’ (i.e. knowing what to by and when to by), implementation of contracting relationships and evaluation of contracting performance

(Brown & Potoski 2003, Kettl 1993, Van Slyke & Hammonds 2003). Moreover purchasers in public organisations provide expertise to guarantee professional quality in the chosen solutions (Percy & Maier 1996), to safeguard accountability towards the public, and eventually to forecast effects of privatisation (Van Slyke & Hammonds 2003).

Park managers in Denmark, having made their initial experiences with the purchaser role during the late 1990s, are now experiencing a change of focus when performing within this role. Hence, much like in Sweden (Hansson & Lind 1997), the cases indicate a development of the purchaser role along with growing contracting experience. To most park managers interviewed the first years of contracting out have been a period of "learning by doing". Contracting out park maintenance tasks has been considered a rather technical issue, involving elaborating tendering documents and carrying out output control. However, having provided the necessary professional and economical overview as a basis for contracting out and having become familiar with the contracting process, this study shows that some park managers are now turning towards a 'second generation' of the purchaser role (Hansson & Lind 1997). In this advanced position park managers are increasingly experiencing a need for communication and re-organisation of tasks within the purchaser-provider organisation. They also have to initiate policy activities in order to ensure professional progress (Nuppenau & Juul 2001b). This advancement has been described as a shift in identity (Hansson & Lind 1997), going from a 'production identity' to an 'owner identity'. This shift implies a shift of focus from service delivery and production steering to legitimising activities and creating values connected to urban green space.

In some of the municipalities studied, a networking organisation has been introduced to challenge (rather than to take over) traditional hierarchy. According to Hansson & Lind (1997), park managers working as purchasers with an owner identity in municipal organisations face a need for building networks in order to strengthen capacity and competences transverse the formal hierarchy. However, most park managers in the Danish cases are still giving paramount attention to traditional policy performance and power relations when managing. Moreover, the freedom to manage by discretionary power seems to regard short-term issues and day-to-day practice. For long-term decisions, such as implementing major changes in the organisation,

park managers in Danish municipalities still have to respond to their senior managers and politicians.

Based on the above discussion, a revised model of the four park manager roles can be developed (Table. 3.1). In this model the term strategic involvement has been defined in a broad sense, serving as a basis for describing certain 'strategic park manager characteristics', i.e. those characteristics supporting park managers' ability and power to act as change engines and thus overcome friction and resistance within the organisation.

		Park managers' role in policy making when marketizing municipal park management organisations			
		Agenda-setting	Responsive	Post-rationalizing	Obedient
Strategic involvement based on	Timing (of entering the policy process)	Phase 1-2	Phase 3-4	Phase 6	Phase 7
	Power relations	Experts have authority	Mix of political and expert authority	Political authority	Political authority
	Professional status / position	High ranking	High ranking	Low ranking	Low ranking.
	Expert role	Highly active	Highly active	Moderate active	Passive
	Impact on policy process	High	Moderate	Low	None
	Impact on policy outcome	High	Moderate to high	Moderate, possibly long-term	Low/None
	Determining factors on level of impact	Political amenability for managers' interfering in decision-making; managers' leadership and professional skills as well as abilities in policymaking.	Political unity towards development changes; existing power relations between park managers and the politicians; political amenability for professional advise in decision-making.	Political approval of initiatives; goodwill towards change within existing organisation; park managers leadership skills in order to stimulate change.	Manager' professional skills

Table 3.1 Park managers in policy making – towards a strategic expert

As shown in Table 3.1, strategic park manager characteristics cover the ability to enter the policy process at an early stage (timing), based on a high position within the municipal organisation (status), and on authority in relation to both politicians and the professional organisation (power). These characteristics come from being a trained and experienced professional with a supplementary ability to develop performance, lead the organisation and participate proactively in political processes.

PATH DEPENDENCY

In the present study, changes within municipal park management organisations have been studied within a time frame of 20 years (1985-2005). In this period of time all the cases have been experiencing events of change periodically, like pearls-on-a-string (paper B). Thus, change has proved to be a continuous and significant process of organisational development towards a more efficient, market-oriented and competitive municipal contractor organisation. During the period, both continuous first order change adding to the stability of the system and dis-continuous second order changes transforming fundamental properties or states of the system have been identified.

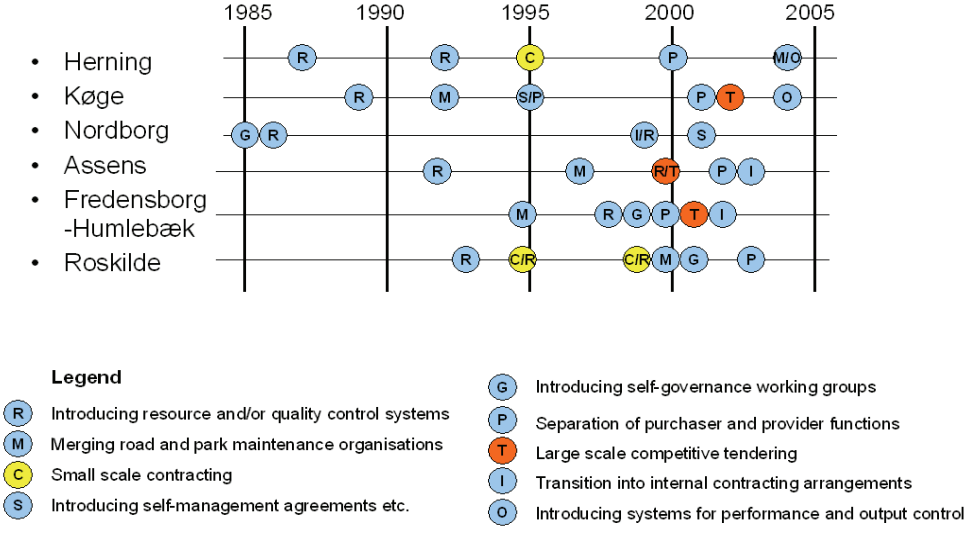

Figure 3.1 Marketization processes in the cases studied. Events of change like pearls-on-strings (paper B, Figure 1).

Although this study has not found a typical sequence for transforming municipal park management organisations, two overall chains (paths) of development have been identified.

In the first group of cases, transformation of the organisation began already during the mid-1980s, when continuous first-order changes were introduced. During the late 1980s and beginning of 1990s, change was described as evolutionary and pragmatic, related to implementing internal organisational changes in order to provide an efficient delivery of public services. Events of change related to this period of time are the introduction of resource control systems, merging of road and park maintenance organisations, and development of self-management agreements. Despite the fact that e.g., the merging of road and park maintenance has been regarded as challenging to both organisational culture and to the identity of individual staffs (paper C), these changes must be considered as first-order changes. They were implemented in order to add to the stability of municipal park management organisations. In the mid- or late- 1990s, these changes were followed by more discontinuous changes, which challenged traditional public service delivery influenced in turn by the New Public Management 'wave' of organisational change.

Changes in the other group of cases were introduced from the mid- or late- 1990s and onwards. They started with continuous first-order changes, yet moved almost directly on to more discontinuous second-order changes. As in the previous group of cases, the New Public Management 'wave' increasingly influenced this development. As a result, the movement from traditional hierarchy into market-like public organisations has been considerable (paper B). Within both groups of cases, in particular the use of competitive tendering and contracting out, as well as separation of purchaser and provider functions have been identified as events of change supportive of this movement. Thus, these events can be considered as second-order changes implemented in order to transform fundamental properties of the municipal system. However, this period of organisational development can also be described as evolutionary and pragmatic to some point (paper B).

Even though different in timing of events and in terms of details in the chosen solutions, most cases have experienced a series of continuous and discontinuous adaptations. These changes have led, by means of political or

leadership decisions, to another and have eventually turned the municipal contractor organisations into more market-oriented enterprises (paper B).

According to Antonsen & Jørgensen (2000), immediate fundamental change can be part of a relatively stable and continuous development process when regarded retrospectively. Considering the changes identified in this study in connection with the most recent challenge in the municipalities, i.e. the structural reform in 2007 (Indenrigs- & Sundhedsministeriet 2006), it is evident that the period studied is part of a continuous development process where fundamental properties of the system are however, changed dramatically along the way.

3.4 Consequences of change

The process of marketization has led to extensive change in municipal maintenance organisations (paper B). On an overall organisational level, the results presented in this thesis support findings from other studies on marketization in public organisations (Aulich 1999, Crompton 1998, Hansen 1999, Hood 1991, Klausen & Ståhlberg 1998).

The results presented in this section address the consequences of municipal marketization in two dimensions. From a structural perspective, change can be seen as a shift from traditional hierarchy to a market-like organisation, while a cultural perspective stresses the shift from political to commercial organisation. Moreover change is addressed on organisational as well as on staff level.

FROM TRADITIONAL HIERARCHY TO A MARKET-LIKE PUBLIC ORGANISATION

In recent studies of organisational change within public organisations the recognition of New Public Management (NPM) related change has been essential (Greve 2002, Hansen 1999, Hood 1991, Klausen & Ståhlberg 1998). Organisational change supportive of an administrative doctrine based on corporatism, competition, private sector styles and management practices in the public sector has thus been emphasized (Hood 1991, 1995). According to the cases the movement from traditional hierarchy to market-like public organisation has been considerable in municipal park management since the mid-1990s (paper B).

Moreover, the use of competitive tendering, contracting out and separation of purchaser and provider functions has been identified as typical changes supporting the market-orientation of municipal park management organisations (paper B). A decision to embark on small-scale contracting and/or large scale competitive tendering is an event leading eventually to organisational restructuring, since the introduction of a purchaser-provider model is considered a mandatory consequence. Over time, however, several of the cases studied seem to moderate the use of market-like mechanisms in order to retain advantages from previous practice (paper B). These findings support an evaluation made by Hansen (1999), which suggests that the market-dimension of New Public Management is progressing slowly, to a limited extent and mostly in an indirect manner, i.e. as an in-house feature in Danish local government. In contrast, the management-dimension of New Public Management, covering findings in this study such as decentralisation and the introduction of new steering means, has been stressed as an expanding and specifically Danish New Public Management development scheme (Hansen 1999).

Separation of purchaser and provider functions is a disaggregation of functions into semi market-like arrangements, introducing buy- and sell-relations; self-management, contracting and competitive tendering in the public organisation (Klausen 1998). All of these semi market-like arrangements have been tried out in municipal park management organisations (paper B).

Small-scale contracting, i.e. purchasers contracting out 20-30% of municipal park maintenance, has been applied in two cases. According to Nuppenau et al. (2005), this kind of small-scale contracting was preferred as a contracting strategy in Danish municipal park management organisations between 1997-2004. Another form of small-scale contracting, i.e. using sub-contractors in municipal everyday performance, is applied, however an overview of the extent is not available. According to the cases, the use of sub-contractors account for 10-15% of the overall municipal contractor budget. During 1994-1999, the most preferred contracting strategy in the technical sector in Danish municipalities was that of large-scale tendering (Kommunernes Landsforening 2001). Three cases in this study have experienced large-scale tendering, however, none of these processes have resulted in a private contractor taking over municipal park maintenance totally (paper

B). For the working staff in the municipal contractor organisations, the situation of having to transfer selected workers to external employers along with contracted tasks or even facing termination of the municipal contractors organisation in case of large scale tendering, has been an immense challenge (paper C). Frustrations and anxiety have concerned issues of job security and everyday life. Moreover, the study indicates that the process of pointing out staff for transfer is not always handled professionally and with respects to the pressure of the situation on individuals (paper C).

Decentralisation has been emphasized in this study on different levels of organisation. On an intra-organisational level, decentralisation in terms of self-management agreements between purchaser and provider units has been applied in two cases. It can be regarded as a way of testing the buy and sell relationship, e.g. prior to implementing a genuine purchaser-provider organisation (paper B). For the staff of municipal contractor organisations, however, the most important decentralisation effort has been the introduction of self-governance or 'joint management' in the contractor organisations. Due to self-governance initiatives working staff have gained increased responsibility towards everyday performance. Foremen and team-leaders have increasingly taken on new roles covering supervision responsibilities towards squads and teams, fulfilment of existing contracts, taking new initiatives within the contractual frame and developing new contractual agreements with a range of municipal customers. For some of them, self-governance within teams has led to a linkage of professional and personal performance, eventually resulting in an increased pressure on them as individuals. Also on working staff level has self-governance led to increased responsibilities towards the work situation. However, individuals have adapted to this situation differently, since some prefer to be responsible only for delivering a good quality of work, while others see potentials in dealing with an increased amount of responsibilities and, thus, influence.

The tendency of increased decentralisation within municipal contractor organisations as described in paper C is consistent with a more general trend in Danish public organisations described by Klausen (2001) as 'the fourth decentralisation'. This reform strategy has been developing in public organisations during the 2000s. It is oriented towards a decentralisation of power and strategic influence from managers to government employees and even users of public service delivery. Thus, while at the same time strengthening

the influence of employees in municipal organisations, decentralisation demands increased commitment from managers and employees, whose values and obligation towards their functions become determining for decision-making and organisational development (Klausen 2001).

As mentioned above, the separation of purchaser and provider functions has been considered almost a mandatory consequence of introducing competition within municipal park management. However, in this study variations in the organisational 'set-up' have been identified (paper B), signifying both 'internal' and 'external' models of organisation, as described by Nilsson & Nuppenau (2000). As a direct consequence of the separation of purchaser and provider functions, which is also emphasized by Klausen (1998), municipalities have been compelled to sort out responsibilities as well as budgets and economical relations to other municipal units.

Staff members in the municipal contractor organisations describe the purchaser-provider model as a framework that delineates the contractor organisation and characterizes the overall organisational conditions for day-to-day performance (paper C). This is, however, not considered an essential difference compared to the previous organisational structure. This reaction could relate to the fact that contractor organisations have been physically detached from the municipal administration for many years. In many ways, they have thus already been functioning as separate organisational units. Moreover, in many municipalities, the contractor organisation has in fact been the only organisational unit dealing with park maintenance tasks (Juul & Nuppenau 2000a). This suggests, that the constitution of a purchaser function has been a new and often tentative organisational construction.

Besides the structural changes already mentioned above, the working staffs in the municipal contractor organisations have addressed the merging of road and park maintenance organisations as an important organisational change (paper C). According to several of the cases studied, the merging of road and park maintenance organisations into cross-sector contractor organisations has been a first step of rationalizing and directing municipal organisations towards the market. Due to different traditions and cultures within various organisational sectors, this merging of road and park maintenance organisations has been a major challenge to municipal organisations (paper B). According to the staff, the most disturbing aspect of the physical reloca-

tion has been the break-up of old routines and usual outline of the working environment (paper C).

FROM POLITICAL TO COMMERCIAL ORGANISATION

The shift from political to commercial organisation has been addressed as a process of major cultural change (Hood 1991, Fenwick et al. 1994, Aulich 1999) affecting, for example, the set of relationships, attitudes and values within the organisation (Aulich 1999). Within this study corporate cultural change has been shown to cover the transformation of traditional maintenance organisations into competitive municipal enterprises. In this process learning contracting performance and creating a common corporate spirit have been necessary aims, leading eventually to a shift in roles and identity for the working staff (paper C).

Implementing and learning proper contracting performance includes applying an economical focus and adjusting the quality of municipal service delivery as a basis for day-to-day practice. According to this study the process of adapting to contracting performance has been difficult as well as stimulating for municipal staff. At corporate level, the process has been regarded as necessary and profitable for the work environment, at least in the long run. At individual level, improved work-related attitude and behaviour amongst the staff were identified, and the atmosphere at work in several cases was found to have changed for the better. For the individual worker change has involved increased responsibility along with possibilities for personal and professional development. Still, for some people it has been difficult to adjust to the fact that ‘time is money’, which has led to a more stressful day-to-day practice (paper B).

It has been a general experience in the cases that a common spirit within the organisation has to be created in order to support contracting performance. Moreover, working towards a common goal has been emphasized as beneficial for creating a common spirit, i.e. when going into tendering (the common goal was to win) or when certifying the municipal enterprise according to international standards (the common goal was to optimise organisational performance). Also, integrative initiatives like relocation and different social and/or occupational events have proved valuable. Ultimately, time has been identified as a critical factor for creating a common spirit in the renewed municipal contractor organisations.

When having to adopt cultural change in the municipal contractor organisations staff often refers to challenges on an individual level. In this study, shifting roles and identity when merging road and park maintenance organisations (i.e. when transforming from ‘green’ or ‘grey’ staffs into ‘contractors’) and when turning the municipal contractor organisation into a competitive enterprise (i.e. adopting a competitive working culture; that ‘time is money’) have been addressed as challenges on an individual level (paper C).

4. CONCLUSIONS AND LESSONS LEARNED

This study has addressed issues of marketization-related change in Danish park management organisations. Understanding the prevalence of marketization and its consequences within municipal park management has offered a wider frame for studying the relations between political decision-making, park manager roles and influence, organisational change and its consequences on day-to-day performance. Major parts of the immediate results of the study are presented in the three individual papers, but the synthesis has brought about new insights. The aim in this chapter is thus to assemble selected conclusions from the synthesis and papers, and to see in how far the immediate objectives of the dissertation have been met.

4.1 Conclusions

The first immediate objective of the dissertation was to gain insight in the preconditions for marketizing municipal park management organisations. In the synthesis it was argued, that a discursive change in society has stressed increased marketization efforts in Danish municipal organisations. This has led, in general, to both structural and corporate cultural change.

External influence on the municipalities has been addressed as impulses of change emphasizing e.g. state level politics and administrative reforms, local political pressures and mutual inspiration between municipalities. According to this study, state level politics in favour of efficiency, adaptability and competitiveness in the public sector has been met by the park management organisations in an evolutionary and pragmatic way. Furthermore, administrative reforms stressing decentralisation of governmental power and responsibilities has been influencing municipal park management organisations since the 1970s. Organisational development in the park management organisations has, however, been slightly postponed compared to the reform periods identified.

Local political translations of the external pressures on the municipalities have been identified. These were found to focus mainly on the ability to prove efficiency and competitiveness of the municipal contractor organisations. However, local politicians have also stressed issues of job-satisfaction

when applying change. Overall, the study does not suggest that Danish municipalities have been inspired noticeably by one another when deciding to marketize. However, some mimetic conduct seems to have been applied in the learning process, along with a normative influence from surrounding professional institutions. Hence, it is likely that the process of marketization in municipal park management has to a certain extent been based on mutual inspiration and interaction between municipalities.

Applying a stage-model-analysis of municipal decision making processes, the study shows that marketization within municipal park management is the result of traditional and intentional decision making. There is no indication, however, that Danish municipalities have pursued coherent and intentional long-term strategies when actually applying marketization-related change within park management organisations.

Corresponding to the second immediate objective the role of park managers in policy and decision-making has been scrutinized. Consequently, four different park manager types have been identified; namely those of the Agenda setting, the Responsive, the Post-rationalizing and the Obedient park manager. These roles can be distinguished based on the park manager's strategic skills and impact on policy process and outcome. Subsequently, the role of the strategic park manager acting as 'change engine' in the marketization process has been discussed. Strategic park manager characteristics have been identified pointing towards a skilled professional with a supplementary ability to develop performance, lead the organisation and participate proactively in political processes.

In compliance with the third and fourth immediate objective, the consequences of implementing a decision to marketize municipal park management organisations have been addressed on organisational as well as on workman level. Regarding the organisational level no typical sequence of transforming municipal park management organisations has been identified in this study. However, all cases studied have experienced series of events of change, eventually turning the municipal contractor organisation into more market-oriented enterprises. In fact, the movement from traditional hierarchy into market-like public organisations has been considerable, even though the process of change can be described as both evolutionary and pragmatic.

When looking at the transformation of municipal contractor organisations, the use of competitive tendering, contracting out and separation of

purchaser and provider functions have been found to be typical changes supporting the market-orientation of municipal park management organisations. Moreover, decentralisation initiatives in terms of introducing self-management agreements and self-governance working groups have been noted. Over time, several of the cases studied seem to be moderating the use of market-like mechanisms in order to retain advantages from previous practice. The structural transformation from hierarchy to market-like organisation is supplemented by a cultural transformation from a political to a commercial organisation. In order for the municipal staff to deal with both, the importance must be emphasized of creating a common corporate culture and spirit in order to overcome existing cultural differences, improve internal relations and create a satisfactory, productive and qualifying working environment.

4.2 Lessons learned

One development objective for this dissertation has been to derive lessons for the strengthening and development of Danish municipal park management organisations. In this part lessons will be outlined addressing the overall settings of Danish local government, change within municipal park management organisations and challenges to the roles of park managers.

The first lesson to learn is that change is a basic condition for contemporary park management organisations. Furthermore it is clear that reform strategies like New Public Management and various forms of decentralisation have had, and will continue to have, considerable impact on park management organisations and performance.

Secondly it must be emphasized, that every municipality has its own unique story to tell about how to deal with change. How the story unfolds depends basically on how impulses are translated locally and how roles and relations are defined and performed within the organisation, i.e. on the nature of the local political setting, on park managers' knowledge, interpretations and actions and on staff's feeling appreciated which can influence their attitude towards change.

In general, determination, joint concern and a persistent behaviour are critical for successfully changing municipal park management organisations. Marketization can be regarded as a new set of rules and roles in municipal

park management that can, if thoroughly implemented, strengthen the organisation and provide staff with an improved sense of professionalism, responsibility and solidarity. However, if some reject the new rules and roles, be it the politicians, managers or major parts of the staffs, energy seems to 'leak out' from day-to-day performance, professional development and production comes to a standstill, and dissatisfaction as well as frustration grow.

In the process of change it is important that both politicians and head managers follow up on the consequences of their decisions and take the opportunity to appreciate the members of staff for whom daily life has been altered. Additionally, it is important for the park managers to acknowledge the loyalty and accountability of the staff present. During the process of change, involvement, dialogue, creating ownership and space for everyone, a common spirit and respect for individual limitations must be keywords.

Looking back on the process of change, a large number of the interviewees indicated that the process has been necessary and good for the municipal organisation, as it has helped prepare the organisation for future competitive challenges. This attitude prevails regardless of the level of stress experienced during the process of change. Some interviewees also referred to the process of change as a personal learning experience, which has prevented them from getting wound up in old routines and bad habits

It is evident that the process of learning about contracting performance has provided Danish municipal contractor organisations with an overview of tasks to be carried out and procedures to be followed. When properly functioning, the resulting organisation leaves room for developing quality and professional standards as well as for optimising routines of cooperation.

Finally, lessons will be drawn in favour of park managers who are considered key actors when implementing change in park management organisations. Specifically, park manager skills required in different parts of the marketization process will be highlighted.

In a municipal political context, where decision-making is neither always rational nor focusing on the long-term consequences of decisions made, leading park managers can play an important role in times of change. Being in the right position and at the right time, with sufficient relational power and professional skills, is determining for park managers who wish to influence decision-making. Thus, even though what is 'right' and 'sufficient'

depends on local political and organisational culture, park managers can benefit from acting as strategic professionals. This encompasses having long-term professional objectives for the park management organisation and knowing about tools and instruments for specifying and optimising performance and quality as well as budgets. Moreover, to provide a sufficient basis for decision-making, an overview of related change experiences and a good professional network seems essential.

When implementing the relevant political decision, i.e. when building up a new professional organisation and/or exercising contracting performance, a broad range of skills are required. Some of these originate from the park management profession, while other are of a more organisational and social character.

When introducing organisational change, park managers must meet the requirements of competitive performance as well as address the long-term well being of organisations and staff. Specifically, when implementing competitive performance within the existing organisation, major cultural challenges must be dealt with. This is due to the introduction of, for example, new roles, routines and standards, leading altogether to an identity challenge for individuals. In order to deal with these issues organisational and social skills are essential. As shown, the involvement of consultants can be beneficial in this respect. Furthermore, when entering contracting involving external contractors, specific skills on tendering, assessing and selecting contractors, negotiating and structuring contract terms and monitoring and evaluating contractor performance are all compulsory.

5. OUTLOOK

As shown in this study, municipal park management organisations are constantly exposed to new impulses, adaptation demands and organisational change. Most recently, a structural reform has challenged Danish municipalities in general (Indenrigs- & Sundhedsministeriet 2006) and park management organisations in specific (Randrup & Lindegaard 2005) by merging municipalities into larger organisational units. Municipal park management organisations must strengthen themselves in order to benefit from this situation.

It is a lesson learned from the cases within this study, that overcoming contracting demands and organisational change has made future changes easier to cope with for the park management organisations. This lesson has also been emphasised by the employees on an individual level. For those who did not manage to learn from previous change experiences, the structural reform may be a lever into more beneficial arrangements. At least the neighbouring municipality might have a lesson or two to learn from.

Moreover, the unique set of arrangements applied in park management organisations in Denmark could be a challenge for joining efforts to provide the field with innovative solutions for the future. When a purchaser-provider organisation is not the same everywhere, when contracting is managed differently, when a park manager can be everything from a municipal planner to a city gardener, when political set up is crucial for the outcome, then there is a confusion of ideas, which makes it difficult to learn from each other, even with the best intentions. Hence, as an organisational field, municipal park management has a need for development back up, accumulation of experiences, mutual learning and enhanced formation of professional concepts, if the aim is to make a strategic and professional move forward. Otherwise, professional improvement and improving the ability to cope with new demands will still rest on park management organisations as single cases.

5.1 Marketization in the future

With recent demands from Danish state level government to increase the use of competitive tendering in the municipalities in the future (Regeringen &

Kommunernes Landsforening 2007) it seems evident that municipal park management organisations face marketization related change also in the years to come. Thus, evaluations of previous decision- making and practice must be provided in order to support future decision-making. Unfortunately, evaluations are not carried out very often neither in general nor specifically for the park management organisations. However, it seems relevant to evaluate within the organisational field of municipal park management in order to stress successful decision-making, beneficial implementation, development of new steering means and new forms of co-operation. As to the latter, Lindholst (2008) has recently suggested partnership-based contracting as a means to secure coordination, communication, motivation and restrain of power in green space maintenance contracting.

When continuing to evaluate decision-making, processes of organisational change and forms of co-operation, it is important to stress these issues' influence on the quality of park maintenance operations. As indicated by some of the cases in this study, a lack of professional contracting performance can, for example, result in unfortunate priorities on staff level, leading, eventually, to deterioration in the quality of green areas. Furthermore, a 'value for money' focus must be emphasized in future evaluations. As shown, politicians and top-managers have addressed economical consequences of marketization, since the primary reason for transforming the organisation has been to improve efficiency and competitiveness. Park managers have however, expressed their doubts about the overall economical benefits of e.g. going into competitive tendering. Moreover, despite the importance of this issue only a few economical evaluations have been available.

In conclusion, future evaluations should include attempts to link changes in park management organisation and procedures with the results of these changes, as they are experienced in the green areas. It seems that a general discussion of the (desired) quality of urban green space, and thus, the needs of the users, is necessary as a basis for this approach.

Regarded from an organisational field- perspective, municipal park management organisations have basically developed from focusing on green-space maintenance practice based on craftsman values, into focusing on competitive strategies and use of contracts based highly on economical values. Subsequently it has been indicated, that having learned how to use competitive tendering and contracting as procurement, park management organi-

sations will now be able to move on towards an outcome and service-quality oriented focus based on strategic professional values. Looking at previous research and innovation contributions supportive to the organisational field it becomes clear however, that something new have to be developed to take park management organisations to the next level.

There is no doubt that the release of common procurement tools in the late 1990s (Juul et al. 1998, Tang 2000) led to a major increase in the description of the technical quality of green areas. In 2004 focus was directed to the supplementary development of new forms of co-operation (Randrup et al. 2004), which has recently been developed further by Lindholst (2008). According to the present study marketization has increased focus on performance quality, process steering, roles and identities in park management and relations between different groups of actors. However, in order to support strategic professional development and to further improve the quality of urban green space, all of these issues will have to be integrated and brought into action together.

5.2 The park manager in the future

For municipal park managers the integration of strategic professional values is partly described in the portrait of 2nd generation-purchasers (Hansson & Lind 1997). In this study, a set of strategic park manager characteristics has been identified. Future research and innovation must address this characterisation further in order to provide municipal park managers with more specific guidelines and tools aimed at more strategic performance.

In order to improve everyday practice within the municipalities, the basic and continued education of park managers must support this development. However, it is important that the possible (and necessary) variation in park manager roles is emphasized during the education and that a matching range of different professional tools are developed and introduced.

Another interesting potential for municipal park-managers could be to draw on the emerging fourth reform strategy as identified by Klausen (2001), i.e. by initiating volunteer and business partnerships. Increased involvement of local user groups in order to qualify park managers' decision making, build up local ownership and clarify needs and potential conflicts, was part of the recommendations in the concept of integrated park management, which was introduced in the organisational field in 2004 (Randrup et

al. 2004). According to a range of municipal homepages, co-operation and dialogue with local users are used occasionally in Danish municipal park management. However a comprehensive overview of experiences is not available. In the USA and Great Britain, co-operation with volunteers in relation to park management is well known and covers funding as well as promotion and day-to-day maintenance (Mellergaard & Nielsen 2003, Hare & Nielsen 2003).

6. CRITICAL REFLECTIONS

Social research is to a certain extent subjective and biased (Kvale 1996, Maaløe 1999). Together with the researcher's sensitivity towards the field and his level of realisation, bias is determining both the starting point of research and interpretations made in the research process. Thus it is important that the preconceptions of the researcher are recognized and described (Maaløe 1999).

In this project sensitivity towards the field has been conditioned by the primary education and experience of the researcher: a landscape architect with a degree in municipal park management and previous employments in municipal organisations. Hence, the comprehension of park manager's situations has been based on professional skills, as well as on skills related to municipal practice, e.g. recognizing the significance of performing in a political environment. Likewise, the starting point of this dissertation has been linked to a practical perspective, pursuing an interest in identifying the most favourable organisational set up and processes regarded in a park manager perspective.

In general, the park manager perspective has been determining for the outline of this dissertation, both when focusing on the park manager role in decision-making, when exploring the organisational conditions framing park management performance, and when seeking to learn from organisational change. However, in the initial phases of this research the park management perspective was quite normative, supporting the belief that park managers in the role of experts should, by any means, pursue their professional interests. Becoming aware of this bias has been an important part of the research process, while at the same time acknowledging, that park management skills can be much more than professional capacity.

6.1 Research validity

A discussion of research validity must address data and the choices made in the research process, as well as the results presented in the dissertation (Kvale 1996, Maaløe 1999).

In this dissertation a qualitative research strategy based on case studies was considered the right choice of method for exploring and improving understanding of processes related to marketization in municipal organisations. Maximum variation cases (Flyvbjerg 2003) were identified, covering a difference in marketization related initiatives and attitudes, i.e. contracting plan, contracting process, choice and utilization of steering means, management attitudes towards organisational change, relations between politicians and park managers and use of purchaser-provider organisations. Hence, the cases supplemented each other and thus served as a broad basis for insight in marketization related change.

In each case, interviews and document studies were undertaken in order to explore decision-making and processes of marketization related change within the municipalities. In general, processes were poorly documented in the municipalities hence the choice of interviews as a primary data source can be considered appropriate. Due to the historical dimensions of the study, direct observation was not considered. When studying the consequences of change as experienced by the staff, interviews are considered an appropriate method correspondent with the aim of providing patterns of individual experiences (Flyvbjerg 2003).

Having utilized interviews as a primary data source, reliability of the methods used to provide results must be addressed. In qualitative research, reliability is connected to consistency, i.e. in the way that interviews are carried out (Jensen & Johnsen 2000). Consistency, thus, is about being sensitive to all groups of interviewees and staying open-minded in the interview situation throughout the whole period of the study. For the purpose of this dissertation, the first series of interviews were performed based on open-ended interview-guides (checklists), which left room for the interviewees to create their own narratives about change. This method worked quite well when interviewing park and works managers, while more specific questions were often needed when interviewing gardeners. Hence, the interview-guide for the second series of interviews consisted of three levels of increasingly detailed questions, which were used in the interviews if necessary (see Appendix 2).

As a basis for others to confirm and verify this research, detailed information about the cases, methods and data has been provided (see e.g. Appendix 1 and 2).

Other aspects of research validity, i.e. generalization and correspondence, are related to the presented results (Kvale 1996, Jensen & Johnsen 2000). In a qualitative research setting, these issues basically address the value for others and the value across time and place of the conducted research.

In this dissertation analytical generalisation has been aimed for (Kvale 1996, Maaløe 1999). Analytical generalisation is based on a thorough consideration of to what extent the results from one investigation can be used in other (similar) settings (Kvale 1996). In this study a thorough knowledge of processes, roles and relations associated with organisational change in six municipal park management organisations, has been obtained. Thus, analytical generalisation will come about as a logical, reflective extrapolation of the range, usefulness and understanding value of this knowledge to other cases with similar characteristics (Jensen & Johnsen 2000).

In this dissertation municipal park management organisations have been described as being part of the same organisational field, thus in many ways having similar characteristics in terms of e.g. historical background, organisational conditions and professional character. It has been concluded, however, that park management organisations appear in many different states of organisational development (paper B). Hence, relating to the actual process of organisational change in the municipalities it is most likely that insights from this study can be transferred to other municipalities. There is no doubt that similar considerations are valid regarding levels of marketization in municipal park management organisations (Juul & Nuppenau 2000a, Udliciteringsrådet 2005) and maybe even across Scandinavian borders (Randrup & Persson 2006).

Similar considerations can be made about the experienced cultural consequences of marketization in municipal contractor organisations as well (Haaning & Ladefoged 2005, Lau 2001, Munk 2001). As part of this study, issues such as local political structures and expectations towards park-manager roles as well as park-managers' strategic skills have been identified as critical for the policy process and its outcome. Hence, local characteristics regarding these issues must be considered when transferring insights from this study to other municipal settings.

Correspondence between reality and the provided results is related to a specific time and place (Jensen & Johnson 2000), in this case the years 2003 and 2004/05 where interviews were carried out. Even today, the municipali-

ties studied have experienced new events of change related to a structural reform in 2007 (Indenrigs- & Sundhedsministeriet 2006). As a consequence, the cases studied no longer exist, since all of the municipalities have been merged with other municipalities into larger units. Interviewing the same people today about their change experiences should, however, provide relatively corresponding results regarding the facts related to the periods of change studied (1985-2005). However, new job-situations and experiences can ultimately influence the level of reflection made by the interviewees and thus influence their memory and recognition of change.

In a longer time perspective additional events of change will eventually be added to the pearls-on-strings of experiences presented in this dissertation (paper B).

6.2 Theoretical reflections

In accordance with suggestions from Jørgensen (2000) on how to study change, this dissertation has addressed a range of different theoretical areas in relation to different phases of the research process (see section 2.2). In general, theory has been applied in order to advance the researchers preconception when developing research questions on all levels (see Figure 2.1) and improve sensitivity towards the field before going into series of interviews. Thus, theory has been applied in order to understand aspects of the practice studied, not to develop a consistent overall theoretical construction.

The process of interaction between theoretical and empirical development (the explorative integrative design as described in section 2.1) has been applied in relation to the process of change, even in the closing phases of writing up the synthesis.

In an overall perspective, this dissertation adds to a theory of park management practice which 1) departs from a specific practice and its related self-perceptions; 2) is guiding and normative in character, based on knowledge and interpretations of what is considered successful actions and decisions in specific situations, and 3) adds to the participants immediate knowledge because of a systematic, comprehensive and complex approach (Jensen and Johnsen 2000).

6.3 Methodological considerations

Inspired by Anthony Giddens' attempt to overcome the dualism of structure and agency (Giddens 1984, Busck & Nuppenau 2001), this dissertation has addressed the causes and consequences of marketization on both systems level and agent level. Analytically the dualism has been addressed by seeking to identify structural determining causes and consequences as well as individual responses to structural change and attempts to influence decisions and outcome.

According to Giddens (1984), structure and agency cannot be analysed simultaneously. However, the approach in paper A, addressing the role and influence of park managers and suggesting characteristics of the strategic park manager, can be regarded as an attempt to explore conditions of individual agency (contesting the role of the park manager) in a structural determining setting.

Change is experienced by actors within the organisation and should therefore include these actors when investigated. However, historical studies based on interviews require informants who are able to recollect the process of change as well as to separate past and present memories and experiences (Antonsen & Jørgensen 2000). In some cases, parts of the marketization process during the period 1985-2005 were prior to the informants' personal experiences within the organisations. Hence, in order to be certain about facts in the process of organisational change (for the purpose of paper B) interviews have been supplemented with document studies whenever possible. Politicians, park and works managers have described the policy process (for the purpose of paper A), based on their own experience with the process. Likewise, marketization related consequences for the staff (for the purpose of paper C), have been described by informants with personal experiences from the process of change.

It has been a general experience in this study that interviewees mention a number of events of change when questioned about their actual change experience. In other words, change is a common and well-known phenomenon in the every-day life of municipal staff. In general, no single event of change was mentioned as the most important, neither in the distinct cases nor in an overall perspective. For some interviewees, the importance of an event however, was closely related to the actual state of organisational development.

Hence, for some the most present event of change was described as the most important (beneficial). Others adhered to the past because present events of change were having unsatisfactory consequences on day-to-day working life. In general organisations with a tradition for systematically reflecting on the process of change have been more positive towards the overall process and its outcome when interviewed.

In paper B and C the interpretations made by organisational actors have been primary when categorising events of change. However, in order to provide an adequate picture of the change process, this approach requires interviews with a large number of people in the organisation (Antonsen & Jørgensen 2000). This dissertation is based on interviews with 41 persons in six municipalities (see Appendix 2 for an overview). It is obvious that adding informants could have added extra details to the study, however consistency between the individual narratives regarding the process of change has been evident. In general, the overall process of change identified in the cases is considered reliable based on the performed interviews. In one case, though, access to informants on policy level proved difficult, thus in this case the decision-making process is described entirely based on interviews with works managers.

As described above the dissertation is based on six cases, chosen with a maximum variation in terms of marketization related initiatives and attitudes. Thus, every case is a unique setting, implying that the case study approaches has differed in order to provide relevant and sufficient data.

In this dissertation, the case study approach has been determined by

- *Access to the organisation.* Some organisations were open and curious, providing relevant information and sufficient time for interviews. Others were sceptical, difficult to access and less willing to provide time for interviews.
- *Informants' personality and attitude*. Some were open and informative; some were good at telling their story. Others held back and needed specific questions to talk. Some were sceptical towards the project as well as towards subsequent use of data. Hence, staff interviews have been made anonymous (see Appendix 2).
- *Course of the marketization process*. Organisational experiences vary in timing and character. Some have already systematically reflected on the process in common. Others are left alone with their worries,

and are, thus, unaccustomed to talking about and reflecting on their experiences.

- *Quality of the marketization process*. Some processes have been open and well informed with a high communication level. Others have suffered from poor or no communication. Some have had elements of bottom-up influence, while others have been strictly top-down.
- *Managers' approach and attitude*. Some managers have worked intensely for marketization, i.e. implementing structural as well as cultural change. Others have implemented the least possible changes in order to fulfil immediate political demands for marketization.
- *Political memory*. In some cases the decision to marketize, i.e. go into contracting was made several years ago. Thus, most politicians interviewed had difficulties addressing the arguments regarding this specific decision, since it was based on immediate negotiations. Instead they turned into making ideological statements regarding marketization. For this reason the overall number of interviews with politicians were reduced.

Basically, the overall purpose of this dissertation for me as a researcher has been to improve the understanding of how municipal park management organisations work. Selecting marketization as the main perspective of the study has added specific viewpoints to this purpose, i.e. 'how park management organisations make policy' and 'how park management organisations handle change'. Thus, besides adding to the overall purpose, this dissertation has added knowledge on marketization, what it is and where it comes from, as well as on organisational development of park management organisations in Denmark during the period of 1985-2005.

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8. PAPERS

Paper A: Nuppenau C:

Danish municipal park managers' impact on policy making. Submitted to Urban Forestry & Urban Greening.

Paper B: Nuppenau C:

Public Administration in change: A case study of steering reforms within municipal park management in Denmark. Manuscript for Public Administration & Management (An Interactive Journal).

Paper C: Nuppenau C:

Handle with care: A case study of the impact of marketization efforts on the working life of gardeners in Danish public service provider organisations. Manuscript for Urban Forestry & Urban Greening.

DANISH MUNICIPAL PARK MANAGERS' IMPACT ON POLICY MAKING

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Abstract

Influenced by New Public Management (NPM) Danish municipal organisations have been subject to changes with decisive consequences for the coherence of management. A considerable effort from municipal park managers is expected in an attempt to influence the decision on change. Starting from this hypothesis the paper investigates the public policy- and decision-making process at municipal governmental level in Denmark with emphasis on the relationship between decisions of change and the role of park managers. The study identifies four different roles that park managers can adopt in policy making yet argues that the level of impact differs with park managers' timing in terms of entering the policy process, existing power relations between politicians and experts and park managers' professional and management skills.

Keywords: Case study, local government, manager role, marketization, municipal organisation, policy process, urban green space

Introduction

Like many other western democracies Denmark has been influenced by the New Public Management (NPM) reform of public organisations during the past 25 years (Massey 1997). This development has led to the break-up of traditional bureaucratic structures, attempts to increase competition within the public sector, adoption of private sector corporate practices and deregulation of government in favour of market approaches (Hood 1991). In order to reduce hierarchical and subordinating relations a range of reorganizing principles have been introduced. These include direct privatization, contracting out and purchaser-provider organisational models (Hansen 1999) featuring

new steering means like compulsory competitive tendering, market testing and intra-governmental contracting (Dunleavy 1997).

In this paper the process of transforming public organisations into competent market players based on the principles in NPM will be referred to - in one term - as a "marketization process". Colling & Ferner (1995) has described marketization as a form of reducing the role of the public sector, involving attempts to introduce competitive pressures and managerial disciplines into public services. Hence marketization is regarded as an internal oppositional alternative to privatisation, where public corporations are in fact sold off.

The focus in this paper will be on park management (a term referring to management of all municipal green space) as it is carried out in Danish municipalities. In Denmark, park management is most often a part of the municipal technical sector serving the Technical and/or Cultural political committee (Juul & Nuppenau 2000b) on behalf of the city council. Municipal park management in Denmark is not regulated by law but falls under the "general competence rules", implying that the task is taken on voluntarily by the municipalities. Hence the variation among municipalities in terms of budgets, political and organisational attention; presence of professional staff and total area of public green-space is considerable (Juul & Nuppenau 2000a).

Since the beginning of the 1990s Danish municipalities have increasingly introduced purchaser-provider organisations, contracting out, price testing and in-house contracting within their technical sector (Kommunernes Landsforening 2005) which has affected also the steering and organisation of park management (Juul & Nuppenau 2000b, Nilsson & Nuppenau 2000). For park managers these changes have led to a variety in role settings, acknowledging the actual difference in tasks carried out by park managers and the nature of the local organisational setting in which they work. In this paper an actor dealing with policy-making, planning and purchaser activities in the municipal administration will be referred to as a park manager. The park manager then, represents the highest level of professional skill concerning park issues available within the municipal organisation. Likewise, the works manager is the actor dealing with day-to-day green-space maintenance on an operational and technical level, covering the tasks of operations planning and corporate development in the municipal contractor organisation. The actual

day-to-day maintenance is carried out by the working staff, among which the gardener represents the highest available craftsmanship concerning green tasks.

Apart from increased reorganisation and the introduction of new roles in municipal park management, the marketization process has also had a determining impact on the working conditions of the professionals. An influential Danish professor of landscape architecture has stressed the importance of coherence between overall planning and day-to-day maintenance in municipal park management (Olsen 2001). Since competitive tendering, contracting out and the separation of purchaser and provider functions are all changes threatening this coherence, Olsen expresses his professional scepticism towards these reorganizing principles on behalf of professionals within municipal park management.

With coherence being regarded as professionally decisive one would expect a considerable effort from the municipal park managers to influence the decision to marketize. They would do so in order to prevent a separation of strategic planning and development from day-to-day maintenance, as well as to prevent inclusion of and increased cooperation with private contractors in the municipal organisational setting. One means to do so would be to provide the politicians with detailed figures of internal efficiency and competitiveness in order to keep maintenance tasks within the existing organisation. However, many park maintenance services have been contracted out during the last decade (Juul & Nuppenau 2000b, Kommunernes Landsforening 2001, Nuppenau et al. 2005). Moreover, within the field of municipal park management strong indicators exist of increased market focus and efforts to improve co-operation between public and private actors (Haaning & Ladefoged 2005, Juul & Nuppenau 2001, Lindholst & Randrup 2004, Lindholst et. al. 2004, Randrup et al. 2004). The role and actual influence of municipal park managers in this development however, is not clear.

In order to explore the role as well as the influence of park managers in the marketization process, this paper addresses the municipal policy and decision-making process with the following questions:

- How was the policy and decision-making process related to marketizing municipal park management carried out?
- What actions were taken by municipal park managers in order to influence policy and decision-making?
- What are the preconditions for park managers to make an impact on the policy process and outcome?

Developing an analytical tool

The Danish municipal organisation is fundamentally governmental and hierarchical in its character, supporting a rather uniform decision making structure (Bogason 2000). In recent years municipal government has been influenced by governance characteristics (Sehested 2002) suggesting an increased complexity in determining the legitimate policy actors, and a more complex policy process. However so far, governance tendencies have mostly been recognized within the framework of traditional municipal government (Sehested 2002).

In the traditional hierarchical organisation politicians are considered formal decision makers and thereby sole actors in setting objectives and priorities (Lundquist 1992). The primary function of the municipal administration is thus to serve the political decision-makers in this process. However, in order to advance their own interests' managers can eventually try to influence decision-making by participating actively in the policy process (Colebatch 1998). According to Colebatch (1998) policy and decision-making can be carried out as a top-down exercise of government to pursue objectives that are more or less determined and agreed upon from the start. Alternatively, decisions can be made in a more process-oriented way that involves more people and a diversity of interests (Hogwood & Gunn 1984) and where agenda setting is a part of the initial process (Colebatch 1998). The actors' way into the policy process is a matter of holding authority or expertise in relation to the issue at hand. Legitimate authority is often connected to the politicians while experts are mostly involved in policy making in order to solve problems (Colebatch 1998).

In the traditional hierarchical government the policy process has been described as consisting of a number of stages in a more or less linear order progressing directly from objective to outcome (Hogwood & Gunn 1984, Premfors 1989, Lundquist 1992, Colebatch 1998). Since the stage approach has been developed in the early years of policy theory concerned i.e. with improving the relation between process and outcome, the stage model has been criticized for creating an artificial and much too simple picture of what is really happening in the policy process (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith 1993). However the stage model may still be used as an analytical tool in order to reduce complexity to a more manageable form (Parsons 1995). In this paper

the stage model is considered as a framework for investigating the roles and influence of politicians and civil servants in the initial part of the policy process leading to marketization within municipal park management. However the word phase is preferred, in order to reduce the sense of serial relations between the phases in the process. The framework is provided in Figure 1.

Lundquist 1992	Hogwood & Gunn 1983	Premfors 1989
Setting the agenda / initiating	Deciding to decide	Problem
	Deciding how to decide	
	Issue definition	
Preparing the decision	Forecasting	Alternatives
		Recommendations
Deciding / choosing among alternatives	Setting objectives and priorities	Decision
Implementation	Options analysis	Implementation
	Policy implementation, monitoring and control	
Evaluation	Evaluation and review (outcome)	Evaluation
	Policy maintenance, succession or termination	Guidance and programs for future action, continuing, change, termination

Phase model Nuppenau 2008	Phase
Issue search or agenda setting	1
Issue analysis, definition and filtration	2
Alternatives	3
Recommendations	4
Setting objectives and priorities	5
Options analysis	6
Policy implementation, monitoring and control (output)	7
Evaluation and review (outcome)	8
Guidance and programs for future action	9

Figure 1. A phase model describing the policy process in nine phases is developed based on theoretical contributions from Lundquist 1992, Hogwood & Gunn 1983 and Premfors 1989.

The phase model departs from a description of the policy process within public organisations developed by Lundquist (1992). This description includes five phases, whereas two; setting the agenda and preparing the decision is previous to decision-making and two; implementation and evaluation is subsequent to decision-making. These are the phases where experts can, eventually, influence decision-making and its outcome. Phase number three, choosing among alternatives, is the phase of the politicians' (Lundquist 1992).

In order to use the phase model as an analytical tool when scrutinizing the policy processes in Danish park management organisations, the description developed by Lundquist (1992) has been detailed by suggestions from Hogwood & Gunn (1984) and Premfors (1989) (see Figure 1). By separating some of the phases, a more specific phase model has been developed.

As the paper focuses primarily on the phases leading to the decision to marketize, the analytical tool covers phase 1-5 in the phase model (see Table 1).

Analytical tool Nuppenau 2008	Phase
Issue search or agenda setting	1
Issue analysis, definition and filtration	2
Alternatives	3
Recommendations	4
Setting objectives and priorities	5

Table 1. An analytical tool in five phases for scrutinizing the decision-making process

Methods and Data

Case studies were carried out in six Danish municipalities during 2003/04: Assens, Fredensborg-Humlebæk, Herning, Køge, Nordborg and Roskilde.

The overall study as presented in Nuppenau (2008) was carried out as a collective case study with an instrumental purpose (Stake 2000). In this sense one case can be regarded as an instrument to support and facilitate the understanding of municipal park management. A collection of cases was deemed necessary for obtaining a broader perspective on the phenomenon of marketization within municipal park management, than available from just a single case. Furthermore a collection of cases supports understanding and allows for theorizing related to the phenomenon of marketization (Stake 2000).

CRITERIA FOR SELECTING THE CASES

In this study the cases were selected to supplement each other, as they were known in advance to possess different characteristics in terms of marketization. Operative in the same organisational and professional field, the cases were expected to have some similar characteristics, yet they were known to be different in size of enterprise, corporate culture and management tradition.

Another criterion for selection of municipalities for the study was the presence of a discursive attitude towards marketization and the changes experienced. Three municipalities where known to follow a policy of large-scale contracting, that is contracting out all municipal road and park maintenance services, within a period of one to five years. The other three municipalities where known to oppose large-scale contracting, instead using small-scale contracting or other means to achieve efficiency and competitiveness within their own organisation.

The cases were identified within the municipal context as those organisational units dealing with park issues. One case may therefore consist of a various number of organisational units, depending on the local organisational setting. All municipalities chosen have their own municipal contractors organisation, providing all or major parts of the road and park services today. Some municipalities have only the contractor's organisation dealing with park issues while others have both a purchaser and a provider (contractors) unit within the municipal organisation. An overview of municipal policy and organisational characteristics is presented in Table 2.

Municipality	Inhabi-tants (2004)	Total area of munici-pality (ha)	Area of city green space (ha)	Green space maintenance budget (mio D.kr. per year)	Contract-ing policy (1)	Pur-chaser function	Number of work-ers em-ployed (2)
Assens	10,900	14,024	87	4	Large-scale	Yes	40
Fredensborg-Humlebæk	19,900	7,209	Data not available	16	Large-scale	Yes	24
Herning	59,000	54,160	1712 (3)	21	Small-scale, 30% on contract	Yes	110
Køge	39,600	11,938	320	14	Large-scale over a five-year period	Yes	120
Nordborg	14,100	12,478	86 (4)	6	Small-scale if convenient	No	46
Roskilde	53,600	8,075	200	16 + on account	Small-scale, 20% on contract	Yes	110

Table 2. Municipalities chosen for study – an overview of municipal characteristics

(1) Large-scale contracting is contracting out all municipal road and park service delivery at one time. Small-scale contracting is contracting out parts of municipal road and park service delivery (Nuppenau et al 2005)

(2) Workers in the municipal contractors organisation occupied with park and road services. In Køge the municipal contractor also carries out sewage and environmental services and the total number of employees is 235.

(3) Situated in a rural district. City green space includes larger nature areas

(4) Estimated figure

CASE STUDY DESIGN

Following the in-depth methodology of the instrumental case study (Stake 2000) the phenomenon of marketization within municipal park management has been studied within each case, using qualitative methods (interviews and document analysis).

The primary sources of information for this paper have been open-ended interviews with leading park managers and works managers. Interviews have followed a basic interview-guide and were supplemented with semi-structured interviews with politicians, both members of the leading party and/or members of the opposition (Table 3). Interviews with politicians and works managers were carried out to complete and triangulate the policy stories told by park managers.

All interviews were carried out face-to-face either with one person at a time or in groups of two to three persons. Attendance in group-interviews was voluntarily and usually on the initiative of the interviewees, in order to help each other to recollect the period of change.

	Total number of persons interviewed	Total number of interviews carried out	Interview length
Politicians	6	6	15-30 min.
Park and works managers	15	12	1½-2½ hours

Table 3. Conducted interviews with politicians and park managers – an overview

Interviews with park managers were taped and transcribed resulting in an extended rapport from the interview that closely followed the progression of the interview as well as the language used by the interviewee. As a next step the transcription was re-arranged following the overall headlines in the interview guide: 1) marketization plan, 2) consequences, 3) experiences and 4) future development. Interviews with works managers were taped and transcribed likewise, yet with focus in greater detail on the consequences of marketization within the municipal contractors organisation. Interviews with the politicians were carried out by telephone, taking hand-written notes according to a standard interview-guide, and with focus on the political motivation and pre-evaluation of consequences related to the marketization decision.

Analysis of available documents (such as policies, statutory service strategies, political and managerial resolutions) supplemented the interviews

and the writing of case reports. However, accessibility to written documentation has differed widely between the cases.

For each case the marketization process was reported in a "case policy narrative", that is a compilation of the stories told by the three groups of interviewees. The case policy narratives were developed from the rearranged transcriptions by carrying out analysis focusing on the process issues of marketization: what happened, who was involved, how and why? The case policy narratives are part of the case reports and can be reviewed in full length in Nuppenau (2008).

Following the delimitation of the paper, analysis based on the case policy narratives includes only the five initial phases of the policy processes leading to marketization in municipal organisations (Table 1). Based on the investigation of these policy processes, the cases are used in order to develop and exemplify four different modes of action being expressed as four park manager roles in policy-making. Based on these roles, the preconditions of park managers' impact on the policy process and its outcome are discussed.

Studying the policy process

Analyses of the policy processes according to the analytical tool resulted in a structural overview of the processes carried out. This is presented in Figure 2 through marking the respective phases of the policy process. A phase was marked if politicians and park managers respectively according to the case policy narrative undertook it actively.

	Phase	Assens	Nordborg	Herning	Fredensborg-Humlebæk	Køge	Roskilde
Issue search or agenda setting	1	Pol	Pol	Man	Pol	Pol	Pol
Issue analysis, definition and filtration	2				Pol	Pol	Man
Alternatives	3		Pol		Man	Man	Man
Recommendations	4				Man	Man	Man
Setting objectives and priorities	5	Pol	Pol	Man	Pol	Pol	Man

Pol	Political dominated phase
Man	Park manager involved in this phase

Figure 2. Analysis of the decision-making process and actors involved.
A square has been marked if the phase according to the case policy narrative has been approached actively. The phases have not necessarily been carried out in the indicated order nor do the markings mean that identical events have happened within the cases.

The phases marked have not necessarily been carried out in the indicated order nor do the markings mean that identical events have happened within the cases. Figure 2 also indicates the presence of policy actors within the phases of the policy process. When politicians dominate a phase, this means that park managers could have been involved but only in an observing role. A phase with park managers involved means that managers have actually taken action within this phase of the process.

Based on the structural overview given, the cases can be divided into two groups. The first group covers the three cases where policy making was carried out in an almost direct line from setting the agenda to setting objectives, and where the issue analysis and preparation phases (2-4) were more or less absent. In these cases the issue of marketization was brought up either politically or administratively, leading directly to a decision to go into large scale-

competitive tendering or to introduce reorganizing principles and new steering means in order to turn the traditional organisation towards the market.

In the second group of cases, the politicians have to some extent carried out issue analysis, although mostly in order to satisfy an intrusive political opposition. At this level of policy making political argumentation has been performed primarily on ideological premises veiled in economical concern and focusing on the expected overall value of change. The preparation phases (3-4) have been more significantly included within these cases, together with some sort of evaluation of existing practice, elaborating alternative solutions and seeking to learn from others. However, only one systematic evaluation of economical and/or organisational consequences of the solutions discussed seems to have been carried out. Another significant fact in these cases is the involvement of park managers in the preparation phase, thus to some extent resulting in influence on both the structure of the policy process as well as its outcome.

The studied policy processes only to some extent appear linear in their structure, yet apparently this has nothing to do with 'networking complexity' in terms of involving a multitude of policy actors. In fact the cases show that merely politicians and leading park managers have been actively involved in policy making at this level. In only one case were working foremen involved in the process in terms of participating in an internal hearing, yet they had no noticeable influence on the process or the decision outcome. Rather the missing linearity of policy making appears as a result of a "double-loop" political decision-making, where politicians in the initial phase take a principle decision to introduce competitive tendering followed up by a more detailed planning phase also involving the park managers. This is subsequently followed up by a new phase of political decision-making. In this sense "double looping" is a result of lack of information about solutions, leading to a dialogue between politicians and administration (professionals) aimed at providing better information before making the final decision.

When analysing the phases of the policy processes in terms of actors involved, Figure 2 shows that a political dominance is likely in the initial phases (1-2). In other words politicians are the ones who bring up the issue of marketization in the selected Danish municipalities.

In one case this is not quite clear, however, since the decision to turn the traditional single-unit Park Department in Herning into a self-managing mu-

nicipal unit was made by the park managers. In order to marketize the organisation park managers introduced new steering means such as new forms of budgeting, making expenditures visible and including all costs, describing volumes and quality of green-space services and using small scale contracting. In this case park manager's actions were a response to a dominant political ideology of minimizing public organisation, an ideology of which the park managers did not approve. Instead they tried constantly to be ahead of the political decisions, setting the agenda themselves in order to convince the politicians, that they were already taking action in the strived direction. However, facing a threat of eventually minimizing the municipal organisation, park managers must have felt the urge to take action in order to improve their own chance to survive in the long run. Hence the underlying political assumption of the optimal public organisation was probably contributory to the agenda setting initiated by the park managers.

As can be derived from Figure 2, the preparation phases of the policy process (3-4) are not always taken into consideration when policy is made. This is the case although in these phases municipalities could eventually learn from each other and/or elaborate alternative development scenarios seeking the best possible way forward. When carried out, the preparation phases typically involve park managers yet participation can take on many forms.

In two cases park managers acted in the preparation phase of the policy process based on a political principle decision to contract out municipal park management. In Fredensborg-Humlebæk the park manager was asked for suggestions on how contracting out should be performed. A process in two phases was suggested; a one-year preparation phase followed by a tendering and contracting phase, with a political decision in between to settle on a contracting strategy. In the preparation phase the road and park organisation described the services to be put out to tender, while an external adviser worked out and evaluated the consequences of a number of alternative contracting strategies. The park manager recommended large-scale tendering and the politicians decided to go along with this. In Køge, park managers were also invited to take part in the policy process, yet they played a less-decisive role due to strong political influence in the process. In this case the park manager along with the technical director and the works manager developed a basis for political decision-making, suggesting formally the sepa-

ration of the municipal contractor's organisation from the technical department. An ad hoc political committee was established with the technical director, and the park- and works managers serving as secretary and professional advisers. Together they developed a recommendation report for the city council, which included a five-years tendering plan for road and park maintenance.

In both cases described, park mangers' policy actions were responsive to the political decision, seeking as much influence as possible on development-scenarios and implementation, yet not questioning the political principle decision. In Fredensborg-Humlebæk the influence on the decision outcome was decisive, as the politicians in the end followed the park managers' recommendations. However, by suggesting large-scale tendering in order to satisfy the political need for proof of competitiveness, the park managers were at the same time facing the possible termination of the municipal providers' organisation should an external contractor win the bid. For the municipal providers' organisation this meant a long period of dealing with insecurity, but also a common outset for developing a competitive market related municipal enterprise. In Køge, the park manager's influence on the final result was due to a long-term series of actions not related directly to decision-making. As an example the five-years tendering plan was basically following task analyses done by the park and works manager, some five years before the principal political decision to contract out was made. Furthermore, during the preparation of the future organisational setting as well as in developing the recommendation report for the city council, the park manager used his professional and executive position to influence policy outcome. He did this, for example, by proposing a strengthening of the purchaser organisation stressing increased demands for professional competences and resources.

In Roskilde as well, park managers were involved in the preparation phases (3-4) after a principal political decision to contract out. In this case the politicians decided twice in four years to contract out in relation to budget negotiations. To comply with future contracting decisions the park manager decided to adjust park management to competitive situations, by proposing the implementation of a purchaser-provider organisation as well as by introducing new steering means in terms of registration of space, resource management systems, project or task budgeting and new accountancy

principles. As illustrated, the overall policy process was initiated by sudden political decisions to contract out. However park managers had no direct policy influence in these events, even though they were involved in the preparation phases. Only subsequently did park managers decide to take action in order to prepare the municipal organisation for future competitive situations. In Nordborg as well did a political decision to make the municipal contractors organisation function on market terms bring along an obligation for the road- and park manager to continuously test his own prices against those on the private market. The park manger acknowledged the political decision and decided subsequently to initiate changes within the organisation in order to improve competitiveness and adjust corporate culture to the new circumstances.

The park manager in Assens did not act to influence decision-making, nor the ways of implementation recommended by his superiors. Instead he accepted the political decision to go into competitive tendering with road and park maintenance and obeyed it by fulfilling the task of surveying and describing existing practice together with a private consultancy.

Modelling the roles of park managers

The described actions taken by park managers during different phases of the policy process enables a model characterizing four park manager roles in municipal policy making (Table 4). Following the order from which they have appeared above, these roles are: 1) the agenda-setting park manager, 2) the responsive park manager, 3) the post-rationalizing park manager and 4) the obedient park manager. Further roles might be found if investigating further cases. However, the four roles are expected to represent a suitable variety and range, as the six cases in this study where chosen as complementary in their policy making practice.

Park managers role in policy making	Strategic involvement
The agenda-setting	Initiates change before a political demand arise
The responsive	Accepts the political decision but seeks to influence development and implementation scenarios
The post-rationalizing	Accepts the political decision and subsequently works to adapt the organisation to the new conditions
The obedient	Accepts the political decision and superior recommendations for implementation

Table 4. Typology of park managers' roles in policy making

Going through the roles one by one, the agenda-setting park manager takes action during a very early phase of the policy process, before the general political pressure becomes a genuine order and hence he attains a high level of impact on policy. The organisational set-up allows him to do so, supporting power relations towards the politicians that leave him with the freedom to act within a widely accepted political ideological frame. Furthermore his professional and management skills and experience are supporting his strategic involvement, as he is basically seeking to develop his field of expertise.

Being less enterprising, the responsive park manager only takes action when politicians formulate a genuine request for organisational development, implemented as a principle political decision. Using his professional and management skills in order to develop his field of expertise, the responsive park manager seeks to influence the policy process and its outcome, with or without a formal invitation from the politicians to do so. In this situation the level of impact to be attained by the responsive park manager is considered rather high because of the early involvement in the policy process. However, when looking at the cases, the level of impact will depend on the level of political unity towards development changes, the existing power relations between park managers and the politicians and the political amenability for professional advise in decision-making.

Like the responsive park manager, the post-rationalizing park manager initially accepts the political decision, perhaps because of the nature of existing power relations between politicians and professionals, or maybe because he is not formally invited to participate in developing policy. However, the

post-rationalizing park manager with professional and management skills finds other ways to develop his field of expertise. Regarding the political decision, he decides to improve his situation by taking initiatives that were not at first asked for by the politicians and from which he, in the long run, can derive influence on policy outcome. The level of impact attained by the post-rationalizing park manager is therefore dependent on the politicians to approve of his initiatives, and thereby on the existing power relations between park managers and politicians. Also, on this level of influence, the park manager is dependent on the goodwill towards change within the existing organisation. As change is not politically determined, the park manager will have to lean on his leadership skills in order to stimulate change.

The obedient park manager, finally, initially accepts the political decision and his superiors' recommendations for implementation, and his impact on policy and policy outcome is very low. This can of course be due to the fact that the park manager agrees to the decision and finds his field of expertise fully compliant with the new situation. The organisational setting and existing power relations favouring political influence on municipal development can probably also fix the obedient park manager in this role. If the park manager is not in an organisational position supporting his access to the policy process, gaining influence is even more difficult and most likely demands increased professional, management and political skills.

Park manager's impact on the policy process

We have seen how park managers' roles in policy-making are defined in terms of their strategic involvement (in Table 4). As experts within the municipal organisation, park managers are expected to support political decision-making by solving technical problems and suggesting municipal development in their field of expertise (Colebatch 1998). Part of the park manager role is therefore to perform strategically, that is to pursue professional visions and goals taking into consideration the entirety of municipal development as well as limitations of the organisational and political setting. Thus, the term strategic involvement covers the nature of activities and timing of actions carried out by the park manager in order to gain influence on municipal and/or organisational development. Based on the cases studied and

the four park manager roles developed above, park managers' impact on municipal policy processes will be discussed in the following.

The cases show how authority and expertise are both important in the policy process. It is also obvious that experts have other ways to influence policy outcome than through mere problem solving. Within the cases both traditional political decision-making situations, as well as administrative influences on decision-making have been identified. Local differences in role setting and power relations between politicians and experts are probably part of the explanation why some park managers have been actively involved in setting objectives and priorities. In these cases decision-making concerned the introduction of new steering means into the municipal organisation as well as suggestions of reorganisation. Marking the phases with park manager influence (in Figure 2) indicates that park managers initiated these changes by actively setting the issues on the political agenda. Hence following traditional governmental practice within the municipal system, politicians confirmed these administrative decisions before they were implemented.

Supplementing the power-relation explanation is the fact that the presence of professional competence and commitment as well as management experience within the cases differs. According to Van Slyke & Hammonds (2003), who studied contractual relationships within the field of park management in the USA, public managers have a critical role to play when privatising public park services. In order to gain influence even during the early phases of the policy process, managers must have management, leadership and political skills, as well as experience in government, strong personalities and technical expertise (Van Slyke & Hammons 2003). In Fredensborg-Humlebæk, Herning, Nordborg, Køge and Roskilde the park managers participating in the policy process were academic professionals with a long-term management experience within municipal park management.

In Table 5 an overview of the relations between park managers' roles in policy making, impact on the policy process and policy outcome, as well as conditions of influence is presented.

Based on the presented data the impact of park managers on the policy process and outcome has been evaluated, as well as the level of strategic involvement, professional skills and power relations as discussed above. Overall the results show that the presence of skilled park managers within mu-

nicipal organisations is important, for utilizing the policy process to make professional contributions to municipal development.

Park manager	Impact on policy process	Impact on policy outcome	Strategic involvement	Primary involvement phases	Skills (1)	Power relations
Agenda setting	High	High	High	1-2	Pro Man Pol	Expert authority
Responsive	Moderate	Moderate to high	High	3-4	Pro Man Pol	Political and expert authority
Post-rationalizing	Low	Moderate possibly long-term	Moderate	6	Pro Man	Political authority
Obedient	None	Low/ None	Low	7	Man	Political authority

Table 5. Relation between park manager roles and influence
(1): Pro = professional, Man = management, Pol = Political

Others have studied the importance of 'contract management capacity' related to privatization and marketization processes within public management. They have found that managers have critical roles to play when developing good contracting agreements (Van Slyke and Hammonds 2003), acting as 'smart buyers' (Kettl 1993), ensuring contract performances (Brown and Potoski 2003), preserving accountability towards the public and eventually forecasting effects of privatization (Van Slyke and Hammonds 2003). As regards the policy process of marketization within Danish municipalities, the mentioned activities must be part of the strategic performance to be expected from the professional park manager and are, as such, part of the term strategic involvement used to distinguish between the park managers roles developed above.

In this study the roles developed are based on park manager performance within policy making. Referring to municipal park management in Sweden, Hansson and Lind (1997) have discussed the development of the purchaser role, but based on task characteristics. They argue that park managers in the purchaser function are developing towards a 'second purchaser generation', increasingly facing development activities to supplement the former domi-

nant activity; production steering. Furthermore an ‘owner’ rather than a ‘production’ identity is developing among park managers, as well as a need for building networks to strengthen capacity and competences transverse formal hierarchy. Together these tendencies can be regarded as a development towards a more strategic park manager, broadening professional and management skills in order to increase the managers’ strategic involvement within the municipal organisation, and thus also in policy making.

Appearance of new roles

Sehested (2003) has studied the changing roles of city planners within Danish municipal organisations, following changing forms of municipal overall planning. Formulating visions and goals on an overall city level, city planners must be considered highly strategically performers within the municipality. Hence even though they do not perform on the same planning level, the roles developed for city planners can be useful when exploring the roles of park managers acting strategically. As in Hansson and Lind (1997), the roles developed by Sehested are based on tasks carried out by city planners. Following the study of Sehested (2003) four new role-types are developing for the municipal city planners, of whom two are modern versions of the classical roles within public organisation. The professional development consultant is described as a modern version of the professional (Ejersbo et.al. 1997) now accepting political power as a legitimate rationality in planning (Sehested 2003). The manager is the modern version of the civil servant, loyally following the political decisions as long as they live up to certain democratic ethics (Lundquist 1998). Both role types are characterized by acting within closed and formal networks of elitist or representative nature, which as described earlier, is precisely the situation for park managers involved in the marketization policy process. Hence, some park managers involved in this study could be characterized as professional development consultants turning towards an owner identity and more strategic performance, acting in an agenda-setting, responsive or post-rationalizing way when participating in policy making. Others can be characterized as managers following political decisions without arguments and acting obedient to the political decisions when participating in policy making.

Given the cases in this study it is clear that park managers have to adapt to various tasks and working situations and most often cannot be characterized by one role type only. As pointed out by Sehested (2003) in relation to the roles of city planners, ‘zapping’ between role types and modes of conduct, adjusting them to fit into actual planning and policy situations, is probably a new skill to be expected from municipal park managers.

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PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN CHANGE: A CASE STUDY OF STEERING REFORMS WITHIN MUNICIPAL PARK MANAGEMENT ORGANISATIONS IN DENMARK

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Abstract

As many other OECD-countries Denmark has been subject to a "new public management-wave" within public administration. New Public Management (NPM) has been referred to as a managerial revolution in public bureaucracies, yet it has also been characterised as a differentiated movement of change, usually not pursued as a coherent strategy even when many of the consequential changes occur together. In Denmark public organisations have experienced a range of reforms based on decentralisation of power and responsibility from state to local governmental level, to internal organisational units, to private partners and eventually to users of many kinds. In order to derive lessons for future development this paper explores the organising principles and mechanisms that have been used in municipal park management in Denmark during the past 15 to 20 years. The presented study has been carried out within six Danish municipal park administrations (local governmental level) and service providing (contractor) organisations. Findings show that change within municipal park management has not been the result of an intentional long-term professional strategy. Rather, park and works managers have responded to societal and political demands for efficiency and competitiveness in an evolutionary and rather pragmatic way. Moreover marketization related change has been concerned with in-house adaptations rather than fully approaching the private market. In addition municipalities tend to recoil the use of market-like mechanisms over time in order to retain advantages from previous practice.

Keywords: New Public Management, NPM, public service, green-space management, local government, governance, Denmark

Introduction

Like many other countries, Denmark has been subject to a "New Public Management-wave" within public organisation. New Public Management (hereafter NPM) has by some been referred to as a managerial revolution in public bureaucracies (Pierre 1995), while others see it as a differentiated movement of change, usually not pursued as a coherent strategy even when many of the consequential changes occur together (Dunleavy 1997).

NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

Greve (2002) has suggested six different meanings of the term NPM based on different theoretical contributions:

- NPM as a new idea or administrative doctrine, emphasizing the content and elements of the process of change in public organisations
- NPM as a global reform movement, stressing the implementation of administrative and institutional reforms within the public sector world-wide
- NPM as a toolbox for management and steering within the public sector
- NPM as a public management policy on how to change the public sector
- NPM as the introduction of contract steering in public management
- NPM as a discourse in public management

As part of a global reform movement NPM can be regarded as a reaction to and against the bureaucracy of public organisations (Klausen & Ståhlberg 1998). According to Hood (1995) the traditional bureaucratic public administration stresses two basic management doctrines; 1) to keep the public sector distinct from the private sector in terms of organisational design, ethos, methods of doing business, rewards and career structure and 2) to prevent favouritism and corruption through the elaboration of a structure of procedural rules and to keep distance between politicians and administration. With a wide range of elements NPM has challenged this mode of management, basically reversing the doctrines into a new administrative doctrine, integrating sense of corporatism, competition, private sector styles, management practice and values in the public sector (Hood 1991, 1995).

As a management concept, NPM has been dominant in the OECD-countries, however levels of implementation vary across countries with Britain and New Zealand as the most dramatic transformers of public service systems (Dunleavy 1997).

NPM IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES

In the Nordic countries the approach to NPM has been pragmatic rather than ideological in its foundation (Klausen & Ståhlberg 1998). The primary issue has been to support the welfare state by continuously improving public organisation and service delivery. Thus, the development of public organisations has been evolutionary rather than revolutionary, introducing NPM related changes step by step on a learning basis (Klausen & Ståhlberg 1998). In general, certain distinctive elements of change have been identified in the Nordic countries, such as the combination of competitive tendering in municipal services with an emphasis on decentralisation at neighbourhood level within democratic municipal structures, e.g. by involving users more directly in public service delivery (Dunleavy 1997, Klausen & Ståhlberg 1998).

According to Hansen (2001) the influence of NPM in public organisations can be characterized in general by two dimensions; 1) a market-oriented dimension stressing efforts to marketize public organisations at the expense of traditional hierarchical structure, and 2) a management-oriented dimension stressing efforts to organize the public sector according to new principles of leadership and management developed in the private business sector. In Denmark as well as in other Nordic countries, the influence from NPM has dominantly been of a managerial kind, whereas the market-oriented dimension has been rather insignificant (Hansen 2001).

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS IN DENMARK

Public organisations in Denmark have been experiencing several administrative reforms since the 1970s (Klausen 2001). The first reform strategy was due in 1970 where responsibilities were decentralised from state to regional and local governmental levels. In the 1980s an efficiency problem occurred in public service delivery (Pedersen 1998, Klausen 2001) causing the rise of a second reform strategy leading to increased decentralisation to public institutions and use of self-management in public organisational units (Klausen

2001). Supported by modernization endeavours initiated at state level the content of this reform strategy was related to the ideas of the NPM concept (Klausen 1998).

However, according to Klausen (2001), it were changes in the Municipal Act that in 1989 truly introduced liberalization in local government and gave rise to a third, genuinely NPM-influenced, reform strategy supporting the shift from goal and frame regulation, goal steering, new budget forms and independent organisational units, to more competitive arrangements, partnerships and genuine privatisation initiatives. This reform strategy is also described as a decentralisation from public organisations and units to the private market (Klausen 2001).

Following the administrative reform theory, the NPM related decentralisation on neighbourhood level within democratic municipal structures as found in the Nordic countries can be regarded as an upcoming fourth reform strategy on local governmental level (Klausen 2001). Incidentally, this development scheme can be related to emerging trends of empowerment (Gore 1993) and governance (Rhodes 1997).

MUNICIPAL PARK MANAGEMENT

Municipal park management refers to the management of municipal parks and other public green space as an integrated part of the urban environment. Previously park management has been performed voluntarily by the municipalities (Madsen 1986) hence today the variation among municipalities in terms of park budgets, political and organisational attention towards green issues, presence of professional 'green' staff and total area of public greenspace is considerable (Juul & Nuppenau 2000a). However, from 2007 a structural reform will reduce the number and increase the average size of Danish municipalities as well as transfer the responsibility for nature and environmental task to the local governmental level (Indenrigs- & Sundhedsministeriet 2006). Furthermore a new planning act requires an increased municipal focus on nature and leisure areas in future municipal planning (Miljøministeriet 2007). Together these initiatives will form a new organisational basis for municipal park management performance (Randrup & Lindegaard 2005).

Focusing on the involved tasks, municipal park management can be separated into a policy and an operational level. The policy level involves planning and purchaser activities, and is carried out by park managers within the municipal administration. The operational level covers day-to-day maintenance, operations planning and corporate development. These tasks are carried out by works managers and staff within the municipal contractor organisations or by private contractors. Municipal contractor organisations often carry out park, road, sewage and environmental tasks.

In general Danish municipal park management organisations have developed over the past 20 years with an increased focus on competitive tendering and equal forms of co-operation between public and private actors (Randrup et al. 2004, Lindholst 2008), reorganisation aimed at separation of purchaser and provider functions (Haaning & Ladefoged 2005) and self-management initiatives (Lau 2001). However, a comprehensive overview of organisational development in municipal park management in Denmark does not exist.

This paper explores the influence of administrative reforms on municipal park management in Denmark in the period 1985-2005. The study reviews organisational change in municipal park management, including the introduction of new steering means. The term marketization will be used to describe the varied process of organisational change, aiming at improving efficiency, productivity and competitiveness in municipal in-house provider organisations. The review is aimed at deriving lessons for the strengthening and future development of Danish municipal park management organisations.

Methods and Data

The presented study is part of a doctoral study (Nuppenau 2008), which was carried out as a collective case study with an instrumental purpose (Stake 2000).

Criteria for selecting the cases

Municipalities chosen for the study (see Table 1) were selected to supplement each other, as they were known in advance to possess different charac-

teristics in terms of organisational development changes. A difference in size of park management organisation was aimed for, yet all municipalities chosen were required to have their own contractor organisation providing all or major parts of the road and park services. The cases were identified within the municipal context as those organisational units dealing with park issues. An overview of municipal characteristics is provided in Table 1.

Municipality	Inhabitants (2004)	Total area of municipality (ha)	Area of city green space (ha)	Green space maintenance budget (mio D.kr. per year)	Contracting policy (1)	Primary contractor (2003)	Number of workers employed (2)
Assens	10,900	14,024	87	4	Large-scale	Public	40
Fredensborg-Humlebæk	19,900	7,209	Data not available	16	Large-scale	Public	24
Herning	59,000	54,160	1712 (3)	21	Small-scale, 30% on contract	Public	110
Køge	39,600	11,938	320	14	Large-scale over a five-year period	Public	120
Nordborg	14,100	12,478	86 (4)	6	Small-scale if convenient	Public	46
Roskilde	53,600	8,075	200	16 + on account	Small-scale, 20% on contract	Public	110

Table 1 Municipalities chosen for study – an extended overview of municipal characteristics

(1) Large-scale contracting is contracting out all municipal road and park service delivery at one time. Small-scale contracting is contracting out parts of municipal road and park service delivery (Nuppenau et al 2005)

(2) Occupied with park and road services. In Køge the municipal contractor also carries out sewage and environmental services and the total number of employees is 235.

(3) Situated in a rural district. City green space includes larger nature areas

(4) Estimated Figure

Following the in-depth methodology of the instrumental case study (Stake 2000) the phenomenon of change has been studied within each case, using qualitative methods like document studies and interviews.

Study of documents

Information derived from available documents such as policies, statutory service strategies, political and managerial resolutions, employee satisfaction studies i.e., supplemented the interviews. However, accessibility to written documentation has differed widely between the cases. Furthermore, available documents focused mostly on single events and specific issues in order to support and create documentation for local political decision-making. Hence, the primary source of data for this longitudinal study has been the interviews.

Conducting the interviews

In order to complete each municipal history of change (the case narratives) and triangulate data, interviews were performed with interviewees on different levels within the park management organisations. All interviews conducted were focusing on the marketization process within park management, but with different perspectives according to the position of the interviewees.

Primary interviewees for this study were park and works managers. Park managers were identified as executives in the organisational unit dealing with park issues at policy level. Works managers were identified as leading managers in the municipal contractor organisation. Members of the working staff (foremen, team-leaders and workmen) were interviewed as well, basically in order to evaluate the process of change from a work-force perspective (Nuppenau 2008). An overview of conducted interviews is provided in Table 2.

Interviews with leading park and works managers were carried out open-ended, following a basic interview-guide which focused on the process of change with respect to these overall headlines; marketization plan, consequences, experiences and future development plans. All interviews were carried out face-to-face either with one person at a time or in groups of two to three persons. Attendance at group interviews was voluntarily and usually on the initiative of the interviewees, in order to help each other recollect the

period of change. All interviews were taped and transcribed resulting in an extended report from the interview, following closely the progression of the interview and the language used by the interviewee.

Interviewees	Total number of persons interviewed	Total number of interviews carried out (1)	Interview length
Park managers	8	5	1½-2½ hours
Works managers & assistants	7	7	1½ hours
Staffs, including foremen & team leaders	20	15	1 hour

Table 2. Conducted interviews with Park managers, Works manager and staffs – an overview.
(1): Some interviews were carried out with two or three persons at a time

ANALYSIS

Analyses of the transcribed reports were carried out in two steps. First, interviews with park managers were analysed and restructured focusing on the marketization plan and its overall organisational consequences, experiences and future development plans. Interviews with works managers were analysed and restructured focusing primarily on the marketization process and its consequences for the municipal contractor organisation. Second, the restructured reports for each case were merged into a "case transformation narrative" focusing on the process of organisational change within park management. The case transformation narratives are part of the case reports and can be reviewed in full length in Nuppenau (2008).

By comparison and by performing structural analysis of the processes of change an overview of organisational development changes experienced within municipal park management can be created. The term change covers a wide range of empirical events within municipal park management. However, only events of change mentioned in municipal documents and by the interviewees are included in this study. Details from the case transformation narratives are provided to support understanding of each of the events of change experienced by the municipalities.

Organisational change in municipal park management

The events of change identified by this study relate to both considerable reorganisation activities and changes in terms of the introduction of new steering means and mechanisms within management. As such, events of change can affect both the policy and operational level of park management.

THE PROCESS OF CHANGE

In Figure 1 the process of organisational development change within each case has been illustrated. An overall list of events of change mentioned by the interviewees is presented in the figure legend, in what would be an overall chronological order. In the table the experienced events and the chronological order in which these have happened, are provided for each case. As shown, no case has been through every single event of change mentioned.

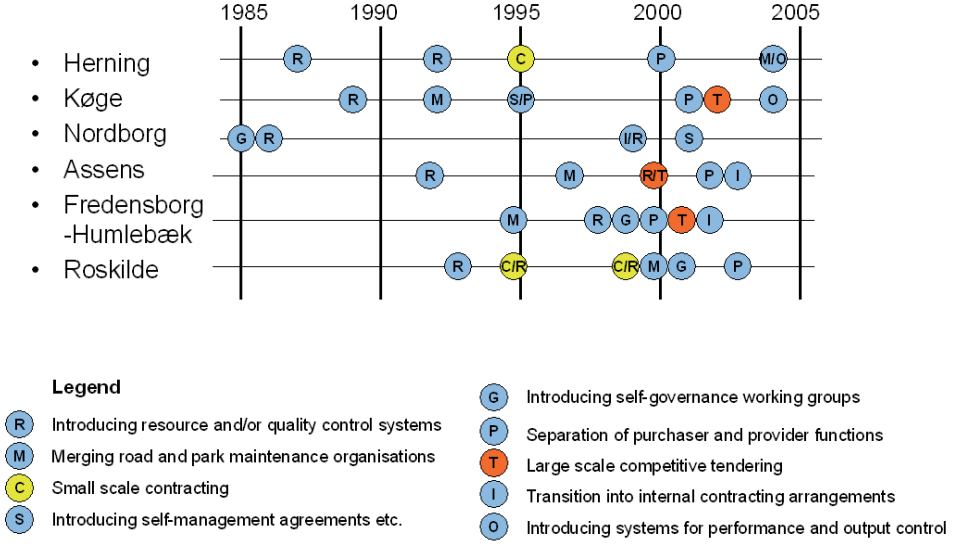

Figure 1. Chronological overview of timing and sequence of events of changes within cases

Focusing on the *timing* of events of change two different development schemes emerge. In one group of cases events of change seem to have ap-

peared as early as during the mid 1980s, primarily due to the introduction of systems for resource and quality control and in one case the implementation of self-governance working groups within the maintenance organisation. In the second group of cases significant events of change are not mentioned until the mid 1990s and, at this point, the cases faced numerous changes over a short period of time. The events of change introduced during the 1990s include the merging of road and park maintenance organisations, internal and external contracting arrangements and in relation to this, separation of purchaser and provider functions. Looking at the *sequence* of events in each case it becomes clear that there is no such thing as a "typical" development scheme for municipal park management organisations.

The introduction of resource and quality control systems and the merging of road and park maintenance organisations seem to be some of the earliest implemented changes, even though this is not always the case. Likewise, the introduction of internal contracting agreements and separation of purchaser and provider functions seem to have been some of the changes implemented latest along with the ISO-certification of municipal contractor organisations.

Two cases are chosen to illustrate local differences in development schemes. Fredensborg-Humlebæk has experienced a short and intense development process going directly from the merging of road and park maintenance organisations into separation of purchaser and provider functions and large-scale competitive tendering only five years later. Køge on the other hand, has experienced 20 years of continuously advancing development processes towards corporatism. After having merged the road and park maintenance organisations, the park management organisation followed up by the introduction of a self-management agreement framing the tasks and available budgets of the municipal contractors organisation. Later on, going into large-scale competitive tendering purchaser and provider functions were formally separated in the organisation.

Events of change

Based on the overview and structural analysis provided above, this section explains and exemplifies the individual events of change considered.

INTRODUCING RESOURCE AND QUALITY CONTROL SYSTEMS

Resource systems have been introduced and developed in the municipalities during the past 20 years and according to the cases studied a wide range of different systems is used today. The earliest implemented systems where primarily economical tools, supporting accounting procedures and municipal budgeting. However, systems have been changed periodically in order to fit actual demands and at present more extensive tools for efficiency monitoring and corporate budgeting are in use.

Systems for quality management have been introduced in the cases studied since the late 1980s. In 1998 a green space quality description tool was developed for the Danish green sector (Juul et al.1998) based on principles of already existing systems. The tool, which has provided a common "language" and systems approach, has become widely adopted. Although locally customized, it now forms the basis for quality management in all cases studied. In some cases, systems for efficiency monitoring and quality management have been integrated to improve task steering.

MERGING ROAD AND PARK MAINTENANCE ORGANISATIONS

In the 1980s budget reductions and an increased number of tasks forced several municipalities to rationalize their maintenance organisations (Pape 1986). At that time day-to-day maintenance was most often carried out separately in road and park maintenance organisations and one way of rationalizing was to join these organisational units into a cross-sector municipal contractor organisation. The tendency of establishing cross-sector contractor organisations increased throughout the 1990s (Juul & Nuppenau 1996). Today more than 2/3 of the Danish municipalities have merged maintenance functions from different sectors in the municipal contractor organisation (Nilsson & Nuppenau 2000). The study has identified a variety of processes, transforming organisations at this level. In most cases the merging of road and park maintenance organisations preceded other organisational changes, as a first step of rationalizing and turning towards the market. In Herning however the merging of road and park maintenance organisations was not carried out until the employees themselves expressed readiness for this kind of change. It is a common experience among the cases that traditions and culture have differed widely within different organisational sectors and thus

merging road and park maintenance organisations has been a major challenge to the municipal organisations.

SMALL SCALE CONTRACTING

Contracting means handing over a task or service delivery to a private contractor while keeping financing and responsibility in the hands of the public organisation (Andersen 1997). Within park management contracting out has been used historically on construction tasks and since the 1990s parks maintenance has increasingly been contracted out too (Juul & Nuppenau 2000a).

In general this study has identified two different variations of small scale contracting used in Danish municipalities. First, small scale contracting can be the result of a municipal contracting policy decided by politicians or purchasers in the municipal park administration. Second, small scale contracting can be part of a management routine in municipal contractor organisations, covering a use of sub-contractors in everyday performance.

Within the cases studied both variations of small scale contracting have been applied. In Herning and Roskilde 20-30 % of municipal park maintenance is contracted out as a result of an overall contracting policy. The remainder of the tasks is carried out according to experienced market prices, while applying a form of management by objectives within a given economical frame. In Herning small scale contracting is now primarily performed as a park management routine in order to improve park management performance and quality in service delivery. However, when small scale contracting was initiated in the mid 1990s (before separating purchaser and provider functions) it basically aimed at proving efficiency and competitiveness in the municipal contractor organisation in order to precede a political decision to enter large scale tendering.

In Roskilde small scale contracting is performed due to a previous political decision, which will probably not be pursued in the future. However, adopting small scale contracting policies in the mid and late 1990s when purchaser and provider functions were not yet separated, must be considered first steps towards the competitive municipal enterprise that is pursued in the contractor organisation today.

Even though small-scale contracting policies have only been adopted in two cases, demands for price testing and efficiency exist as an overall objec-

tive in all the municipal contractor organisations studied. Thus, small scale contracting in terms of the use of sub-contractors is applied widely in municipal everyday performance. In several of the cases studied a level of 10-15% of the overall municipal contractor budget is used for sub-contractors.

In general the municipalities express satisfaction with the increased focus on price testing and competitiveness, as it increases corporate self-consciousness and political goodwill when eventually proving competitive. However, it is a common experience that the process of change in order to become competitive has demanded an immense amount of resources. Moreover, the process has been psychologically difficult to cope with for the people involved (see also Nuppenau 2008).

Self-management agreements

The introduction of self-management agreements can be regarded as an attempt to increase responsibility and professionalism in the municipal contractor organisations (Klausen & Ståhlberg 1998). Within a given economical frame the municipal contractor organisation is obliged to fulfil objectives set by local politicians or by professionals in the municipal administration. In Køge a self-management agreement for the municipal contractor organisation was introduced splitting up the functions of buying and selling prior to the introduction of a genuine purchaser-provider organisation. Today the economical frame in the hands of the contractor organisation is reduced step by step, following a process of competitive tendering carried out according to a five-year tendering plan. In Nordborg an internal contract has recently been replaced by genuine goal- and frame regulation. Thus the option of a purchaser-provider organisation has been rejected and the relation between politicians and the contractor organisation has been based on reliance rather than judicial bindings.

Introducing self-governance working groups

Self-governance working groups can be introduced in the maintenance organisation in order to increase work satisfaction by granting responsibility and autonomy regarding day-to-day tasks to the working staff (Lau 2001). This organisational principle is used in general in two cases, while the re-

mainder of the cases has gained some experience regarding self-management but use it only in parts of the organisation.

In Nordborg the introduction of self-governance working groups was initiated in the mid 1980s due to a conflict between a foreman and some of the workers. This incidence initiated a process of increased staff-influence, which has been pursued genuinely throughout the following years. In Fredensborg-Humlebæk self-governance working groups were implemented shortly after the introduction of an internal contracting agreement. The overall purposes were to discharge leadership responsibility from the works manager, and to improve enterprise ownership and work satisfaction among the staff.

It is a common experience among the cases that some employees are able to manage with and profit from working in self-governance groups, while others are not comfortable with the increased responsibility for e.g. budgets, working processes and development issues.

Separation of purchaser and provider functions

Separation of purchaser and provider functions has been due in municipal park management organisations since the beginning of the 1990s, however with variations in the organisational set-up. An “internal” form is known where both functions are placed in the same administrative unit and thus refer to the same administrative leader. In contrast the “external” form separates the functions on the administrative level by placing them in different departments and eventually under the response of different political committees. This implies that only the political leadership, represented in the latter situation by the city council, is the same (Nilsson & Nuppenau 2000).

In both Herning and Roskilde a purchaser-provider organisation has been implemented in an internal form. In Herning both purchaser and provider functions are part of the Technical Department, meaning that the technical director is the overall common leader. The process of separating functions has been used to sort out responsibilities as well as budgets and economical relations to other municipal organisational units. During this process a need for continued professional communication and sharing of information has been realized and a form of co-operation supporting the intentions of an internal market-oriented organisation is now developed. In Roskilde the pur-

chaser and provider functions are both part of the Parks and Road department. Part of the works managers' role is therefore to participate in coordination meetings and share information with other subordinate managers.

In Assens and Fredensborg-Humlebæk purchaser-provider organisations are implemented even though organisational competences seemed not really adequate for this separation of functions. None of the cases were able to establish a permanent purchaser function dealing with park management issues due to the lack of educated professionals within the field of park management. In Fredensborg-Humlebæk the works manager is hired as a consultant in the purchaser function dealing with park management issues, leaving her as both buyer and seller of municipal 'green' service delivery. The politicians have accepted this double budget responsibility in the works manager function, yet other municipal purchasers are carrying out the service delivery control.

The external form of purchaser-provider functions is represented in Køge. In this case the purchaser function is part of the Department of Maintenance and Construction referring to the Technical Committee on behalf of the city council. The provider function is a separate corporate enterprise, lead by a managing director and referring directly to a special political committee on behalf of the city council, holding the status of a board of directors.

It is a common experience among the cases that the separation of purchaser and provider functions has been beneficial in terms of sorting out responsibilities and increasing both professional and political focus on the green tasks. However, a loss of communication vertically within the municipal organisation has been the result and must be dealt with. Moreover, the importance of developing a professional purchaser function has been emphasized in order to assure long-term development of municipal green-space, when contractor organisations turn to focus on contracting performance only.

LARGE SCALE COMPETITIVE TENDERING

Political decisions to opt for large-scale contracting have been due in three cases during the early 2000s, yet with different outcomes. In Assens and Fredensborg-Humlebæk the results of large-scale contracting have been internal contracting agreements with the municipal contractor organisations,

covering all maintenance tasks. In Køge the municipal contractor organisation faces a future on market terms, since all tasks will eventually be contracted out based on a competitive tendering process. A five-year tendering plan was developed to help the municipal contractor organisation adapt to the new working conditions and so far the contractor organisation has proved ability to consolidate.
In the three cases mentioned preparation for large scale competitive tendering has covered a wide range of activities, apart from separating purchaser and provider functions within the municipal organisation.

Measuring and quantifying areas and elements of municipal green space have been mentioned as necessary activities in order to develop maintenance specifications and create a basis for developing the tendering documents. Field workers have in most cases taken actively part in this process as they posses knowledge about the details of everyday work. The municipal purchaser function or a consultant has been involved in the task of writing up the maintenance specifications as a preparation for developing the tendering documents.

The need for psychological preparation has occurred in the transformation phase, turning public corporate culture into private corporate culture. Furthermore, the situation of facing termination of the municipal contractors organisation in case of large scale tendering as well as transferring workers to external employers along with the contracted tasks, are challenges increasing the need for psychological preparation.

TRANSITION INTO INTERNAL CONTRACTING AGREEMENTS

According to danish law a public contractor is allowed to bid or make a control-offer as a means of comparison when a competitive tendering is due. A municipal bid is based on the tendering documents while a control offer is based on previous practice, expenses and status of the green-areas (Hørlyck 2002). If a muncipal bid can be regarded as better and cheaper than the lowest bid in a competitive tendering the tasks will be transferred into an internal contracting agreement with the municipal contractor organsiaton based on the information and prices given in the tendering documents. If a control offer is cheaper than any of the other bids the municipality has the right to call off the competitive tendering and return to previous practice.

In the cases studied large scale competitive tenderings have been attended by the municipal contractor organisations by bidding alongside private contractors. Hence, in Assens, Fredensborg-Humlebæk and Køge green-space maintenance is carried out based on internal contracts even though these are handled differently within the cases. In Køge the contracts with the municipal contractor organisation are functioning side by side with external contracts and until now they are performed and controlled in similarity to the contracts with external contractors. In Fredensborg-Humlebæk internal contracts have been drawn up for every green space covered by the tendering documents. When new tasks are added to the portfolio a new supplementing contract is developed. So far procedures of the internal contracting agreements have been executed strictly from the local politicians, however local private contractors have been challenging the fairness of procurement and the contracting arrangement. In Assens the contracting agreement is now the basis of day-to-day practice. However, contracting performance is challenged since previous practice is occasionally enforced and further tasks are added to the contract without adjusting the contracting sum.

It is a common experience among the cases that entering internal contracting agreements requires a change of traditional internal relationships and modes of communication between politicians, purchasers and providers. If these conditions are not acknowledged or accepted, previous practice will eventually influence contracting performance.

Introducing systems for performance and output control

Recently, some municipal contractor organisations have implemented systems to improve management performance at the operational level. These are international standard control systems such as ISO 9001 (European Committee for Standardization 2000) which refer to the adoption of a process approach when developing, implementing and improving the effectiveness of a quality management system, and ISO 14001 (International Organization for Standardization 2008) which relates to the implementation of environmentally correct conduct in management.

Within the cases studied systems for performance and output control have been introduced recently in Køge and Herning. It is a common experience in these cases that the process of developing the ISO documents has provided a

systematic overview of day-to-day practice supporting both competitiveness, management quality, performance and work satisfaction within the municipal contractor organisation.

Organisational change from a reform theory perspective

As shown in this paper the process of organisational change in Danish municipal park management has differed in timing and sequence. Relating the events of change identified in Table 1 to the reform theory developed by Klausen (2001), the organisational development process will now be discussed in terms of efficiency, NPM and governance characteristics.

In search of efficiency

Organisational development in municipal park management during the late 1980s and beginning of 1990s seem to have been evolutionary and pragmatic as described by Klausen & Ståhlberg (1998), taking one small step at a time in order to develop professional park management and fulfil local political expectations of efficient public service delivery. As shown in this study striving for efficiency led, in some municipalities, to the introduction of resource control systems, merging of road and park maintenance organisations and development of self-management agreements. These in-house organisational changes are corresponding with the decentralisation of tasks and responsibility from local government to local governmental institutions, i.e. the municipal contractor organisations, which Klausen (2001) describes as the second reform strategy in the Danish public sector.

NPM related change

As shown in this study, some municipalities have experienced organisational development as a continuous and significant process based on simultaneous and even contradictory political decisions.

Considerable changes were introduced in municipal park management organisations from the mid 1990s. A major part of these changes were of a NPM character, supporting the development of a competitive municipal organisation. Moreover, the results indicate that changes also at this time were evolutionary and pragmatic to some point. In contrast to municipal development during the late 1980s, implementation of NPM related change has been like an ongoing chain reaction regarding primarily local political

demands for cutbacks, rationalization and increased efficiency in municipal service delivery. Hence, the cases studied offer no evidence, that Danish municipalities designed and pursued coherent managerial strategies in order to implement NPM characteristics in park management. Instead, some of the municipal contracting policies developed during the 1990s seem to be based on experience from early tendering processes in road and park management organisations.

The events of change identified in this study indicate that the movement from traditional hierarchy to market-like public organisation in municipal park management has been considerable. The use of competitive tendering and contracting out as well as separation of purchaser and provider functions, are regarded as mechanisms supporting this movement. The results thus corresponds with findings from other studies, showing that internal contracts are widely used in the road and park sector compared to other technical sectors (Kommunernes Landsforening 2005), and that competitive tendering of maintenance of parks and city green space has been used since mid 1990s, however increasingly since 1999/2000 (Kommunernes landsforening 2005, Nuppenau et al. 2005).

It must be considered though, that several of the cases studied are recoiling on the use of market-like mechanisms over time, in order to retain advantages from previous practice. For instance, the contracting relationships that have emerged between purchasers and providers are considered obstacles for both natural dynamics and green-space development and for more collaborative practice due to their rigid nature (Nuppenau & Sejr 2004, Randrup et al. 2004). Thus, in most cases studied, initiatives have been taken to reshape previous modes of communication and a more collaborative practice on management level. Another drawback from market-like mechanisms relates to the need to maintain ‘a critical size’ of municipal contractor organisations in order to keep costs low when dealing with specialised and ad hoc task portfolios. Also management considerations regarding job-security for the municipal staff seem to reduce tendencies of market-orientation. Considering these limitations the study supports the evaluation of market-orientation in the Danish public sector, as having been mostly indirect and focusing on establishing market-like mechanisms within public organisations rather being than a genuine approach to the private market (Hansen 2001).

As regards management-oriented change (Hansen 2001), the study emphasizes an evolution of managerial steering means within municipal park management since the mid 1980s, i.e. the introduction and development of resource-, quality-, performance- and output control systems as well as decentralisation of competences and responsibilities in terms of self-management agreements and self-governance working groups.

Embarking on competitive tendering and contracting, municipal focus has been on developing maintenance descriptions based on previous practice. In these descriptions measurable quality standards have been provided for single elements of municipal green-space. However, in only a few cases overall service and professional goals for municipal park management have been stated in terms of e.g., green-space policies, budget resolutions or genuine management plans. Moreover the study does not indicate an increased output-focus at policy level, responding directly to users needs and stating measures for overall performance and success. The recent introduction of ISO 9001 and ISO 14001 within municipal contractor organisations can be seen as an attempt to emphasize output controls and improve day-to-day performance on an operational level.

As to the role of managers no direct findings can be presented. In none of the cases studied, have changing manager roles been addressed as a major event of change. However on a personal level, both park and works managers have addressed the many new challenges in professional leadership and corporate management that have evolved due to organisational change. In many ways works managers have been the first to experience the competitive situation. In order to keep municipal contractor organisations ‘alive’, works managers have had to adopt and implement private management styles and values instantly. As expressed by several of the works managers in this study, one of the key challenges has been to turn corporate culture from public to private, making working staff realize and accept that a change in behaviour and values was needed. This process has evidently been difficult for many municipal contractor organisations and has led to e.g. dismissal of workers who could not adapt to the new conditions.

GOVERNANCE TENDENCIES IN MUNICIPAL PARK MANAGEMENT

Some events of change identified in this study relate to a specific Danish NPM development scheme, emphasizing governance characteristics in the development of local government (Hansen 2001, Klausen & Ståhlberg 1998, Sehested 2002). According to Hansen (2001) this includes organisational-institutional restructuring going from hierarchical steering relations to network steering relations through decentralisation and self-governance initiatives, however, without compromising the ideal of political steering and control. Following Klausen (2001) this tendency can be considered part of an emerging reform strategy in local government, based on further decentralisation of tasks and responsibilities from local governmental institutions to actors of many kinds related in loosely coupled networks that participate equally in public decision-making (Klausen 2001).

Within the cases studied the introduction of self-governance working groups is regarded as an event related to governance tendencies. However, also the latest introduction of a self-management agreement in one case and the introduction of performance and output control systems can be seen as institutional changes involving increased decentralised responsibility and steering competences in municipal park management organisations. Due to the overall focus of the study the described self-governance initiatives primarily relate to the providing part of municipal park management, i.e. the municipal contractor organisations. Hence, the focus is on the operational level of park management involving to some extend also private contractors. Thus, also the introduction of public-private partnerships based on common development responsibilities in park management (Randrup et.al. 2004, Lindholst 2008) can be regarded as a current development with governance characteristics.

Conclusion and lessons learned

Danish municipal park management organisations have been subject to intense marketization efforts at least since beginning of the 1990s, especially regarding the municipal contractor organisations. However, as park management organisations are part of municipal and societal development in general, it is evident that this phase in the lives of these organisations cannot

be regarded as detached from on-going organisational development. Thus municipal park managers should be aware and prepare for future challenges, e.g., by enhancing self-governance and partnership initiatives in order to improve park management and the quality of municipal green-space.

Above all, the presented study has shown that municipal park management organisations can gain positively from their change experiences. However it has become clear that a considerable management effort is required in order to resolve organisational future perspectives, consistent enterprise management and day-to-day performance simultaneously.

Regarding specific changes findings show that purchaser and provider functions can be separated, leading to an increased overview of resources and responsibilities in management. However, sufficient manpower also at policy level is essential in order to prevent a one-sided focus on day-to-day performance.

Moreover, there is indication that municipal contractor organisations can be marketized without having to face the threat of large-scale competitive tendering. In many cases municipal contractor organisations rely on an in-house goodwill because of common organisational history. Being able to prove efficiency and strength in a competitive situation, this goodwill can probably be increased.

It is evident that an extreme cultural change is required when transforming the municipal contractor organisation into a competitive and highly professional enterprise. This change might require a certain pressure, and indeed a management effort, to be attained endurably. Also, to benefit from the cultural change, the political and institutional framework has to be long-time supportive of the new competitive practice.

Over the years, tools for resource and quality management have been introduced and developed in municipal park management in order to provide a basis for efficient management. In the future, further emphasis must be given to the development of systems for performance and output control with specific relevance for green-space management. This includes also explicit measures of performance and success in park management.

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HANDLE WITH CARE: IMPACT OF MARKETIZATION EFFORTS ON THE WORKING LIFE OF GARDENERS IN DANISH PUBLIC SERVICE PROVIDER ORGANISATIONS

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Abstract

When Danish municipalities choose to marketize public service delivery i.e. by introducing competition as a basic working condition, staffs face a profound change in their working environment. Regardless, if marketization means that municipal service delivery is contracted out or internal organisational changes are made, a long period of adaptation and a future at work much different from usual must be expected. In this paper a cultural approach is chosen in order to understand the implications of marketization on the day-to-day working life of the working staff. Based on a bottom-up approach to policy analysis and interviews with staff from six municipal contractor organisations, the paper shows that marketization in public service delivery is a challenging process involving changes of structural as well as cultural character. Organisational restructuring like merging road and park maintenance organisations, decentralising, introducing new roles and transferring staff are emphasised as structural changes with important outline for the day-to-day working life of municipal staff. A corporate cultural challenge is described in relation to the transformation from traditional co-organisation into contract-based relationships. As a common challenge emphasis is laid on the need to learn proper contracting performance and to create a common spirit in the renewed organisation. On individual level the challenge to adopt a new identity is stressed. One of the important lessons learned is that managers play a crucial role in these processes of change, in terms of initiating, supporting and following up on change activities.

Keywords: Cultural change, public organisation, urban green space, bottom-up, employees, management

Introduction

In recent years, Danish municipalities have experienced economical pressures and increasing demands for competitiveness (Pedersen 1998). Hence, the level of outsourcing municipal technical responsibilities has increased since the mid 1990s (Kommunernes Landsforening 2001, Nuppenau et al. 2005). Moreover, the use of internal contracting arrangements in the technical sector has increased since the beginning of the 1990s (Kommunernes Landsforening 2005). This development corresponds with new public management (NPM) related changes having been introduced widely in the western democracies during the past 25 years (Hood 1991, Massey 1997). In many countries the new public management reform has led to the break-up of traditional bureaucratic structures, attempts to increase competition within the public sector, adoption of private sector corporate practices and deregulation of government in favour of market approaches (Hood 1991). Hence, new public management can be regarded as a process of major cultural change in public organisations, covering a shift from political to commercial organisation (Aulich 1999, Fenwick et al. 1994, Hood 1991). In this paper the process of transforming public organizations into competent market players is referred to - in one term - as a “marketization process”. Colling & Ferner (1995) has described marketization as a form of reducing the role of the public sector, involving attempts to introduce competitive pressures and managerial disciplines into public services.

The impact of the marketization process in Danish municipal organisations is addressed in this paper by focusing on municipal park management organisations. Being part of the municipal technical sector (Juul & Nuppenau 2000) park management organisations have increasingly been subjects to marketization efforts throughout the past 25 years (Andersson 1976, Juul & Nuppenau 1996, Nuppenau 1997, Nuppenau 2008). A similar development process has been identified in other Nordic countries (Nilsson and Nuppenau 2000, Randrup & Persson 2006). In general, municipal park management refers to the planning, design, construction and maintenance of parks and other public green space, considered integrated parts of the urban environment (Juul & Nuppenau 2000, Randrup et al. 2005). Traditionally, park management has been taken on voluntarily by the municipalities

(Madsen 1986), hence the variation among municipalities in terms of area of public green-space, budgets, political and organisational attention, contracting level and presence of professional staff is considerable (Juul & Nuppenau 2000).

Addressing the process of marketization in Danish municipal park management organisations in general, Nuppenau (2008) has studied the evolution of steering reforms in Danish municipal park management organisations throughout the period 1985-2005. It was found in this study that merging road and park maintenance organisations, separation of purchaser and provider functions and entering competitive tendering and/or internal contracting agreements have been some of the key events in the process of organisational change, affecting municipal park management organisations in general and municipal contractor organisations specifically (Nuppenau 2008). According to Haaning & Ladefoged (2005) the separation of purchaser and provider functions in particular, led to an increased focus on the competitiveness of municipal service provision in the technical sector. Moreover, this focus occurred mainly in the providing part of the organisation, i.e. in the municipal contractor organisations. Considering the impact of marketization in municipal park management organisations will, thus, address the consequences of change in this part of the organisation.

According to Aulich (1999) three different approaches to evaluating the process of organisational change, related to the introduction of competitive tendering and contracting in local government organisations, could be identified. One, is a ‘value for money’ approach which is primarily seen as a means of selecting the least cost provider, assuming that pressures from competition will cause reduced costs and innovation (i.e. quality) benefits. The second approach covers impact studies including also broader social and economic factors in the evaluation, e.g. the demand and supply of attendants and issues of job-security and job-satisfaction. A third approach, is performing organisational cultural studies i.e. organisational analysis, emphasising the overall cultural transformation induced by the introduction of competitive tendering and contracting strategies in public organisations. With this approach both organisational restructuring and corporate cultural change are addressed.

In Denmark evaluation is not a legal claim when introducing internal contracting or competitive tendering in municipal organisations. However, the Local Government Auditing recommends evaluation in order to improve the contracting agreement and increase information about the delivered price and quality (Bertelsen 2005). Hence, on a national level, evaluation has been focusing on incentives and barriers to contracting out in Danish municipalities (Bertelsen 2001, Udliciteringsrådet 2005). Regarding specific local organisational settings, the effects of municipal reorganisation initiatives have been reviewed (Christoffersen et al. 2003, Kommunernes Landsforening 2005). Evaluations on the effects of contracting on municipal economy, product and performance quality, working conditions and job-satisfaction have been carried out on behalf of the trade unions (SID 2003, Kommunale Kartel 2000) and the government (Indenrigsministeriet 1997, PLS Consult 1997, Udliciteringsrådet 2006). According to Kommunale Kartel (2000) contracting out public service delivery has considerable impact on the physical as well as the psychological working environment of staff in municipal organisations. However, addressing public service delivery in general, only a few of these evaluations bring about knowledge specifically related to the situation of staff in municipal park management organisations.

In this paper the impact of marketization in municipal contractor organisations will be addressed with an organisational cultural approach (Aulich 1999) aiming at understanding the implications of organisational change on day-to-day working life of the staff, i.e. primarily gardeners appointed with park maintenance tasks. Based on the gardeners change experience, the approach will cover issues of organisational restructuring (e.g. merging road and park maintenance organisations) as well as corporate cultural change (e.g. changing internal relationships, attitudes and values).

Methods and Data

The present research is part of a collective case study (Stake 2000) carried out in Danish municipal contractor organisations in 2003 and 2004 (see Nuppenau 2008). Six municipal park management organisations were strategically identified (Flyvbjerg 1991) seeking a maximum variation regarding the process and level of marketization. The six cases differ in size of enter-

prise, corporate culture and management tradition (for further details see Nuppenau 2008), however the municipal contractor organisation is the primary public service provider in all cases. The smallest enterprise comprises 24 employees dealing with road and park services, while the largest has 235 employees and also takes care of sewage and cleaning services.

In order to evaluate the impact of the marketization process on day-to-day working life of gardeners in municipal contractor organisations a bottom-up approach (Bogason et al. 1998) has been chosen. Based on interviews and in-depth analysis municipal gardeners' change-related experiences have thus been explored.

INTERVIEWS

The paper is based on a total of 18 interviews, covering interviews with 3 works managers, 8 foremen and 12 workmen like gardeners, semi-skilled and unskilled workers (Nuppenau 2008). Since the primary aim of the study has been to address the working-life of municipal field workers employed with green-space maintenance, the term gardeners has been used in a broad sense, covering both educated (skilled) gardeners and un-skilled labourers with green task experience and supplementary courses in gardening. In Danish municipalities, road and park maintenance operations are most often organised together, hence working staffs can be employed with various tasks. Thus, in addition to the gardeners a few road workers have been interviewed in order to broaden the perspective on day-to-day working life.

Selection of interviewees was the result of purposeful rather than random samples (Kvale 1996) following these criteria: 1) employment during periods of change; 2) characteristics placing the interviewee in a special position in the organisation (e.g. foremen or shop stewards); and 3) education skills or working experience within park maintenance. Furthermore inclusion of a mix of positive and negative experiences with the process of change was strived for. In all cases a number of potential interviewees were suggested by the local works manager and thereby chosen by the researcher to broadly meet the criteria. The average seniority of informants was approximately 16 years, covering a span from three to 29 years.

Interviewees were considered as informants giving unique information about the process of marketization. In each case triangulation of data has

been aimed for by interviewing 3-5 employees just as municipal documents, like e.g. job satisfaction assessments, have been included if possible.

Interviews lasted ½-1 hours and were carried out face-to-face with one or two persons at a time, following a semi-structured interview guide. Questions addressed the interviewee's work situation i.e. position and role within the organisation, tasks and everyday performance, relations and network; as well as direct consequences of the process of marketization on these issues.

Analysis

Interviews was taped and transcribed providing an extended report from each interview, closely adhering to the progression of the interview and the language used by the interviewee. Through analysis, including close-to-text coding and re-structuring, the extended interview reports covering each case where compiled into common case write-ups (Eisenhardt 1989). In these case write-ups the marketization process and its organisational consequences in each of the municipal contractor organisations was addressed (Nuppenau 2008).

All codes used were assembled in a code tree adding to provide an overview of the data compiled in the case write-ups. Supportive of the maximum variation selection strategy was the fact, that the codes added from each case were to a considerable extent, supplementary. Hence, the code tree – as an analytical tool - added to broaden the perspective on municipal marketization processes and their organisational consequences. Moreover, the code tree served as a basis for identifying multiple topics that must be regarded as important for the staff in municipal contractor organisations when facing organisational change.

Applying an organisational cultural approach (Aulich 1999) to the study, and thus to the data compiled in the case write-ups, this paper focuses on topics related to organisational restructuring and corporate cultural change (Table 1).

Cultural approach (Aulich 1999)		Analytical topic	Related codes
Organisational restructuring / structural change	1	Merging road and park maintenance organisations	decision making, merging process, information, influence, evaluation, bad management, relocation, rebuilding
	2	Decentralisation and a change of roles	team-building, self governance, obstruction, conflict management, competences, coaching, foreman, support, job-description, professionalism, raise consciousness
	3	Transfer	to be pointed out for transfer, take precautions, insecurity, unreasonable arguments, waiting, anxiety, frustration, pressure, activity, consideration
Corporate cultural change	4	Learning contracting performance	contract, contracting tool, objectives, clarification, specification, interference, steering means, resource control, evaluation, contract regulation, own bid, responsibility, participation, field measuring timesheets, quality, priority, attention, follow-up, reward, wage negotiations, profit sharing, economical incentives, competition, reducing spaciousness
	5	Creating a common spirit	cooperation, solidarity, community spirit, strength, weakness, helpfulness, fighting spirit, sense of responsibility, grey/green, initiative, improvement, challenge, identity, acceptance, tradition, uniformity,
	6	Change of identity	influence, freedom at work, professionalism, curiosity, cultural difference, grey/green, competitiveness

Table 1. A cultural approach expressed in terms of analytical topics and codes.

Moreover, the importance of leadership when applying organisational change will be addressed in the discussion.

Organisational restructuring

In the transition from a traditional form of co-organisation into a contract-based relationship, a new relation between purchaser and provider functions must develop in municipal organisations. Thus responsibilities have to be sorted out, chains of control must be revised and two separate organisational units must be developed (at least if service provision is kept in-house). Moreover, increased public-private cooperation is a possible consequence when entering competitive tendering and contracting out, eventually causing a transfer of tasks as well as staff to external contractors (who can be either private or other public contractors).

Working staff in Danish municipal contractor organisations have addressed three forms of structural change, relating to the process of marketization; 1) merging road and park maintenance organisations, 2) decentralisation and a change of roles; and 3) transfer of staff to contractors with successful bids.

Merging organisational units and decentralisation can be regarded as common corporate challenges with a long-term organisational perspective. Rather, the issue of transferring staff can be considered as an immediate threat generated in relation to the process of contracting out public service delivery. When entering competitive tendering with some (small-scale) or all (large-scale) municipal road and park maintenance tasks, staffs involved in the contracted tasks may be transferred to the most successful contractor. Hence, in case of large scale tendering won by an external contractor, a municipal contractor organisation could eventually be terminated. In case of small-scale tendering only selected members of the staff is facing transfer. In both situations the process of transferring staff can be considered as a (potential) process of organisational restructuring which has to be dealt with.

MERGING ROAD AND PARK MAINTENANCE ORGANISATIONS

In earlier days Danish municipalities could have a multitude of yards, separated physically from the municipal administration, taking care of road, park, sewage and environmental tasks respectively. Today however, municipal in-house service provision is most often carried out from a united contractor's yard. In some cases merging of the yards was due many years ago, in others

the merging process was part of recent organisational change. According to the interviewees the most disturbing aspect of physical relocation has been the break-up of old routines and usual outline of the working environment:

> *"There are some that you simply can't give other tasks to ...those who are used to do road repairs can't just be sent out weeding, they just wouldn't want to do it. I'm sure of it …and I could imagine that it would be the same the other way around."(Randi)*

> *"We worked together a bit already, but there was a real difference between THEM and US ...and so the whole thing was changed. All our daily routines were broken up, up here" (Anton)*

In general, the sense of stability in the working environment and 'belonging to' the workplace is rather important and several members of the staff feel that this sense has been seriously challenged in the process of merging municipal yards.

DECENTRALISATION AND ADOPTING NEW ROLES

In many of the studied cases decentralising management power and responsibility has been implemented parallel to marketization efforts. However, decentralisation has been implemented also previous to marketization efforts thus cannot be considered a genuine part of the marketization process.

According to this study different forms of 'joint management' or self-governance have been introduced in municipal contractor organisations in order to decentralise municipal management structure, enhance work motivation and increase staff responsibility towards day-to-day performance. In some cases the result has been a replacement of traditional foreman-governed 'squads' with self-governed 'teams' that are more informal and often organized non-hierarchically in contrast to the squads. Thus, when fully implemented, this organisational form leads to an overall reduction in the number of foremen.

In other cases forms of self-governance have been used occasionally in order to supplement the traditional organisational structure, however upholding the foreman positions. According to interviewees the new self-governed

teams and squads have gained increased responsibility over own work planning, quality of day-to-day performance and resolution of internal disputes:

> *"There's a difference in our daily routine…a number of us…have a fixed area, so we can more or less decide how to use our time…generally the job is a mix of freedom with responsibility ...we do lots and manage a little ...and I think most of us are pleased with that."(Alice)*

In some cases environmental management systems (like ISO 14000) for improved quality and process management has been introduced in order to make routines and responsibilities visible, thus involving staff more directly in corporate development. As laid out by a foreman:

> *"We (the foremen, ed.) have been given much more responsibility, and we have to delegate some of that out and say to the co-workers; "'you have also been given more responsibility. Those of you that work in this particular area need to keep an eye on this and that … and if you're in doubt you need to look it up in the book and if you're still in doubt ask us". There are many co-workers who find it hard to handle...it takes time to make it part of the system."(Jesper)*

Due to decentralisation and re-organisation the role of the traditional foreman has developed. Traditionally this role was that of work distribution and inspection. However, in the decentralised organisation the role of the foreman or 'team leader' as he is now called, has become one of supervision and support towards the squads or teams, including solving practical and interpersonal problems. For some team leaders this implies a linkage of professional and personal performance, since the responsibilities attached to their position is open for discussion within the team. According to one team leader this can be a challenge:

> *"…At the same time as the self-governance was introduced the question was whether your colleagues thought it was a good idea to have a tem leader ... I thought we should keep a team leader.... but my team*

thought that they could manage without me... and that got me down for a while.... If we were supposed to manage things within the new budget we had been given, I couldn't see how we would have time to all sit together and discuss specific things. It's particularly our team that has talked about this ... Afterwards it's been a position where you fight a little ...either you sneak things through or you just bully and take the discussions afterwards"(Karina)

In other cases foremen are now entitled 'works manager assistants' stressing the increased supervisor responsibilities towards the squads or teams, but also adhering to the traditional hierarchical management structure. Works manager assistants are responsible for an increased number of squads or teams.

Professionally foremen have experienced an increased responsibility towards day-to-day performance, as they are now responsible for the fulfilment of existing contracts, taking initiatives within the contractual frame and making new contractual agreements with a range of municipal customers:

"There's lots more to do than before…now we need to go out and get work for our people… at the same time managing our people …and we have project meetings with our architects and engineers …and do costing...this is all things we didn't do before."(Robert)

Also on working staff level self-governance initiatives has lead to increased responsibility towards own work situation and, eventually, towards the team. However on a personal level, workers adapt to this situation differently. While some are able to handle an increased amount of responsibilities and tasks, others prefer to be responsible only for delivering a good quality of work:

"There are still those who are happier to be told what to do and where to go next …that's just how it is, right? For example, you get a sheet with tasks for the next week, right …and it's up to you how you prioritise, find out what needs doing and ordering, right … and if you

can't be bothered or can't get the hang of it then it can be difficult."(Erling)

TRANSFERRING STAFF TO A SUCCESSFUL CONTRACTOR

It is a common experience among the interviewees that the phase of preparing for tender is a time of resistance, scepticism, anxiety and insecurity for most of the working staffs. When facing small-scale contracting the issue of uncertainty affects only parts of the staff, however the feelings among these individuals are the same as in large-scale tendering situations. Frustrations and anxiety are directed towards having to leave one's workplace and colleagues of many years, and even though legislation is put in place to prevent dismissal of newly transferred employees many of the workers have been afraid simply to loose their jobs. A staff member who were not personally involved in the transfer situation has this comment when four of her colleagues were transferred to a new employer:

"…There were four men (who were transferred ed.) and after a short time they were all out. It's pointless making that sort of rules …that they get work with the new employer and so they end up being pushed into the wings. They felt quite lost and the rest of us were quite frustrated by it …because you think, yeah we've accomplished a lot but it counts for nothing. It was a tough period." (Alice)

Adding to the tension when dealing with small-scale contracting is the fact that some interviewees feel that the process of pointing out staff for transfer is used as a means for the municipal organisation to get rid of workers who are, for some reason, not wanted:

"They went out and saw who had worked in the areas, who had spent most hours on these things, for example in the parks that were tendered out, right …that was the ones who should be pricked out …you had a shack in the area, right…It is also said that with the roads, you took the ones who had spent most hours in the district and I know, they did …but then, not quite. There was still some where it was said …now this is a chance to get rid of them." (Rolf and Robert)

Dealing with large-scale transfer is a different situation since the life of the contractor organisation as a whole, is at stake. Still, feelings of anxiety and frustration are likely to be present in this situation, since job security is challenged. In contrast to a situation with small scale tendering, large scale tendering, explicitly, is a common threat for the entire staff.

Even so, one of the interviewees describe how his leader was able to, with the help of a councillor, turn the situation around and motivate everyone to fight together to save their workplace.

> *"And still, it (the tendering ed.) was a common task …afterwards you could say, right…that we knew we were pretty much even with each other whether we won or lost."(Kurt)*

Corporate cultural change

For the municipal contractor organisations and their staffs it is an immense challenge to become market oriented and competitive and this transformation requires a fundamental cultural change within the organisation. First the organisation has to implement and learn proper contracting performance, including applying an economical focus and adjusting the quality of municipal service delivery as a basis for day-to-day practice. Second, a common spirit has to be created to support contracting performance. Third, contracting performance has to be adopted on an individual level, requiring a change of identity for all staffs involved.

CONTRACTING PERFORMANCE

When entering internal contracting agreements, contracting out selected tasks or otherwise testing own prices against market prices, municipal organisations demand an increased focus on costs, efficiency and productivity. As a consequence tasks have to be explicitly described, quantified and registered with their exact use of resources. For this purpose a more accurate use of resource systems has been applied in the municipalities. Moreover, actual spending is referred to relevant purchasing parties both in and outside the municipal organisation. In contractor organisations traditional municipal budgeting has been supplemented with enterprise budget procedures, and

expenditures are now to a greater extent following specific projects rather than general items. In some cases working staff has been involved directly in the process of describing and quantifying their own work, and for them the experience has been eye opening. Moreover, it has contributed to the creation of a greater sense of attachment to the workplace as expressed by this member of the staff:

> *"The team leader had been there and measured up…but when the control offer where being prepared we were all involved...that helped a bit ...All the gardeners sat together with a consultant and discussed the individual assignments and how long they took and how quickly we could do them...and I reckon it helped make it less frustrating and annoying because we were are active in the process. And I think that was very important...and that you could discuss- yeah I'm that fast at cutting a lawn or a hedge and my colleague is that fast and then we find out a middle way." (Karina)*

When developing the municipal contractor's bid in a tendering situation, all costs as well as the exact contracting conditions must be considered. In this case it can be very beneficial for the municipal contractor organisation to involve a consultant since, in order to maintain a sound enterprise on a contractual basis, everyone has to realize that required performance could differ from previous practice. Involving staff directly in developing the municipal bid is a way of supporting this process of realization.

It is a shared experience among the interviewees that municipal contracts leaves them with a tight schedule compared to previous times. In order to win the tender, municipal bids are scrutinized for discarded time and the number of permanent staff is reduced to a minimum. For some this working pressure is made up for by an increased job satisfaction in terms of more responsibility and influence, while for others the introduction of economical incentives like profit sharing acts as a proper reconciliation. However, several interviewees find the situation frustrating and describe the time pressure as limiting for their ability to perform according to previous professional standards:

> *"…The worst is when they say you should do that, because that's what we get our money for - the rest you can forget about, they haven't paid for that ...It's difficult because the men are used to doing their work and it looking respectable and suddenly there are things that are rough round the edges because they've decided that it shouldn't look so neat anymore …maybe a district ...and that can really irritate people...but then, it's to do with money...we have to learn that...blinkers on you might say, that's the way we do it."(Anton)*

Demands for corporate flexibility and profit making have resulted in considerable amendments in municipal contractor organisations. By taking on various extra tasks the municipal contractor organisations can supplement their contract and generate additional income. However, this situation is managed differently amongst municipalities, adding in some situations to the pressures on the staff in their day-to-day practice. While some municipalities use extra tasks to create a flexible organisation and take in sub-contractors when convenient, others focus on the profitable extra tasks to an extent where the contracted tasks are reduced in quality and/or mismanaged. Apparently, a lack of output control makes this possible.

According to many of the gardeners interviewed the contract serves as a useful basis for communicating day-to-day performance, as it provides an overview of green areas and maintenance task portfolios that did not previously exist. Moreover if objectives are explicitly stated in the contract, it can serve as a practical tool for improvement and professional development as in this situation:

> *"…and today we are concerned with fulfilling the contract. But if we find out that it could be good for the place to plant a shrub, right, we can do it... we could have done it before really, but we didn't. We've come in and looked at the individual areas more than before." (Karina)*

Thus for some an increased sense of responsibility as well as accept of contracting performance have been the outcome of the marketization process. For others, it appears to be an ongoing challenge that priorities in quality

standards have changed, and that routines and priorities in day-to-day practice have to be changed as well in order to meet contractual standards:

> *"Contract management has been a strange thing to get the hang of. We have been used to that if something needs doing and we come past, we just do it. But we mustn't do that anymore ...It's a bit of a problem when you see that something needs tidying or clipping but you mustn't do it …because there is no money for it. It's a bit stupid and unsatisfying, because you never end up doing a proper bit of work – you just have to accept that. But it's difficult to accept it sometimes I feel." (Søren)*

In one case, managers failed to explain why priorities changed and how this should be dealt with in day-to-day performance as well as in the resource system. Thus, changes in day-to-day maintenance were applied individually on workman level in order to cope with the situation. In other cases managers made an effort to explain the situation to the workers and hence – over time - succeeded in making staff understand that priorities had to be made. Moreover, in a few cases foremen and workers were directly involved in prioritising within the contractual frame, which has eventually given them an increased sense of ownership as regards their own work situation. One foreman says:

> *"It's completely different…before we just had to get things to work and do things… now we have to think about what things cost … and whether it's profitable…and whether in the end, it is us who should do the different things we do – or whether we get others to do it because we are simply too expensive" (Robert)*

CREATING A COMMON SPIRIT

Becoming a competitive municipal enterprise demands initiatives to induce a common spirit in the organisation, which is emphasized with this statement:

> *"It's been challenging for us to say good morning and include them … so that it's not 'those from the gardeners yard'… they are our colleagues' (Randi)*

One way of doing this is to create responsibility towards a common goal. In one case a consultant was hired to improve team spirit when preparing the municipal contractor organisation for tendering. The consultant made the staff work together towards the common goal of being able to win the tendering, thus at the same time breaking down borders and doing away with old differences between road and park workers.

> *"…it was something that could to get us together …and in that way it was positive. There was a common enemy, right…then, the enemy was in that way the tendering, right…and that was a common enemy we all had…and so we had something we could grumble about together." (Kurt)*

In the end the municipal contractor organisation was turned into a competitive enterprise based on community spirit and a strong corporate culture. In another case of preparing competitive tendering, it was left with the local shop stewards to pass on available information and deal with the frustration and anxiety among their colleagues. Staff involved describe the process negatively and even though they won the tendering and are now working on an internal contracting agreement, reluctance and a lack of corporate spirit still seems to be part of the organisational character. A member of the staff says:

> *"…it's not our job to judge a colleague…that's a foreman's job. And I can't judge if there is someone who doesn't pull his weight ...but there are some colleagues who are doing that - and are allowed to do so …There are those who are scared of helping each other, they would rather avoid it...rather than give a hand... we've had that for years...those ones who just drive past and laugh, I think it's an old habit." (Søren)*

In general, time is regarded as a critical factor for creating a common spirit in the renewed municipal contractor organisations. However in some cases integrative initiatives like relocation and working together on specific tasks were beneficial for the process. Moreover different social and/or occupational events have been introduced or made uniform in the organisations, e.g. team-building arrangements, work-related courses, reading and computer courses, summer and Christmas celebrations as well as a range of more voluntary social events. Such initiatives are in general considered rather successful. Merging of park and road workers has in several cases led to a common 'image' creation by introducing a new organisational name, logo and clothing, re-painting of municipal vehicles in matching colours and so on. As emphasized by this passage however incentives have been necessary to encourage the staff to mingle:

> *"…some of the men wouldn't come down here (to the Christmas Party ed.) they stayed in their huts, because they wouldn't mix with us ...but if it was going to be like that then you had to do something else… and say in that case you can call it a day. And if you come along then you get paid as normal, right. That helped. Now they all come down here… and we've got our neighbour over there, they come along too...and we always invite someone from the management – and the chairman of the committee is also welcome ...And now we've started giving Christmas presents as well...and those who can remember that before you only got 10 cigarettes, they really feel like something has happened. We get work clothes, with a logo on, so we are sort of united again – get an identity as a workplace. It's that sort of thing it takes..."(Erling)*

In order to support day-to-day performance in the decentralised organisation, several foremen and workers have attended courses in coaching, co-operation, team building and conflict resolution in order to improve teamwork. Altogether the courses are considered inspiring and useful, however it has proven difficult to gain the full benefit of these courses when falling back into daily routines. Some interviewees emphasized that a range of technical courses would have been more appropriate in terms of the market-

oriented organisation. These could have included performing contract management and understanding accounting procedures or resource steering programs.

CHANGE OF IDENTITY

When having to adopt cultural changes in the municipal contractor organisation, staffs often refer to challenges on an individual level. In this study, shifting identity when merging road and park maintenance organisations and when turning the municipal contractor organisation into a competitive enterprise, have been addressed as challenges on an individual level.

Merging road and park maintenance organisations is a challenge to staffs due to cultural differences between 'grey' road-and-construction workers and 'green' park workers. Basically 'grey' workers are occupied with 'hard values' like stone and tarmac closely adhering to engineer descriptions when working, while 'green' workers are occupied with more 'soft values', growth dynamics and thus a development perspective in daily work practice. To merge the two different cultures of 'grey' and 'green' is described by an interviewee as *"trying to merge fire and water"*. Several staffs emphasize the challenge of identifying with the contractor organisation rather than with former road or park crews. One interviewee describes the result of the cultural challenge on a personal level:

> *"It was difficult – we had very different cultures. But it's getting better. The most difficult was to get used to us being one – that was the hardest. I carried on thinking I was in the road section…and I shouldn't think that … I should think I was in the contractors' organisation. And I feel that's been hard" (Randi)*

It is emphasized in several cases that cultural differences between 'green' and 'green' workers seem to remain part of the organisational culture even over time.

Another challenge mentioned by the staffs has been adopting a competitive working culture. Like in private enterprises, municipal workers working on contract, have had to face the fact that 'time is money'. Having to account for every 15 minutes of their time has genuinely forced the workers to initi-

ate a change of behaviour in day-to-day practice. While some consider this situation restraining compared to previous practice, others find it quite satisfying to be able to prove competitiveness. This difference of beliefs is illustrated by the following:

> *"…that makes it hard for me to help a colleague very much…you can't just go and help without asking. If you do, they can say that you haven't got anything to do with that task number ….so if you want to take a side step it's when you have some spare time or you can register the time under an external project..."(Søren)*

> *"…we work to particular contracts, that means that we have specific goals to achieve. And it's like…that after we've had those goals made clear for everyone…it has obviously made it a little more difficult, because those goals just need to be met…we have to fulfil the contract, that's clear...beyond that, it means that we can more easily see the point of our work when we are out and about and have a job...we know how it should look there...maybe it sounds rigid...but it does give us a greater freedom and satisfaction to say, OK I've done it…and it fulfils the contract."(Kurt)*

In terms of identity creation many of the workers express that the fact that they are working in a political organisation is very important. Hence, even though competitiveness has become a keyword in day-to-day performance, the threat of politicians constantly interfering with new tasks or budget cuts is indeed present in the minds of the workers as determining for the working environment.

Discussion

This paper has addressed both structural and cultural change in Danish municipal contractor organisations. Structural change has been shown to cover amendments in the municipal contractor organisations like merging road and park maintenance organisations; decentralisation efforts and staff transfer as a consequence of contracting out municipal service delivery. Likewise cor-

porate cultural change has been shown to cover the transformation of traditional public organisations into competitive municipal enterprises. In this process learning contracting performance and creating a common corporate spirit has been necessary aims, leading eventually to a shift in roles and identity for the working staff.

However mostly addressed indirectly in the results, leadership have been an important factor in the processes of change studied. In fact leaders roles and responsibilities seem evident in supporting the process and making way for a good result in terms of a satisfactory and qualifying working environment. Hence leadership will be addressed as a separate issue in this section.

Changing roles and identity will be addressed in this section as well, as individual change has been recognized in this study as a substantial challenge when applying organisational cultural change. As shown, development has to take place even on a personal level in order for the working staff to cope with and benefit from the new working conditions. It is undoubtedly important for the municipalities to understand and deal with this situation, since the working staffs are in the very front-line of municipal service provision. According to Haaning & Ladefoged (2005) it is a challenge to Danish municipalities to maintain sound local service delivery based on familiarity with local conditions when introducing competitive strategies. The results in this paper suggest that part of this challenge is to create a good and supportive working environment in order to accomplish a competitive and good quality in-house service delivery.

ORGANISATIONAL CULTURAL CHANGE

Basically, culture is something that groups or organisations share or have in common and something, which has been structured and integrated within the group or organisation over time (Schein1992). Thus culture is about having the same norms, values and standards, about using common language and sharing symbols and rituals. Within this study cultural change in municipal contractor organisations generally relates to the transformation from being traditional maintenance organisations to becoming competitive municipal enterprises. At an individual level staff have also addressed the transformation from ‘green’ or ‘grey’ into ‘contractor’ as an important cultural challenge.

Municipal maintenance organisations (i.e. the municipal contractor organisations) depart from a gardener tradition and practice in the parishes and towns (Pedersen et al. 2005, Sørensen 1931). Along with municipal development the average size of municipal organisations has increased, and so has the number of professionals, i.e. park managers, in municipal administration (Nuppenau & Juul 2001). Hence, the gardener tradition has developed into professional positions and practice in the municipal organisation, mostly being part of the municipal technical department (Juul & Nuppenau 2000). The development of competitive municipal enterprises has been initiated during the 1990s because of state-level political demands for efficiency and competitiveness. As part of this development features of New Public Management (NPM) have inspired the implementation of new steering means within the traditional organisation (Nuppenau 2008) whereof merging of road and park maintenance has in many cases been implemented as one of the earliest organisational changes related to this development scheme.

According to this study, merging 'green' and 'grey' staffs is most likely to create a clash of identities and the need for a new corporate common culture. Not surprisingly, the working staffs have emphasized time as a very important factor in this process. Moreover, initiating specific initiatives has been suggested to support cultural development within the new groups of people working together. In a number of cases the benefits of working towards a common goal have been emphasized as beneficial for cultural development, i.e. when going into tendering (the common goal was to win) or when certifying the municipal enterprise according to international standards (the common goal was to optimise organisational performance).

It is a general experience that the process of adapting to contracting performance has been difficult as well as stimulating. At corporate level the process has been regarded as necessary and profitable for the work environment at least in the long run. At individual level improved work related attitude and behaviour among the staff have been identified, just as the atmosphere at work has in several cases changed for the better. For the individual worker change has involved increased responsibility along with possibilities for personal and professional development. Still, for some it has been difficult to adjust to the fact that 'time is money', which has led to a more stressfull day-to-day practice.

Another challenge for the working staff in the process of change has been facing transfer. Due to Danish law, facing transfer is a potential threat to employees whose work is occasionally appointed to processes of tendering and contracting out (Werlauff 2006). Experiences with transferring staff between employers, no matter public or private, are various, and very often unsatisfactory for the persons involved. Especially the labour unions have addressed this situation on behalf of the municipal employees (3F 2006). In the cases studied only a few employees were actually transferred, yet the tendering preparation phase was an anxious experience in itself. In one case experience with transferring staff to private contractors caused so much frustration that transfer, in order to protect the staff, is no longer considered when going into tendering. By reducing the size of each contract it has proven possible to find internal jobs for workers who do not wish to be transferred.

Anxiety towards facing transfer is most likely the result of a mechanism of resistance to change, which can be caused by loosing control, uncertainty and lack of information, confusion and in-security towards own skills and competences as well as real threats, bringing about pain and losses (Moss Kanter et al. 1992). As shown in this study, facing transfer involves several of these experiences and threats for the involved staff in municipal contractor organisations. Often, the process of change is too complex to avoid resistance, however change can be coped with if, and most preferable, by a professional change-agent (Carnall 1990). In one of the cases covered by this study a consultant was successfully involved, helping the staff to cope with change and regain confidence in their job-situation, e.g., by turning their frustrations into a genuine fight for their work place, providing new perspectives on the possibilities and creating a new self-image.

THE IMPORTANCE OF LEADERSHIP

Leadership plays an important role in the development of new organisational culture (Gagliardi 1986, Schein 1992), hence will be addressed specifically here. In fact, the most visible factor to distinguish major cultural changes that succeed from those that fail is competent leadership (Burnes 1992, Kotter & Heskett 1992).

As shown in this paper, transformation of municipal contractor organisations into competitive enterprises includes a complex process of cultural change. This process can be described as an organisational learning process in which managers play a key role (Schein 1992). According to Gagliardi (1986) three strategies for cultural change can be identified; a) the evil circle, in which the organisation is not able to learn from its experiences, and therefore holds on to previous practice which is, however, defying new conditions; b) a cultural revolution, where old ideals and values are instantly replaced with new ones, leading to resistance and opting out by members of the organisation; and c) cultural incrementalism, where new values are slowly implemented alongside traditional values, in order to broaden the perspectives of organisational action.

Within the cases studied, all of these types of strategies can be identified. However the most common strategy seems to be that of cultural incrementalism. In several cases cultural change has been induced in parts of the organisation, when testing the impact and benefits of new competitive conditions with small-scale tendering. Moreover, the organisational development process in Danish municipalities in general (as discussed in Nuppenau 2008) must be regarded as an organisational learning process, eventually changing the traditional municipal culture over time. Even though affecting municipal contractor organisations stepwise this strategy requires a particular management effort from the start, e.g., in order to make the entire organisation adapt to working with contractual standards.

That cultural change requires a management effort can be exemplified with the case where an incremental process of change was kick-started with a small cultural revolution among the gardeners in the mid 1980s, leading to the introduction of self-governed teams in parts of the organisation. During the following years the remainder of the organisation was re-organised as well along with the initiation of price testing in order to prove efficiency and competitiveness. Today staff expresses concerns towards internal relationships as well as insecurity towards an evidently competitive future. Management has not yet reacted to this situation. An example of persistent manager influence is the case where a cultural revolution was experienced, due to a decision to put up all municipal maintenance tasks for tender. In this situation the works manager invited a consultant to participate in the early

process of change and the benefits for the staff have been evident. Today the corporate culture is very strong and the staffs feel prepared for a competitive future. What happens when managers do not react appropriately is exemplified in a case where an 'evil circle' process seems to have taken place. During the process of change management has been unable to support the development of a good contracting performance and the establishment of a common corporate spirit. In general the relation between managers and staff has become troublesome and in day-to-day practice the workers try to cope with the situation individually.

CHANGING ROLES AND IDENTITY

As shown in this paper working staff in municipal contactor organisations have experienced a change of roles and identity as a consequence of organisational cultural change. Roles are structurally determined expressing expectations towards specific positions within the organisation (Parsons 1995, Andersen 2000). However, roles can be challenged by contextual change such as structural change, discursive change and a change of identity (Jæger & Sørensen 2003). Structural change has been applied in municipal park management organisations both in terms of merging road and park maintenance organisations and decentralisation initiatives as shown, but also in terms of commonly separating purchaser and provider functions (Nilsson & Nuppenau 2000). On a more general level a discursive change have been recognized based on the introduction of more indirect (meta) steering forms, like frame regulations and network steering (Jæger & Sørensen 2003) and by challenging 'legitimacy' as the traditional discursive criterion of success in public organisations with the criteria of 'efficiency' (Hood 1991). In park management organisations discursive change has been addressed with an increased use of resource systems in search of efficiency and steering forms like contracting out, internal contracting and self-management agreements as well as 'joint management' and self-governed teams.

Roles can furthermore be challenged if the role owner experiences a change of identity, that is the story that individuals reflexively create about themselves to enhance meaning and consistency in their lives (Kaspersen 1995, Jæger & Sørensen 2003). However, the ability to change role depends on the character of the role, whether it is strictly or more loosely defined

(Jæger & Sørensen 2003). With a strictly defined role, role taking can be challenging to previous identity. With a more loosely defined role, employees are stressed to act as role-makers when fitting the new role to their own identity. Within municipal contractor organisations employees have addressed an identity challenge especially related to merging road and park maintenance organisations, when having to identify with the contractor organisation rather than with former 'green' or 'grey' colleagues. However, the challenge could also be, for the employees, to maintain or redefine their identity as gardener or road worker when entering a new role defined by structural or discursive change, that is, re-organisation or becoming part of a competitive organisation.

In Danish municipal contractor organisations especially the foremen have been confronted with both role making and identity shaping in order to comply with a new competitive culture. This is illustrated by the variety of new foreman roles in the municipalities, e.g. team-leaders and works manager assistants. Specifically the foremen have been experiencing more management responsibilities, increased professional responsibility (in terms of output control), supervision and administrative functions.

Also on workman level roles have changed, even beyond changes related to the merging process and becoming part of a competitive organisation. Given increased responsibility for both output and work processes, self-governance initiatives have been yet another challenge for the working staff in municipal contractor organisations. And, as shown, workers respond differently to this development. Some find the 'team process' and increased responsibility inspiring, and leaving them with more personal challenges, development possibilities and a stronger sense of community in the work place. Others find it difficult and unpleasant to be responsible for the 'team process', and eventually prefer only to be responsible for delivering a good piece of work.

Conclusions and lessons learned

In this study issues of organisational cultural change in Danish municipal contractor organisations have been addressed. It has been argued that a discursive change in society has stressed increased marketization efforts in

Danish municipal organisations leading to both structural and corporate cultural change. When transforming municipal contractor organisations according to this tendency, the importance of creating a common corporate culture and spirit in order to overcome existing cultural differences, improve internal relations and create a satisfactory, productive and qualifying working environment has been emphasized.

HANDLE WITH CARE

It is evident that the process of learning contracting performance has provided Danish municipal contractor organisations with an overview of tasks to be carried out and procedures to be followed. When properly functioning this system leaves room for developing quality and professional standards as well as optimising routines of cooperation. However, it is important to acknowledge the contract design. If the contract is based on a description of the number of performances expected to produce a certain standard, it is important that genuine professional or political priorities are made when adjusting contracting performance in order to reduce the contracting sum. Simply reducing the performance level in order to reduce the contracting sum will eventually lead to a reduced service quality and/or create a stressful working environment for the working staffs. Involving the working staff in work planning and task priorities will increase the sense of responsibility and ownership towards work performance. This objective can probably also be achieved by describing the preferred quality or 'state of the art' in a green area, leaving room for the contractor and his staff to decide for and provide the performance needed. Either way skilled management is needed to support the process.

This study has shown that a merging process must be conducted professionally in order to strengthen the common corporate spirit and sense of responsibility in the organisation. It is evident that managers' must be in control and that using consultants can be beneficial for the process as well as for the result. Moreover there is no doubt that increasing the sense of responsibility among the working staff will provide the organisation with the strength to cope with increased competition as well as future merging processes. In this perspective it should be noted that some workers apparently

feel disregarded by top-managers and politicians not following up on the extensive consequences of their decisions.

Managers generally play an important role when applying change in municipal contractor organisations. Managers are responsible for keeping focus, for clarifying and communicating objectives, for initiating and facilitating the creation of organisational culture and common spirit and for doing away with misunderstandings and frustrations. According to the study is specifically important to deal with and give priority to the worries and doubts of current members of the staff in the process of change. Furthermore it is important to create room for everybody, to improve the community spirit, to create ownership towards activities, to involve and enhance dialogue, and to respect limits as well as limitations in order to get the full benefit of the available workforce.

When decentralising resources and responsibilities to teams and squads, this study has emphasized the importance of communicating and keeping a dialogue vertically in the organisation. Moreover, cogency when setting and pursuing objectives and standards must be strived for.

Finally, the study has shown a few loose ends, which will continue to demand attention when introducing change in municipal park management organisations in the future. As a consequence of making municipal contractor organisations more competitive, it has proven difficult to uphold the incorporation of social responsibilities in municipal practice. Even though Danish municipalities have a long tradition of being spacious and thus, attractive workplaces for people with various disabilities, and despite the fact that managers and employees themselves wants to embrace such people, competitiveness and spaciousness basically seems incompatible in nature. Moreover, the situation of transferring employees to winning contractors still needs to be attended to and improved. The study has thus revealed park management as a social system and an organisational practice, which can be improved with a determined and social effort.

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9. APPENDIX

Appendix 1 – Case Reports

Appendix 2 – Data Sources & Documentation

APPENDIX 1

Introduction

This dissertation is based on the study of six cases. Based on the population of Danish municipalities operating in the field of park management, a sample of six municipalities has been purposefully and strategically selected (Flyvbjerg 1991). The primary selection criterion for the sample of cases was a maximum variation in marketization characteristics (Flyvbjerg 2003).

In order to identify relevant cases with contracting experience three references was chosen; 1) an investigation of municipal contracting performance in the period 1994-99, including parks and green areas (Kommunernes Landsforening 2001); 2) a data base covering invitations to submit tenders in Denmark in the period 1997-2003, including tenders on green areas, park maintenance and trees (Dagbladet Licitationen 2003) and; 3) a data base covering EU contract agreements in the period 2000-2002, including contracts on green areas (Udbudsportalen 2003). Based on these references the five cases shown in table 9.1 were chosen for study.

Kommunernes Landsforening 2001 (1994-99)	Dagbladet Licitationen (1997-2003)	Udbudsportalen 2003 (2000-2002)
	Assens	Assens
	Fredensborg-Humlebæk	
Herning	Herning	Herning
	Køge	
Roskilde	Roskilde	Roskilde

Table 9.1 Identification of relevant cases

As a supplementary case with limited contracting experience, the municipality of Nordborg was chosen. This choice was made from previous knowledge about the municipal contracting policy and current organisational changes in order to improve competitiveness. The source of information was the park manager in Nordborg, at that time.

In table 9.2 an overview of municipal characteristics relevant for the study is provided. In general, three cases followed a policy of large-scale contracting accomplished within a period of one to five years. The other three cases used small-scale contracting or other means to achieve efficiency and competitiveness within their own organisation.

		Assens	Fredens-borg-Humlebæk	Herning	Køge	Nordborg	Roskilde
Demography	Geographical region	Funen	North-Zealand	Mid-jutland	Mid-Zealand	Southern-Jutland	Mid-Zealand
	Inhabitants 2004	10,900	19,900	59,000	39,600	14,100	53,600
	Total area of municipality (ha)	14,024	7,209	54,160	11, 938	12,478	8,075
Park maintenance	Area of city green space	87	Data not available	1,712 (1)	320	86 (2)	200
	Number of workers employed (3)	40	24	110	120	46	110
	Green space maintenance budget (Million D.kr. per year)	4	16	21	14	6	16 + on account
Organisation	Contracting policy (4)	Large-scale	Large-scale	Small-scale 30% on contract	Large-scale over a five-year period	Small-scale if convenient	Small-scale 20% on contract
	Primary purchaser organisation	Technical department	Technical department, Maintenance and construction	Technical department, Park management	Technical department, Maintenance and construction	None	Park- and Road department, Service and maintenance
	Primary contractor	Municipal contractors enterprise	Technical department, Parks & Roads	Technical department, Contractors	Municipal contractors enterprise	Municipal road and park enterprise	Park- and Road department, Contractors

Table 9.2 Municipalities chosen for study – an overview of municipal characteristics Situated in a rural district.

(1) City green space includes larger nature areas

(2) Estimated figure

(3) Occupied with park and road services. In Køge the municipal contractor also carries out sewage and environmental services and the total number of employees is 235.

(4) Large-scale contracting is contracting out all municipal road and park service delivery at one time. Small-scale contracting is contracting out parts of municipal road and park service delivery (Nuppenau et al 2005)

In 2003/04 when the case studies were carried out, Danish municipal park management organisations differed considerably in size, culture and governmental tradition (Juul & Nuppenau 2000b). Hence, in order to ensure the relevance of the study for Danish municipalities in general, the selected municipalities differ in size and geographical location (region). Since January 2007 the selected municipalities have all been merged with one or more neighbouring municipalities due to a structural reform (Indenrigs- og Sundhedsministeriet 2006). Therefore the selected municipalities do no longer exist as individual organisations. However, in this section and in the following case reports, the municipalities are described as they appeared at the time of the case studies, i.e. in 2003/04.

Assens

Assens is a quite small municipality situated at the coastline in the west part of the island Funen. Since January 1, 2003 the road- and park services have been provided based on an internal contracting agreement with "Entreprenørgården", the municipal contractors organisation. Road- and park services are purchased from the technical department serving the technical political committee. After a political decision to contract out all road- and park services, the competitive tendering was due in August 2000. The municipal contractor held the lowest offer and the tender was cancelled. Two and a half years later an internal contract with "Entreprenørgården" was introduced.

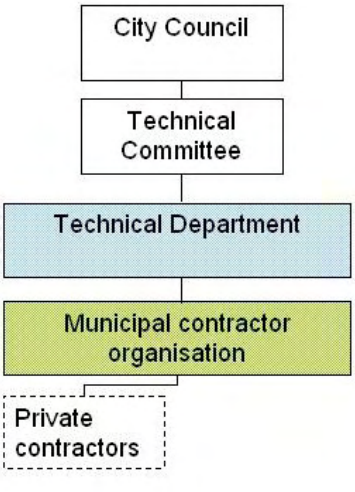

Figure 9.1 Organisational diagram Assens

CASE POLICY NARRATIVE

Phase in the policy process	Assens	Notes
Issue search or agenda setting		
Issue analysis, definition and filtration		
Alternatives		
Recommendations		
Setting objectives and priorities		Politicians decide to go into competitive tendering with all technical and tax financed maintenance tasks
Options analysis		
Policy implementation, monitoring and control (output)		Competitive tendering. Municipal contractor holds the lowest bid. An internal contract is agreed upon. The staffs take part in description and measuring. The number of staffs is reduced. The staffs are worried because maintenance level is dropping. Lack of coordination and steering.
Evaluation and review (outcome)		Managers express their satisfaction but the staffs are frustrated. A formal evaluation is still to come.
Guidance and programs for future action		

Table 9.3 Policy process in Assens

In Assens the decision to contract out municipal green-space service delivery was made by the liberal political majority. The competitive tendering was prepared by the municipal administration (technical department) on the basis of surveying and descriptions made by the municipal contractors organisation and a private consultancy.

In 2000 the road and green-space services were tendered out separately yet the municipal contractors organisation gave only one bid covering both. Since their price was lowest the tendering was cancelled and it was decided to introduce an internal contract. However due to changes within the municipal organisation the internal contract was not due until January 2003. In the in-between period the municipal contractor worked according to the tendering documents. Today the works manager seeks to adjust the municipal contractors organisation to the competitive situation in order to avoid future large-scale tendering.

CASE TRANSFORMATION NARRATIVE

In Assens the road and park maintenance organisations were merged in 1997. In 2000 a large scale

competitive tendering was held and since the municipal contractor had the lowest bid, the tendering was cancelled. During the next years an organisational development process was carried out in the Technical department in general, leading in principle to the separation of purchaser and provider functions. However, the purchaser function covering the contracted tasks, i.e. the green maintenance tasks, is not developed. In 2003 an internal contracting agreement is formally introduced covering the green maintenance tasks, as described in the tendering documents.

1992	Introducing resource and/or quality control systems
1997	Merging road and park maintenance organisations
2000	Large scale competitive tendering
2003	Transition into internal contracting arrangement

Table 9.4 Timetable of events of change in Assens

CASE EXPERIENCE NARRATIVE

In Assens the interviewees mention two processes of organisational change, that is the tendering and the introduction of an internal contracting agreement that took place three years after the tendering. The decision to contract out municipal technical service delivery was political and the interviewees had no influence on this decision. Rather it is described as a top-down initiated situation where the workers union representatives had to work actively to secure the conditions of the working staff. Before the tendering the works managers and the staff carried out the measurements and descriptions needed since this kind of information was not available. Furthermore all workers related to the park tasks were facing transfer, should a private contractor win the bid. This threat meant a lot of frustration and anxiety among the workers throughout a period of 1½ year. Their fear was attached to the uncertainty of being competitive at all, and a lack of confidence in keeping their job if being transferred. A few persons quitted their job during this process, as they found work elsewhere. According to some interviewees there was a lack of corporate spirit among workers facing transfer and those not during this period of time, and according to several statements, this is still the case.

In the end the municipal contractor won the bid and took over the tasks according to the tendering documents. However the internal contracting agreement based on the tendering documents, was not introduced until three years later. The internal contracting agreement covers only 75% of the tasks carried out by the municipal contractor (primarily park maintenance), the rest, mostly road and sewing tasks are carried out in free competition. Besides bringing up the differences between road and park workers, introduc-

ing a competitive situation on tasks outside the contract has generated a continuous pressure on the workers specifically involved in these tasks. If they are not always cheapest there is a threat that a private contractor will take over.

Since introducing the internal contract several new tasks have been added to the portfolio of the municipal contractor organisation. Some of these tasks are generating extra income to the enterprise while some are just added as an adjustment of the contract, however without adjusting the contracting sum. Meanwhile the working staffs have also been reduced causing a time and workload pressure on the remaining staffs as well as a quality reduction. According to some interviewees, citizens are commenting on the reduced quality in the urban green areas and the workers find it un-satisfactory that they can do nothing to help it. The general feeling among the workers is, that the internal contracting agreement covers too many tasks to be carried out within the given economical frame. Furthermore, extra tasks are given high priority reducing the time left for the tasks within the contracting agreement. Some workers explain how they deal with the increased workload pressure. A common solution is to do their work as fast as possible, yet with a decrease in maintenance quality. Another solution is to register the resources spend on a different area, to make things “level out”. Even though the workers mention this as not often appearing, the work manager approves of the method in order to reduce frustration in terms of dealing with the rigid descriptions in the contracting agreement. A third solution mentioned, is changing maintenance operations and priorities, leaving the green areas in another physical state than originally described in the contracting agreement. According to the workers this is not a problem, since apparently no one is controlling the work of the municipal contractor (at least not to the knowledge of the interviewees).

The interviewees mention leadership and lack of information as important issues in this case. The works manager still has a foreman position, yet spends most of his time dealing with the municipal administration or generating new jobs for the municipal contractor organisation. The other foreman is distributing tasks on a daily basis yet is, according to the interviewees, not interfering much with the dispositions made by the workers. Some interviewees find it relieving to be able to manage their own working time, however express a need for further interference and planning from the managers in order to make the enterprise function in a satisfactory manner. Some interviewees suggest a more genuine self-managing organisation as an alternative. The interviewees also mention two management dispositions as being critical to work satisfaction at least for parts of the staff. First of all a sharing of overheads on work carried out for others has been introduced within the contractor organisation. Apparently this is continuously a subject of discussion among the workers, as some would prefer an enlargement of the staff to

reduce workload pressure. Secondly, savings for maintenance and reinvestment in new machinery has been reduced in order to meet political demands for budget cutbacks. However interviewees fear that this will lead to an increased deterioration of the machinery, which is already exposed since the garage has been destroyed in a storm some years ago and never replaced, leaving the machinery parked outside.

In general the interviewees find that the contracting agreement has made the municipal contractor organisation a different place to work with an increased workload pressure. Some of them find the situation unsatisfactory since they are unable to produce a satisfying quality of work and because the lack of corporate spirit. Others are quite happy with the present working conditions as long as they are allowed to do things their own way and be responsible for their own piece of work.

Fredensborg-Humlebæk

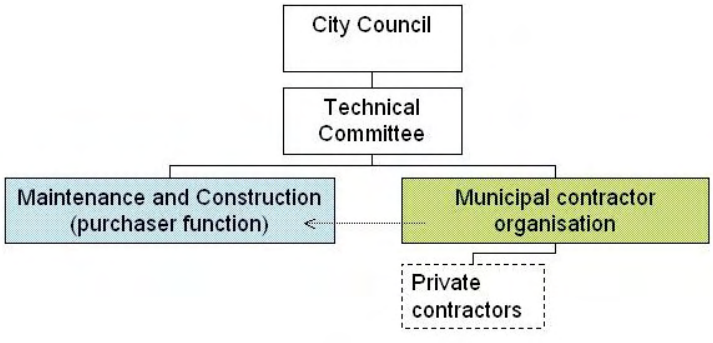

Fig 9.3 Organisational diagram Fredensborg-Humlebæk

Fredensborg-Humlebæk is a mid-size municipality situated in North-Zealand. Since 2003 the road- and park services has been provided from 'Park & Vej' the municipal contractors organisation based on internal contract agreements. Road- and park services are formally purchased from the technical department however the professional competence here is primarily on 'grey' issues like roads and pavements, whereas the leader of the contractors organisation serve as the municipal purchaser of park services on consultancy basis. The decision to contract out all road- and park services was made by a liberal majority of local politicians in 1999. The officials of the local government were given influence on the details of the contracting decision and in 2001 the competitive tendering was held covering all municipal road- and park services.

CASE POLICY NARRATIVE

In Fredensborg-Humlebæk the politicians decided in 1999 to put municipal road and park services out to tender, in order to achieve an overview of the municipal expenses and clarify the effectiveness and competitiveness of the municipal contractors organisation. Furthermore there had been some rumours among the public that municipal workers were lazy and not doing their job. By provoking a competitive situation, the politicians wanted this rumouring to end and to make the workers proud of themselves and their job.

The decision to put municipal services out to tender was one of principle and after the decision was made, officials of the local government were asked for suggestions on how contracting should eventually be carried out. Involved in this work was the road- and park manager, a road engineer from the administration, the technical director and an external consultant. In October 2000 a time schedule was presented suggesting a process in two phases with a political decision in between. In the initial phase the road and park organisation needed to describe in details the services that were going into tendering. Furthermore the consultant should work out and evaluate the consequences of a number of alternative contracting strategies in order to find the best possible solution. In the second phase the tendering and contracting documents were developed. All in all, the preparation process was predicted to last about a year, but was in fact delayed for a few months.

In June 2001 the consultant presented three alternative contracting strategies to be discussed: large scale tendering covering all municipal road and park-services, small scale tendering leaving some tasks to remain within the municipal contactors organisation and internal contracting. The officials recommended the large scale tendering in order to satisfy the actual political need for proof of competitiveness and eventually leave the municipal providers organisation to work in peace for some time. Yet the result could also be a termination of the municipal providers organisation in case a private contractor should win the bid. The politicians decided to go along with this recommendation.

Phase in the policy process	Fredensborg-Humlebæk	Notes
Issue search or agenda setting		Competitive tendering is suggested when political power relations change.
Issue analysis, definition and filtration		Politicians want the staff to be proud of their work, and for the inhabitants to get their 'moneys worth' in service.
Alternatives		Managers and a consultant describe different alternative solutions.
Recommendations		The consultants' suggestions are based on his experience in other municipalities.
Setting objectives and priorities		Politicians decide to go into competitive tendering. A large-scale competition is preferred.
Options analysis		
Policy implementation, monitoring and control (output)		Large-scale competition is prepared for one year. A purchaser-provider organisation is implemented. The staffs take part in description and measuring. Managers and consultants prepare documents. Municipal contractor holds lowest bid and an internal contract is agreed upon.
Evaluation and review (outcome)		Supplementary tasks are now paid for separately.
Guidance and programs for future action		The contract is running until the structural reform is completed. Managers are working to suggest a new form of organisation to the politicians.

Table 9. 5 Policy Process in Fredensborg-Humlebæk

Also in 1999, but independently of the tendering decision, a consultant recommended a separation of the existing organisation into a purchaser-provider organisation and the politicians decided to follow this recommendation. In the new organisation the road- and park manager became the works manager of the provider organisation and the road engineer formally became the purchaser. However due to the lack of "green expertise" in the purchasers organisation, the works manager of the municipal provider organisation who was a landscape architect from education, was hired as a consultant pur-

chaser. The new organisation was implemented in 2000 while preparations were still going on for the large-scale tendering.

In 2001 all municipal road and park services were put out to tender. The descriptions developed within the organisation formed a basis for the invitation to tender. The municipal provider organisation hired a consultant to help with calculating its own bid and to improve motivation, atmosphere and attitudes among the workers. In December 2001 the municipal provider organisation won the bid, thus the competitive tendering was cancelled. Instead a three-year internal contract was developed as an agreement between the works manager of the municipal provider organisation and the responsible political committee. The contracting period started April 1, 2002.

CASE TRANSFORMATION NARRATIVE

In Fredensborg-Humlebæk the development process was quite short and intense.

1995	Merging road and park maintenance organisations
1998	Introducing resource and/or quality control systems
1999	Introducing self-governance working groups
2000	Separation of purchaser and provider function
2001	Large scale competitive tendering
2002	Transition into internal contracting arrangements

Table 9.6 Timetable of events of change in Fredensborg-Humlebæk

The road and park departments and the maintenance organisations were merged in 1995. In 1997 the politicians introduced the idea of contracting out municipal services and two years later a principle decision was made to go into competitive tendering with all road and park services. In 1998 a resource and quality control system was implemented in the municipal contractors organisation in order to prepare for the future competitive situation. At the time of the principle decision, a consultant suggested separation of the purchaser and provider functions even though the municipal organisation was not really big enough. As a consequence, the works manager was employed as a consultancy purchaser when the functions are formally split up in 2000.

In 1999 changes were made in the municipal contractor organisation in order to create a more flexible organisation. The preparation for competitive tendering started in 2000, were the works manager composed a time schedule for the tendering process. The municipal provider organisation won the bid in autumn 2001 and in April 2002 an internal contract agreement was in-

troduced. Soon after this self-governmental working groups were introduced in order to discharge some leadership responsibility from the works manager and to improve enterprise ownership and work satisfaction among the staff.

CASE EXPERIENCE NARRATIVE

In Fredensborg-Humlebæk the staff experienced a political decision to contract out all municipal service delivery concerning road and park maintenance. Only a few years before this decision was made, the road and park maintenance organisations had been joined together. In the beginning the staffs were quite un-happy with the decision, since they wanted to stay together in the municipal contractor organisation instead of facing transfer to a private contractor. Both team-leaders and the works manager were, however, invited to present their views before the final decision was made. The process before the tendering situation was rather frustrating for the staff, since they didn't know what the result would be. The interviewees referred to the situation of facing transfer differently, but evidently it has been a very negative experience for some.

In order to prepare the tendering process in the municipal contractors organisation a consultant from the union was hired, and his experiences were a great help to the staff. The interviewees stress his value related to the "creation" of a new form of corporate spirit towards the tendering process as well as towards the working place. In the initial part of the process the consultant helped the staff become aware of the importance of fighting together for their working place as well as looking at their organisation in a new perspective. Furthermore he kept up the spirit by passing on experience and good examples from tendering processes in other municipalities. Specifically he was involved in calculating the municipal contractors own bid for the tender, and the team leaders were sent on a course to learn calculating principles. The staffs were involved in measuring and describing the tasks to be covered by the contracting documents. The fact that everybody participated in this process helped reducing frustration in this uncertain period. One important lesson learned from the process is that everybody has to take responsibility in order fulfil the common obligation of the organisation. This has not been an easy lesson to learn, and some have been more unwilling than others in this sense. Anyway, the common process has led to better understanding among the staff, and there is no longer a difference between road and park workers.

When the municipal contractor organisation won the bid everybody was relieved. However, the first year of the internal contracting agreement, was also troublesome and with a lot of pressure. The staff then had to show that they were actually able to take on the big task. Furthermore, a new flat organisational structure was carried through in the organisation after the tendering process, meaning that the teams had new responsibilities i.e. on pro-

fessional matters and in keeping the contracting agreement fulfilled. It is a positive effect of the tendering process that professional goals have been discussed and made clear, so that everybody work towards the same goal. The teams are also involved in planning the task portfolio, since they are now entitled to outsource tasks, that they do not wish to solve themselves, i.e. cleaning the public toilets.

The flexibility towards outsourcing tasks that is not profitable or fits into the staff profile is an important aspect of being a competitive enterprise. It is a common experience for the interviewees that their daily life has changed after entering the internal contracting agreement i.e. they are now responsible for planning their own time and solving their own tasks without having to ask anyone before doing something. All in all the process has meant an increased ownership towards tasks and problems, as well as more professional pride and sense of responsibility for the workers. In general the works manager has insisted on focusing on communication and co-operation as a subject for corporate weekend seminars, which has been held three times since entering the internal contracting agreement.

The flat organisational structure was introduced before the tender took place, basically because the works manager wanted to distribute the work management. However self-management in the teams were not introduced until after entering the internal contracting agreement. Today, the team leader function still exists however is applied differently in each team depending on the “need for management” agreed upon in the team. The works manager and team leaders meet every Friday morning for a mutual briefing. This routine is enough to ensure the level of information and fulfil the need for communication. Team leaders bring ideas and information back and forth to the team members. After the municipal contractor organisation having won the tender a formal purchaser-provider organisation was introduced in the technical department. However only the purchaser on road tasks is formally hired in the administration, since the works manager (who were previously the park manager) is now hired as a consultant on park issues in the purchaser function. This organisational setting does not make a clear cut between purchaser and provider functions, however is very practical in daily life. E.g. the interviewees find it rather convenient that decisions on park issues can be taken immediately and on the spot instead of having to bring ideas back into the administration to make physical changes. As to the purchaser on road tasks, he is the former works manager in the road section and therefore has quite a lot of knowledge on specific tasks and routines.

The interviewees agree that they have a good working place with freedom, responsibility, satisfaction and a good sense of common spirit, even though workload pressure can be high in order to fulfil the contractual obligations, especially in holiday seasons or in case of illness.

Herning

Herning is a larger municipality with app. 59.000 inhabitants located in mid-Jutland. Since 1999 the municipal contractors organisation has provided 75-80% of the municipal road- and park services on internal contracts, based on ancient practice and an adjustable economical frame.

Fig 9.3 Organisational diagram Herning

Road- and park services are regularly sent into competitive tendering in order to test prices against the private market, and an average of app. 20% are continuously contracted out. The Park & Road department serving the political Technical and Environmental Committee are the purchasers of road- and park services. The decision to contract out parts of the municipal services where made by officials of local government in the mid 1990'ies and their policy was more or less adopted by the local liberal political majority in 2001.

CASE POLICY NARRATIVE

The decision to contract out parts of municipal green-space service delivery in Herning was made by officials of local government in 1995. At that time the Park Department was a separate unit in the traditional municipal hierarchy and it was the city and head gardeners who initiated the turning of the traditional department into a self-managing organisational unit. The new steering means introduced were new forms of budgeting, making expendi-

tures visible and calculating in all costs, describing volumes and quality of green-space services and small scale contracting.

Phase in the policy process	Herning	Notes
Issue search or agenda setting		Politicians make a principal decision to reduce the size of the municipal administration. Managers decide to take specific organisational action in order to be ahead of political demands for solutions.
Issue analysis, definition and filtration		
Alternatives		
Recommendations		
Setting objectives and priorities		Managers decide to implement a purchaser-provider organisation and to test prices in order to prove competitiveness
Options analysis		
Policy implementation, monitoring and control (output)		Parts of the park & road maintenance tasks are contracted out. Descriptions are developed continuously. Both private contractors and the municipal contractor organisation win tasks.
Evaluation and review (outcome)		A contracting level of 30% is chosen. It is part of the plan that all park & road maintenance tasks will eventually be described and put to tender.
Guidance and programs for future action		Politicians provide a service strategy, which support the policy chosen by the park managers.

Table 9. 7 Policy process in Herning

In 1996 a consultant examined the organisation and two years later the preliminary work for implementing a purchaser-provider organisation was initiated. Another consultancy examination of the organisation in 1999 confirmed the path of organisational development and recommended, that parts of the municipal service delivery were contracted out. However, implementation of the purchaser-provider organisation had to wait for natural retirement within the organisation. A political ideology of minimizing public organisation was the basic driving force in organisational development, a development that was not approved by the park managers. Their strategy to overcome this challenge was constantly to be ahead of the political decisions in order to set the agenda themselves. By being aware of societal tendencies and developments they were able to convince the politicians that they were

already taking action in the strived direction. In their own words the alternative to this offensive strategy had probably been large scale contracting.

By January 1, 2000 the purchaser-provider organisation was implemented and the former Park Department was separated into a purchaser function and a municipal provider organisation. At this point a small scale contracting strategy was developed, and thus geographical areas accounting for 25-30% of the municipality were contracted out in a 3-4 years rotation.

In 2001 the politicians passed a tendering policy adopting more or less the practice that was carried out within park management. The policy incorporated issues of environmental character, social responsibility and securing municipal competence and in terms of competitive tendering it was noticed that services should by delivered in the best and cheapest way, not necessarily by a private provider.

CASE TRANSFORMATION NARRATIVE

In Herning the organisational transformation process has been long and deliberate. In the late 1980s and early 1990s systems were introduced to ensure an overview of resources and qualities. Based on this knowledge park managers could in 1995 start the transformation of the traditional municipal organisation into a more market like business. In this period a number of small scale contracts were made, in order to test this new tool. These initiatives were at the same time adaptable to self-management initiatives in the municipality in general.

1987 and 1992	Introducing resource and/or quality control systems
1995	Small scale contracting
2000	Separation of purchaser and provider function
2004	Merging road and park maintenance organisations
2004	Introducing systems for performance and output control

Table 9.8 Timetable of events of change in Herning

In 2000 purchaser and provider functions were formally separated and especially for the municipal contractor organisation this was a considerable challenge. In order to ensure competitiveness in the contractor organisation, continuous organisational change has been necessary. In 2002 the green staffs were gathered in one yard and then, in 2004 road and park maintenance organisations were merged on the staffs initative. During the period 2000-04 the municipal contractor organisation was certified according to ISO 14001 standards (working environment, quality and processes).

CASE EXPERIENCE NARRATIVE

The most present change in Herning is the merging of road and park maintenance organisations. According to the staffs, cultural differences between green maintenance and green construction workers were a challenge in 2002, and lately, in 2004 the merging of road and park organisations has called for endurance. It has been a process lasting more than half a year, but thanks to working together the staffs are now coming together. Moreover, on a daily basis it is an advantage to be under the same roof.

In general, change has had positive effects for the organisation, however many workers have had a hard time during the process. Last year 10 colleagues were discharged because managers had to implement considerable savings. Now, new staffs are coming in, however, especially the unskilled workers are afraid to loose their jobs.

The interviewees stress managers' attitudes towards solving even small and specific problems as another challenging issue. Apparently, some managers are following their own agendas instead of working together for a result. Moreover, due to the size of the organisation, a lot of time is spent on meetings and result less discussions. Some interviewees find that the level of information from managers to staffs could be improved, in order to prevent rumours when something new is planned.

On individual workman level change has, in most cases, led to a more self-governed workday. Small teams work independently, with their own tasks or maintaining their districts. If one is motivated, it is now possible to create an interesting and challenging working environment. However, it is necessary to work faster and more committed with the tasks than previously. Moreover, some find it difficult to accept, that due to priorities when contracting out, the maintenance level of some areas have decreased. It is a common experience, that in order to cope with change it is necessary to be able to forget what things 'used to be' – and that is harder for some, than for others.

Køge

Køge is a mid-size municipality with app. 39.600 inhabitants situated at the east coast of Zealand, 40 km south of Copenhagen. In 1995 the separation of purchaser and provider functions was initiated with the introduction of a self-management agreement. Since 2002 the road- and park services has been provided in free competition amongst the municipal contractors organisation ETK (Entreprenør Teknik Køge or Contractor Technique Køge) and private contractors. Road- and park services are purchased from the technical department.

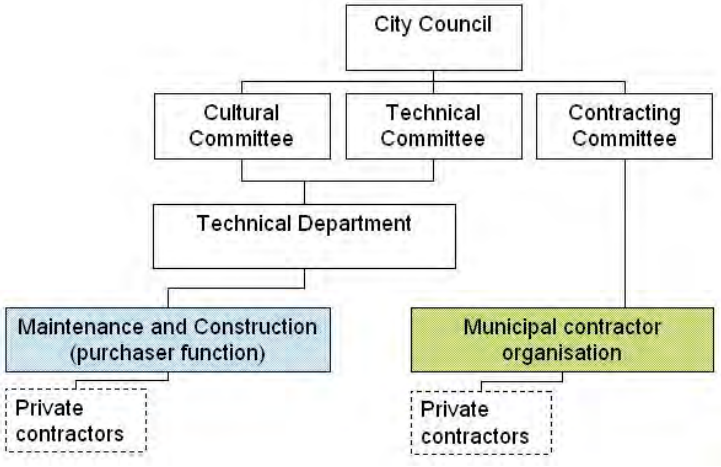

Fig 9.4 Organisational diagram Køge

CASE POLICY NARRATIVE

In 2001 the liberal majority of local politicians decided to send some road- and all park services into competitive tendering over a transformation period of 5 years. The officials of the local government were given influence on the decision to go into competitive tendering due to participating as secretary and professional consultants on a prior political recommendation report. The transformation period of 5 years were introduced as a political compromise to provide some immediate security for the municipal contractors organisation and staff.

Since 1995 a self-management agreement has served as a basis for green-space service delivery in Køge. The municipal contractors organisation delivered the services defined by the professionals in the administration accounting to an economical frame set by the politicians. In the agreement the administration was referred to as the commissioner. This was in principle the first step towards a purchaser-provider organisation.

In 1996 contracting out and privatisation was set on the political agenda in relation to a budget procedure. The liberal opposition suggested contracting out to cover a temporary need for extra labour during the summer period without increasing the permanent workforce. At the same time competitiveness and effectiveness of the municipal contractors organisation could be tested. Due to the interest in preserving municipal jobs the social democratic majority in the city council opposed this proposal and stated that they had no reason to mistrust the competitiveness and effectiveness of the municipal contractors organisation. In 1998 the municipal contractors organisation was evaluated by the Municipalities Audit Department with a supportive result.

Phase in the policy process	Køge	Notes
Issue search or agenda setting		A self-management agreement between the park administration and the municipal contractor is made. Competitive tendering is set on the political agenda in connection with an ideological dispute in the city council. The politicians want to ensure the citizens their moneys worth.
Issue analysis, definition and filtration		As a political compromise it is decided to investigate the possibilities to contract out road & park maintenance.
Alternatives		A working group on manager level works out a report.
Recommendations		A trip to another municipality is made to learn from their experience.
Setting objectives and priorities		It is decided to contract out all road and park maintenance tasks following a 5-year plan, which is part of the managers report.
Options analysis		
Policy implementation, monitoring and control (output)		The 5-year plan is currently being implemented.
Evaluation and review (outcome)		
Guidance and programs for future action		

Table 9.9 Policy Process in Køge

During the summer of 1999 the liberal politicians once again brought up the issue of contracting out municipal services. Since the election for the city council in 1997 the political majority had been liberal, however the majority was not unified in the contracting debate. Both ideological and economical arguments were used but the majority in favour of contracting out seemed unavailable. However, suddenly a leave of absence created a new balance in the political landscape. The majority to contract out became certain in the fall 1999 and during the winter proposals for the future organisation of the municipal contractor were developed.

An external consultant did the initial work on the proposals, which was followed up by a group of municipal officials in order to develop a basis for the decision. The technical director, the road- and park executive and the works manager of the municipal contractors organisation were involved in

this work, which included looking into other municipal experiences with organisational change.

The final proposal from the officials included separating the municipal contractors organisation from the technical department thereby stating the introduction of the purchaser-provider organisation. The liberal politicians intended to create an independent company ruled by its own political committee that could go into competitive tendering and by doing so making tasks, prices and expenditures visible, calculate in all costs and optimise the use of the machinery.

After an intense political debate that was also carried out in the local papers, and in recognition of the fact that two existing political committees were involved in the road and park service delivery, the politicians decided in June 2000 to establish an ad hoc political committee to deal with the issue of the future organisation. The task of the ad hoc political committee was to prepare a recommendation report for the city council. Serving as secretary and professional consultants for the ad hoc committee were the technical director and the road- and park executive. According to the road- and park executive this position served as a possibility for him to influence the details of the decision and e.g. plead for a strengthening of the purchaser organisation in order to meet the new demands for professional policy- and development competences.

Due to conflicts of interests and some political dissension the ad hoc political committee propose in their final report to send some road and all park services into competitive tendering over a transformation period of 5 years. A detailed tendering plan was included in the report. The transformation period was introduced as a political compromise to provide some immediate security for the municipal providers organisation and staff and also to give the purchaser enough time to prepare competitive tendering.

In March 2001 the city council decided to follow the proposal from the ad hoc committee and thus to introduce a clear-cut purchaser-provider organisation and to send some road and all park services into competitive tendering over a period of 5 years.

CASE TRANSFORMATION NARRATIVE

In Køge the development process has been continuously advancing since the first changes was due in the mid 1980s. At that time the traditional gardening and maintenance organisation were met with organisational demands to increase efficiency and a park department were established within the municipal administration. The first resource and quality control systems were introduced in 1989 and a few years later the road and park maintenance organisations were merged. In 1995 a self-management agreement was introduced to serve as a basis for green-space service delivery. Following this, the municipal contractors organisation delivered the services defined by the profession-

als in the administration (referred to as the commissioner) accounting to an economical frame set by the politicians. This was in principle the first step towards a purchaser-provider organisation.

1989	Introducing resource and/or quality control systems
1992	Merging road and park maintenance organisations
1995	Introducing self-management agreements etc.
1995 and 2001	Separation of purchaser and provider function
2001	Large scale competitive tendering
2004	Introducing systems for performance and output control

Table 9.10 Timetable of events of change in Køge

Only one year later the issue of contracting out public service delivery became part of the political agenda for the first time, bringing up the principle question of the efficiency of municipal service provision. This discussion was carried out by the politicians throughout the next years and in 2001 it was decided to separate purchaser and provider functions formally and to enter competitive tendering with all municipal services over a period of 5 years. For the purchasers organisation this meant an increase in professional staff in order to develop quality control and undertake competitive tendering. For the municipal provider organisation the change meant yet another turn towards a competitive situation leading to organisational expansion and consolidation of existing practice. An ISO certification process ending in 2004 followed up the latter.

CASE EXPERIENCE NARRATIVE

The most important event of change in Køge at the moment is caused by the ISO 9001 and ISO 14001 certifications that have come through recently. Certification has lead to increased responsibility towards daily routines for the foreman, as well as to more paperwork in terms of planning and control. The foreman is very pleased with the feeling of being in control even though his job is more demanding than it used to be. Certification has also improved the process of co-operation because every job-routine is well defined and described in details; hence everybody knows what is expected of them. For the staffs, certification was a means of getting influence on their own work. During a process of evaluation the workers was asked to account for their daily routines, and to come forward with suggestions for changes. This possibility was an improvement in their working situation since in the old days the foreman was in charge and good ideas were not always welcome.

Since the municipal contractor organisation was turned into an independent municipal enterprise, relations between staff and works managers have

changed. The former works manager is now the director referring to a political board, but according to the interviewees he still interfere directly with the daily routines. The growth of the municipal enterprise has led to a larger distance between top managers and staff, and since there are now 235 employees in the organisation the distance between the workers has also increased. According to the interviewees there is no overall corporate spirit and people don't really know each other. As they say, if they go home for lunch there is a chance that they will meet someone, but most often they just stay on the working site all day. Hence, the foreman and the customers are their primary contacts in relation to daily work. The distance also shows in the fact, that the interviewed workers express a great deal of uncertainty towards the future of the enterprise working entirely on market terms. They get no information on upcoming tasks and they are concerned what will happen with their jobs when all tasks are in free competition. They like their jobs and the improvement of the working place that has happened along with the market orientation, however they are still a little frustrated that they are neither public nor private workers, but something in between.

For the workers the new working culture within the contracting agreement, led to increased demand for responsibility towards their own work. Now they work continuously according to the work plan in order not to mess up with the resource control system. They are aware that they are in a learning process considering planning their own time, however they feel that resources i.e. machinery is not always available when needed, and that this problem is not taken care of by the works managers. According to the foreman some of the workers are not yet prepared to manage their own time and work planning. However he tries to support self-management by not giving direct orders all the time.

When turning into a competitive municipal enterprise the relation to the municipal purchaser changes as well. Contracting out municipal road and park service delivery was introduced within a time frame of 5 years hence the municipal enterprise still has a fixed frame of tasks that are carried out on an internal contracting agreement. However, more and more tasks will continuously be carried out in free competition. Meanwhile the municipal enterprise is preparing for the full competitive situation by going into competition elsewhere and taking in new tasks i.e. cleaning services in public buildings. Along with the increased level of contracting it is expected by the foreman that the relationship with the municipal purchaser will have to develop. The cut is not yet clear, since the administration is still trying to hand over tasks that do not belong in the portfolio of the municipal enterprise. Under such circumstances the foreman finds it difficult to remain a competitive enterprise. As a result of the ISO certifications a range of self-control routines have been introduced in the municipal enterprise. Apparently these internal control routines are considered sufficient, since the purchasers never

carry out the lot of controlling routines mentioned in the contracts. On a daily basis the contact with the purchaser is concentrated on the contracted tasks. What is part of the internal contracting agreement is carried out without any correspondence, based on tradition.

Nordborg

Nordborg is a quite small municipality with app. 14.100 inhabitants situated at the northern part of Als, an island in the southern part of Jutland. The local political majority is social democratic yet working in a close dialogue with the liberal minority. Road- and park services are provided from the municipal enterprise Vej & Park (Roads & Parks) on behalf of the Technical Committee.

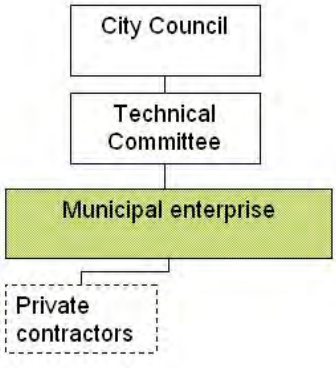

Fig 9.5 Organisational diagram Nordborg

In 1999-2001 the municipal contractors organisation was run by an internal contract in order to approach market terms and prices. Today the organisation is run by goal- and frame regulation serving a relationship of trust between politicians and organisation instead of relying entirely on juridical bindings.

Following this relation is a duty for the officials of local government to continuously assess prices and quality delivered by both municipal and private contractors.

CASE POLICY NARRATIVE

In Nordborg the politicians decided in 1998 to introduce an internal one-year contract relationship with the municipal road and park enterprise in order to make it function on market terms, yet, still be able to safeguard political interests of social responsibility. The local unions as well as the private contractors supported this development process.

Phase in the policy process	Nordborg	Notes
Issue search or agenda setting		Self-governance is introduced among the park maintenance squads. Politicians ask for documentation regarding efficiency and competitiveness in municipal service delivery in general.
Issue analysis, definition and filtration		
Alternatives		An internal contract with the municipal contractor organisation is prepared. However, as part of a general organisational development exercise, municipal chief executives initiated, that a goal- and frameregulated self-management agreement was preferred.
Recommendations		
Setting objectives and priorities		Politicians decide to turn all municipal maintenance units into competitive and efficient municipal service-delivery organisations. This also accounts for the municipal contractor organisation.
Options analysis		
Policy implementation, monitoring and control (output)		Some functions are moved from the administration (town-hall) to the municipal yard. Self-governance is spread to the road maintenance squads. The staffs are involved in developing maintenance plans. The municipal contractor organisation controls its own work according to service-delivery goals set out by the politicians.
Evaluation and review (outcome)		Self-governance is working quite well, however not all staffs are happy about being responsible for the work process. Cultural differences still exist between road and park workers. The role of squad leaders is still in transition. In-certainty towards possible future political decisions, e.g. related to contracting out.
Guidance and programs for future action		Change is a process in progress. Awaits the structural reform, which is being prepared.

Table 9.11 Policy Process in Nordborg

In 2001 the contract was updated but never signed. Instead the newly hired municipal directors (chief executive and technical director) argued for displacing the contractual relationship in favour of goal steering and economical frame regulation, a means of steering that was used in all other municipal enterprises in Nordborg. Thus, the road and park enterprise is now lead by goal steering and economical frame regulation without any juridical bindings, serving a relationship of trust between politicians and organisation. Today it is an obligation for the road- and park manager continuously to test his own prices against the private marked e.g. through comparing key figures with other contractors or contacting out selected tasks in order to ensure the most reasonable correlation between price and quality.

CASE TRANSFORMATION NARRATIVE

The transformation in Nordborg started in 1985 with a ‘revolution', which was basically a protest against an old foreman initiated by the park workers. The foreman was forced to leave the organisation and the park teams were organised in a flat organisational structure based on self-governance principles. The rest of the staff has been organised likewise along with the retirement of the old foremen. In 1996 the municipal organisational structure was changed in general, from a traditional hierarchy to a flat structure with only three levels of engagement. In 1999 an internal contract was introduced in the Roads & Parks organisation. However, two years later a change on municipal top manager positions (chief executive and technical director) led to a more general change in municipal steering. All municipal enterprises were hereafter goal- and frame regulated, thus the juridical bindings of the contract with Roads & Parks were abandoned.

1985	Introducing self-governance working groups
1986	Introducing resource and/or quality control systems
1999	Transition into internal contracting agreements
2001	Introducing self-management agreements etc.

Table 9.12 Timetable of events of change in Nordborg.

The enterprise is directed with development and service objectives, which are set out by the park manager and accepted by the politicians. Moreover, the park manager has an obligation to continuously document competitiveness hence private contractors are invited to bid on selected tasks. The resource control system was introduced in 1986 and has been adjusted frequently. Self-governance is still a highly important organisational principle.

CASE EXPERIENCE NARRATIVE

In Nordborg two processes of change are in focus for the interviewees; the ‘revolution’ in 1985 and the introduction of an internal contracting agreement around ten years later. For some workers the introduction of self-governance working groups, which was a direct result of the ‘revolution’, has been rather difficult. The process of ‘learning by doing’ has not made things easier since none of the workers were trained to handle the conflicts that have come up between or within teams. This is still a problem but courses in coaching and conflict resolution has been held for the staff in order to improve communication among the teams. In the developing process teams have been settled and changed many times because of conflicts but also as a way of developing a flexible organisation with a potential in competence development. Today flexibility is lost more or less because of an in-

creased time pressure, making it impossible to spend time on getting used to new tasks and colleagues. Anyway, the workers have a lot of freedom in planning their own time, which has made it difficult to get an overview of the workman situation in the entire organisation. Today one foreman is supervising all teams, making overall decisions and bringing in new tasks as well as calculating (smaller) offers. His position is mostly administrative.

The road and park enterprise was settled when the manager moved from the administration to the yard, and road and park tasks were separated from environmental- and supply services. At the same time an internal contracting agreement was introduced based on old descriptions and up-to-date measurements and descriptions made by the staff. A process was started in order to digitise the maintenance plans and improve quality descriptions. On rainy days the staff, along with their usual tasks, has digitised everything, but at the moment detailed descriptions are still lacking. Some of the interviewees are not quite comfortable with writing down every routine and detail, since it can be used directly for contracting out if decided by the politicians. Still, if that will be the case, the workers are willing to fight for the existence of their work place. At the moment the internal contracting agreement has been cancelled and the road and park contractor organisation is running on a goal- and frame-regulation agreement with the politicians in an enterprise-organisational construction. The manager holds both a works manager position and some purchaser- and developing- functions.

The road and park enterprise has a close dialogue with the politicians who are very keen on having new ideas carried out, and the politicians often initiate new projects. However the staff and works managers have argued according to the internal contracting agreement to avoid too many sudden initiatives. Nevertheless, new tasks are constantly added to the portfolio because development projects carry along new maintenance tasks. As a course of action towards the politicians, the staffs have initiated dialogue meetings with the politicians in order to tell them about themselves and the job they do. Furthermore the road and park contractor organisation is constantly trying to be ahead of the political needs and to prove competitiveness.

The staffs have a good relationship to the works manager yet they would like a closer dialogue around organisational goals and what is actually happening, and even on professional issues concerning park tasks and priorities. They do not have a close relation to the works manager, who is mostly occupied with meetings in the administration and with politicians. The interviewees blame the self-management arrangement for the lack of dialogue with the work manager and his assistant, and they are aware that their own priorities being in charge is probably part of the answer to why managers are not needed and therefore not present in the daily life.

Due to the contracting arrangement there is a lot of pressure on the staff both in terms of workload and in terms of keeping up the corporate spirit in

the organisation. When extra tasks are taken in everybody has to run faster, because no extra hands are available. Ordinary tasks therefore periodically have low priority and the workload pressure is too high. In terms of the future for the organisation the staff worries for the loss of extra tasks to keep up overheads. At the moment some extra tasks are lost, because others can deliver the services cheaper. The uncertain situation is creating frustration among the workers, which is not spoken out however, because of the fear of being the first to getting sacked.

Roskilde

Roskilde is a larger municipality with app. 53.600 inhabitants, situated in the middle of Zealand, 35 km west of Copenhagen. 'Materielgården', the municipal contractors organisation, provides 80% of the municipal road- and park services as an organisational basis. Private contractors working on contracts for the municipality provide 20% of the service-delivery based on competitive tendering. Road- and park services are purchased from the Park & Road department serving the political Technical and Environmental Committee. The first competitive tendering was held in 1995 with the result that maintenance of 6 city parks was transferred to an internal contract with the municipal contractor. The second competitive tendering was held in 2000 where park services in one city district were contracted out to private contractors.

Fig 9.6 Organisational diagram Roskilde

CASE POLICY NARRATIVE

In Roskilde, the first competitive tendering was held in 1995 due to a cross-political lobby-agreement related to budget negotiations. The decision to contract out led to an ideological debate between the local politicians. The municipal contractors organisation won the tendering and the maintenance of 6 city parks was transferred to an internal contract with the municipal contractor. The work is now carried out as an ordinary part of the economical frame applying for the municipal contractor.

The politicians decided to enter the second competitive tendering in 1999. This time, the decision was made at a budget seminar for the city council. Later the same year it was decided to send road and park services within one city district into competitive tendering. This decision was made while at the same time the municipal contractors organisation was going through major changes trying to move together and unify the road- and park field organisations.

Phase in the policy process	Roskilde	Notes
Issue search or agenda setting		Politicians discuss tendering in connection with budget negotiations. politikerne sætter udlicitering på dagsordenen i forbindelse med budgettet.
Issue analysis, definition and filtration		A political discussion takes place concerning the use of contracting as a means to ensure financial savings. Managers initiate initiatives in order to provide sufficient basis for future political decisions. Use of resources and competitiveness are documented.
Alternatives		Politicians discuss different organisational models to support competitive tendering.
Recommendations		Experiences from other municipalities are gathered.
Setting objectives and priorities		Politicians decide to introduce a purchaser-provider organisation.
Options analysis		
Policy implementation, monitoring and control (output)		A small-scale competitive tendering is carried out. Another small-scale competitive tendering is carried out. Organisational changes are introduced as well as new steering means to provide documentation for competitiveness and the use of resources.
Evaluation and review (outcome)		A 20% contracting level is aimed for in order to ensure sufficient in-house production when needed.
Guidance and programs for future action		

Table 9.13 Policy Process in Roskilde

The second competitive tendering was held in October 2000. Road and park maintenance services were tendered out separately and the municipal contractors organisation bid for both. The road services where won by the municipal contractor and was transferred to an internal contract. A private contractor won the park maintenance services yet with an offer only slightly more expensive than the offer from the municipal contractor. The politicians therefore argued for keeping the municipal contractor for convenience. However the park managers insisted on playing straight, thus contracting out the services to the private contractor.

After the second political decision to contract out municipal service delivery, the park managers no longer felt safe in terms of eventually having to face new competitive tendering after future budget negotiations. Thus, in order to adjust park management to a competitive situation, the road and park executives decided to initiate a range of changes. The idea of implementing a purchaser-provider organisation was introduced to the politicians in 2001 and in 2002 new steering means were implemented in terms of resource management systems, project budgeting and new accountancy principles.

Today the park managers are almost ready for new political decisions to go into competitive tendering. However tendering is no longer a hot political issue since majority have changed in the city council and therefore the opposition no longer asks for competitive tendering as condition for a budget agreement. Furthermore a lack of economical benefit from contracting out has reduced the political demand for competitive tendering.

CASE TRANSFORMATION NARRATIVE

In Roskilde the contractor organisation has been exposed with considerable and continuous change for a period of nearly 10 years. In 1995, the politicians decided the first episode of small scale contracting. This led to an internal focus on pricing and the municipal contractor won the bid. As a consequence, the organisation engaged in developing the resource and quality control systems.

1993 and 1995 and 2002	Introducing resource and/or quality control systems
1995 and 2000	Small scale contracting
2000	Merging road and park maintenance organisations
2001	Introducing self-governance working groups
2003	Separation of purchaser and provider function

Table 9.14 Timetable of events of change in Roskilde

In 1998 it was decide to merge the field organisations. However, the yard was too small and rebuilding was necessary in order to embrace the whole staff. Hence, the merging process could not start until 2000. Then, in 1999 a second episode of small scale contracting was decided. Along with the merging process, the Parks & Roads organisation should now prepare tendering in one city district. Thus, this district should not be part of the merging process and moreover, the staffs in this district had to face the risk of being transferred to a private contractor along with the tasks. The tendering was held in 2000. Parks & Roads won the grey tasks while the green maintenance tasks were contracted out.

At this point, the merging process was in progress, however, it took three years before everybody was relocated. At that time, in 2003, purchaser and provider functions were furthermore separated.

CASE EXPERIENCE NARRATIVE

In Roskilde several decisions of change were made simultaneously or continuously leaving the organisation and the workers with no time to see the end of one challenge, before another was introduced. In 1998 it was decided to merge the road and park maintenance organisations that were physically separated in two yards. According to the staff the decision was made top-down and even though meetings were held and information given, no real influence was achievable. An interviewee has described the merging of maintenance organisations as ‘putting together fire and water’. For some, the personal process towards actually identifying with the unified contractor organisation has taken a long time and for others, this change has not even come through yet. Furthermore, no corporative spirit has yet been achieved. This is due to cultural differences between road and park workers but also poor physical conditions. Actually, the yard is not big enough to embrace the entire staff and thus, most of the gardeners still meet each morning in satellite yards. Therefore it is difficult even to meet each other across working boundaries. Moreover, the moving process has been long and exhausting, moving the staff in small groups while trying at the same time to expand the physical location within the usual budget and timeframe.

When first decided, moving from two yards to one was delayed for a couple of years due to an extended planning process and the building of facilities. Moreover, a political decision to contract out parts of municipal service delivery was made almost simultaneously. At the time of this decision the municipal contractor organisation had no experience in contracting and no exact overview of expenses and resources used for the tasks that were going to be contracted out. This incident is therefore considered an obstacle to the success of the merging process. Furthermore the contracting decision led to a situation where parts of the staff were facing transfer, should a private contractor win the bid. This process was a very unpleasant experience for the

staff leaving the workers with lots of frustration and anxiety towards the contracting situation. It is a common experience amongst the interviewees that some workers were pointed for transfer without the criteria being clear and transparent, and with an underlying notion of being excluded from the municipal enterprise. The municipality won the road tendering while the park tendering were won by a private contractor, yet in the end no workers were transferred. One person quit while in process, another was transferred to other tasks within the municipal contractor organisation. At the time of the tendering the working environment were very poor and the threat of facing another political decision to contract out made it difficult to calm down, even after the tendering process was over.

Even before things were settled after the contracting process it was decided to formally introduce a purchaser-provider organisation and to improve the competitiveness of the municipal contractor organisation through further organisational initiatives. This part of the process is now in progress and the working staffs are in a developing phase where uncertainty towards the future is still a major issue of concern.

According to the interviewees daily life has changed a great deal since the introduction of new leadership principles, leaving especially the foremen with new roles and responsibilities in the organisation. First of all the organisation has grown in size leading to more administrative tasks than before. Routines have been unified fitting e.g. the resource management system to the new tasks and projects. As a public enterprise, the municipal contractor organisation hands in budgets in two forms, a traditional municipal budget and an enterprise budget. The municipal contractor organisations run with a fixed frame of 80% municipal tasks and 20% tasks in free competition. According to the foremen the new organisational setting has increased the pressure on their shoulders. Previously, the foremen were primarily supervising the workers. Today the foremen are responsible for finding new jobs, distribution of work, controlling and meeting with architects and engineers about the tasks to be carried out. Especially pricing is a new challenge, including also the element of being competitive and generating overhead. The new responsibilities have lead to more paperwork than before, and since there has been no reduction in the previous task portfolio the new situation has lead to a greater working pressure on the foremen. However they still think, that in an overall view the quality of their work is better and more loyal to municipal needs, than that of the private contractors.

Since the introduction of the purchaser-provider organisation the sharing of responsibilities between the municipal administration and the contractor organisation has been improved and made clearer than before. However according to the foremen there is still some problems and uncertainties e.g. in the way that municipal purchasers fill out their role, and in terms of a dis-

crepancy in the way that quality descriptions are expressed in in-house and external contracts.

Leadership has become an important issue for the foremen interviewed. It has proved difficult to introduce self-managing working groups in the organisation, thus so far it has only been a limited success. Apparently, it is a matter of working tradition for some workers, but also the relation to the purchaser and the sharing of responsibilities between the works manager and the teams are mentioned as practical limitations. The works manager has been hired to implement changes in the municipal contractor organisation in order to improve competitiveness. Amongst the interviewees the works manager has a reputation of being an open and accessible manager, yet several mention a lack of day-to-day information and problems with communication.

Basically the interviewees are quite happy with their working-place, even though some of them have been prepared to leave the organisation due to the immense process of change. The process has provided the organisation and some of the workers with a lot of self-confidence. They know now that the enterprise is competitive and that the staffs are experienced and loyal staff with the ability to deliver a quality product. Anyway, some are still uncertain about the future, as there are still many loose ends, and new changes are waiting around the corner (i.e. the structural reform). Moreover, the lack of political and administrative support is mentioned as a source of uncertainty. Hence, even though the interviewees are rather confident proving competitiveness is a good argument for keeping the in-house production nobody knows, what the next political decision will be. As someone said “we would rather spend time discussing the colours of the flowers in the flowerbed than our in-certainty for the future….”

APPENDIX 2

Data Sources and Documentation

This dissertation is based on six case studies. Following the methodology of the instrumental case study (Stake 2000) the phenomenon of marketization within municipal park management was studied within each case, using qualitative methods such as interviews and document studies. The case studies were carried out in two series in 2003 and 2004. The first series addressed the policy process and marketization characteristics of the cases and the second series addressed the consequences of marketization within the contractor organisations.

Interviews were chosen as the primary data source, since the purpose of the study has been to explore single actor motives, policy actions and change experiences in relation to processes of organisational change. These issues where rarely specifically documented in the archives of the municipal organisations.

In each case actors on all levels of the organisation have been interviewed. All in all, a total of 41 persons have been interviewed. The total number of interviews is 33.

Supplementary of section 2.3 the following background materials are included:

1. List of informants. Note that all members of the staffs have been given alias.
2. Overview of the number of informants from each case (and in total).
3. Overview of the number of interviews conducted in each case (and in total).
4. Interviewguides (politicians (series 1), park and works managers (series 1), works managers and staffs (series 2)
5. Code-tree developed in the process of analysing interviews in series 2

LIST OF INFORMANTS

The list of informants is based on the municipal situation in 2003/04, i.e. before the structural reform in 2007. Today, the selected municipalities have been merged with one or more neighbouring municipalities hence the informants might no longer be holding the position in the municipality as indicated.

Municipality	Name	Position	Distinctive position	Interview series
Assens	Freddie Nielsen	Works Manager		1
	Vagn Aage Agri	Works Manager		1&2
	Steffen	Staffs	Shop steward	2
	Søren	Staffs		2
	Svend	Staffs		2
Fredensborg-Humlebæk	Bjarne Wulff	Politician (V)	Chairman of Technical Committee	1
	Jette Skourup	Works Manager		1
	Karina	Team leader	Shop steward	2
	Kurt	Team leader		2
	Kim	Team leader		2
Herning	Lars Østerbye	Park Manager		1
	Bo U. Bertelsen	Works Manager		1&2
	Henrik Carlson	Works Manager		2
	Anders	Foreman		2
	Anton	Staffs	Shop steward	2
	Alice	Staffs	Safety representative	2
Køge	Frank Mathiassen	Politician (I)	Now retired	1
	Jørgen Mikkelsen	Politician (V)		1
	Lars Mørk	Park Manager		1
	Morten Suhr	Park Manager		1
	Bodil Sørensen	Park Manager		1
	Henrik Holmer	Former Park Manager		1
	Carl E. Knudsen	Works Manager		1
	Jesper	Foreman		2
	Jimmy	Staffs		2
	Jan	Staffs		2

Municipality	Name	Position	Distinctive position	Interview series
Nordborg	Børge Zanchetta	Politician (V)	Chairman of Technical Committee	1
	Ebbe Enøe	Park Manager		1
	Erling	Foreman	Shop steward	2
	Eva	Staffs	Shop steward	2
	Elin	Staffs		2
Roskilde	Hanne Eisen	Politician (S)	Chairman of Cultural Committee	1
	Birgit Pedersen	Politician (SF)	Member of Technical and Cultural Committee	1
	Ivan Hyllested	Park Manager		1
	Jørgen Pedersen	Park Manager		1
	Ole Vang	Works Manager		1
	Rolf	Foreman		2
	Robert	Foreman		2
	Richard	Staffs	Shop steward	2
	Rene	Staffs		2
	Randi	Staffs (office)		2

Table 9.15 List of informants

NUMBER OF INFORMANTS – AN OVERVIEW

	Politicians		Park Managers		Works Managers		Staffs		Total
	Series 1	Series 2	Series 1	Series 2	Series 1	Series 2	Series 1	Series 2	
Assens	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	3	5
Fredensborg-Humlebæk	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	5
Herning	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	3	6
Køge	2	0	4	0	1	0	0	3	10
Nordborg	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	5
Roskilde	2	0	2	0	1	0	0	5	10
Total	6	0	8	0	6	3 (1)	0	20	41

Table 9.16 Number of informants in series 1 & 2 – an overview
(1): Two works managers have been interviewed twice, in series 1 as well as in series 2

NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED – AN OVERVIEW

	Politicians		Park Managers		Works Managers		Staffs		Total
	Series 1	Series 2	Series 1	Series 2	Series 1	Series 2	Series 1	Series 2	
Assens	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	3	5
Fredensborg-Humlebæk	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	5
Herning	0	0	0.5 (1)	0	0.5 (1)	2	0	2	5
Køge	2	0	2	0	1	0	0	2	7
Nordborg	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	4
Roskilde	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	3	7
Total	6	0	4.5	0	4.5	3	0	15	33

Table 9.17 Number of interviews conducted in series 1 & 2 – an overview
(1): Park Manager and Works Manager interviewed together in series 1.

INTERVIEW GUIDES

Three different interview guides have been developed for this study.

Politicians were interviewed in order to shed light on the political motivation and pre-evaluation of consequences related to the marketization decision. Interviews with politicians were carried out via the telephone. The interviews lasted 15—30 minutes and followed a semi-structured *standard interview-guide.*

Park managers and works managers were seen as the primary sources for information about the marketization plan, its organisational consequences, organisational and management experiences and future development. Interviews with these informants had an open-ended format, following a *basic interview-guide* including the mentioned topics. The interviews lasted 1½-2½ hours.

The second series of interviews were aimed at investigating the implementation of marketization in the municipal contractor organisations and particularly as concerning the individual and common experiences from this phase. Two works managers were interviewed again with this specific focus, while further works manager assistants, foremen, team-leaders and workmen were also interviewed. The interviews followed a *semi-structured interview guide* with the following headlines: position and role, day-to-day working life, relations at work, supervision and management, process of change, mo-

tivation and work satisfaction, corporate culture and identity and social responsibility. These interviews lasted ½-1½ hours.

Municipality		Duration of interview
Name and position		
Categories	Questions	Notes
Rle in decisionmaking	How did the idea to contract out green maintenance tasks come about? Who decided to test prices and contract out? Did you influence this decision? How?	
Motivation	Why do you as politicians demand prices to be tested or competitive tendering to be carried out? What are your hopes for the result?	
Pre-evaluation	Did you – before deciding to marketize (contract out, test prices etc.) – evaluate the possible consequences of this decision? Do you know about the actual consequences for the municipal contractor organisation ?	
Post rationalisation	Do you think now, that your decision was right for the organisation? If you had known the consequences in detail would you then have worked for/against the decision?	
General assessments regarding the role and steering possibilities of the politicians?	How do you assess your steering possibilities when many tasks are contracted out (or on internal contract)? Do you have an opinion on the time-span of the ideal contract? Do you believe that contacts can be too extended?	
Other comments		

Standard interview guide for interviewing politicians

Basic interview guide for interviewing park and works managers

A. *Organisational characteristics.* I found this organisational diagram on the municipal homepage – is it the current one? – where are you in this organisation? Where is park management/maintenance taking place besides this? – and while we talk about the organisation. I would like to ask you some questions (se below).
B. *Marketization plan.* Next, I would like you to tell me about your marketization process (i.e. contracting process, price testing, documenting efficiency and competitiveness, internal organisational changes etc) – when was it decided to go into this process (if ever) and what have you done?
C. *Organisational consequences*. What have been the consequences of the decision to marketize (i.e. contract out, test prices, document efficiency and competitiveness, change the organisation etc.) – I am specifically thinking about consequences for the organisation, economics/budgets, quality of service delivery?
D. *Experiences.* What have you learned from the process?
E. *Plans for the future*. What are your plans for future marketization? (i.e. contracting out, testing prices, documenting efficiency and competitiveness, changing the organisation etc.).

Sub questions for topics A and B (if necessary):

A. Description of municipal park management organisation focusing on organisational structure, budgets, staffs, areas.

1. Administration
- How old is the present organisation?
- What did the organisation look like before – e.g. has road and park organisations been merged?
- Organisational diagram
- Do you have any contracted tasks/units? Which?
- Is external contractors shown in the diagram? Are there any?

2. Political organisation
- Has the structure of political committees changed with consequences for the park management/maintenance organisation?
- What committee(s) is in charge of park management/maintenance?

3. Economics/budget
- Annual turnover / budget for park management/maintenance?
- Overall contracted sum (internal/external shares)?
- Internal contracts?

4. Staffs
- What is the overall number of staffs (or full years work) in park management/maintenance?
- Is that more or less than before?
- How many full years work are done by private contractors (on municipal land)?

5. Area of city green space
- What is the total area (m2 or ha) of city green space? (covered by the park management organsation)
- What types of green space are you responsible for? What about day-care, kindergardens, sports grounds?

B. Contracting strategy / marketization plan – what did we do?

1. Did your municipality choose to contract out?

If yes:

2. When?

3. Why?

4. What was the original plan?
- How much should go into contracting?
- Was the municipality supposed to hand in a bid (or control offer)?

5. What has happened since the decision was made?
- Reorganisation activities (in the administration/political)?
- Have you set objectives and worked out quality descriptions for green areas?
- Has quality decriptions been made based on 'Kvalitetsbeskrivelse for drift af grønne områder' (general description tool for green areas)?
- How many tenders have been made?
- Large scale or small scale?
- Duration of contracts?

- How many tenders are won by the municipality/private contractors respectively?
- How many different private contractors participate in the tendering?
- How many different private contractors are working for the municipality today?
- Has your contracting process been evaluated?

If no:

6. What is done instead?
- Continue business as usual?
- Continue business as usual but include other market like initiatives, e.g. budgets, organisational change, setting objectives for quality control?
- Adapt the organisation and performance to the market like conditions (e.g. internal contracting etc.)?

7. Why do you NOT contract out green maintenance tasks?
- Is it a political decision? When and why?
- Continuation of previous practice

8. Do you expect to contract out in the future?
- Yes, large scale
- Yes, small scale
- No
- Are your politicians interested in contracting (or market adaptations) at all?

Semi-structured interview guide for interviewing managers and members of the working staffs in the municipal contractor organisation

Background information	Sex M/F Age (estimated) Conditions of employment (permanent/temporary, number of years employment)	

Research Questions	Sub Questions	Interview Questions
What are the roles of different employees in the municipal organisation and how do they fill out these roles – before and after marketizing / contracting out green maintenance tasks	*Status/position and role* How is the interviewees status/position defined (placement in the organisational structure, job description, functions) What are the expectations to the interviewee – from the system? – from managers? – from colleagues? How did corporate change affect the position/status and role? *Every-day working life* What tasks is the interviewee occupied with and how does this differ from what he/she did earlier? What freedom does the interviewee have to plan his/her own work?	 On what level of the organisation do you work? Do you work in teams/squads – how many people are in your team/squad? What is your job description? Who is you manager? To whom do you refer? Do you have any positions of trust – shop stewart or the like? Are you in other ways in a special position towards your colleagues (longer employment, education, conflict resolution abilities)? Does anyone else have such a position? The process of change you have been through – how did it affect your position / relation to managers and colleagues? The process of change you have been through – how did it affect your everyday tasks? What do you do on an ordinary day? Can you do other things than all ready planned?

Research Questions	Sub Questions	Interview Questions
	What does it mean to the interviewee, that his/her place of work and/or tasks, have changed?	What is the difference between you actual working day and a working day before change? Do you have tasks on which you spend more time today than before? Or did you loose tasks? How do you think about that?
	Relations, networks, co-operation How does it affect the employees that a purchaser-provider organisation is implemented? How is the purchaser-provider organisation carried out in practice (open or closed)? How does marketization / contracting affect the relation between purchasers and providers? What implications of change are met by the field workers, e.g. new colleagues, new managers, new working relations? What is the relation between the interviewee and his/her managers, colleagues, others?	Who do you normally get in touch with during a working day? Are you in contact with employees in the purchasers' office? Inspections or more informally? Are your relations different than before? How? What kind of relation do you have with your colleagues? Are you working fine together? What does grouping mean to the common spirit? How does co-operation work in your team/squad? What is your relation to managers?
	Transfer How did affect the interviewee that the organisations has been through a process of contracting and facing transfer? Has the interviewee lost colleagues because of transfer?	Have you and your colleagues been facing transfer? How did that situation affect you and your work? Have some of your colleagues been transferred to another employer? How did that work out – and what did it mean to you?

Research Questions	Sub Questions	Interview Questions
	Process To what extent has the interviewee been involved in the process of marketization / contracting out (e.g. measuring, drawing, decision making)?	Did the process (of facing transfer) affect your relation to your colleagues or the managers? How? Did you participate in tasks related to contracting out green maintenance tasks? Which? Do you believe, that participating has provided you the opportunity to influence the process of change related to contracting? How do you consider the level of information in the process of change/contracting? Where you given any possibilities to influence the process?
How does contracting influence employees motivation and working life? How does corporate culture and identity of employees change when marketizing / contracting out?	*Motivation* Which motives influence the working life of the interviewees? (Scheuer 1999:26) How does marketization affect the conditions considered motivating by the interviewees? *Corporate culture and identity* How does the interviewee experience the corporate cultural change related to marketization (if any)? What corporate characteristics do the interviewees consider as identity-creating? How do interviewees consider their identity – before and after marketization? How does interviewees create meaning in relation to the process of change, they experience?	For how long have you been employed here? What do you think of your work place? What are the strengths of your work place? Weaknesses? Which conditions related to your work place, do you consider important? Does your work place differ from what it was before the process of change? How? Is that good or bad? What has been the biggest positive change / experience? Negative? Do you and your colleagues/managers talk about the process of change, that you have experienced? Has the process been good or bad for you / your work place? Why?

CODE TREE DEVELOPED THROUGH ANALYSIS (SERIES 2)

In order to identify patterns in the staffs change related experience, interviews from series 2 have been analysed and coded according to this procedure:

- Interviews are transcribed in order to provide an extended report from each interview, closely adhering to the progression of the interview and the language used by the interviewee
- Interviews are coded with 'close-to-text' codes
- The identified codes are summed up in a mind-map (for each case) in order to identify the most important topics (related codes that have been used most often)
- Headings in the semi-structured interview guide have been adjusted in order to identify a more case relevant data structure (see table 9.18)
- Sub-headings have been developed, relating to the primary topics in each case. New sub-headings have been added to the code tree if necessary in order to cover the variation among cases.
- Initial codes (identified on the interview transcriptions) has been summed up in the code-tree according to the headings and sub-headings identified (see table 9.19)

Headings in the semi-structured interview guide (in the sub-question section) (above)	Ajusted headings in the code-tree (below)
Status, position og role	Position og role – informants
Everyday working life	Everyday working life
Relations, networks, co-operation	Work relations - network
	Management and steering
Transfer	
Process	Process of change
Motivation	Motivation and well-being
Corporate culture and identity	Corporate culture and identity
	Spaciousness and social responsibility

Table 9.18 Developing headings for the code-tree.

Tabel 9.19. Code-tree for all interviews in series 2

Heading	Subheadings	Code level 1	Code level 2	Code level 3
2. coding (headlines in 2. report)	2. coding (sub-headlines in 2. report)	1. coding (on 1. interview transcription)	1. coding (on 1. interview transcription)	1. coding (on 1. interview transcrip-tion)
Position and role – interviewees		function	communicator	
			competence	
			change	
		biographical data	position	job-description
			employment	
			honorary office	
			location	
			new role	
Day-to-day working life		working day	busy	
			pressure	run faster
			competence	peace
				freedom
		tasks	own planning	
			professionalism	unsatisfactory
				curiosity
			extra tasks	
			versatility	
		role		
Work relations - net-work		colleagues	cooperation	
			community spirit	solidarity
		workplace	sense of responsi-bility	fighting spirit
			helpfulness	
			strength	
			weakness	
		network	employees	reduction
				seasonal workers
		purchaser function	cooperation with	practical
			relation to	
			grey / green	
Management and steering	Corporate management	Day-to-day running	lack of response	
			openness	dialogue
				distance
			fear	insinuating
				sacking
			corporate objectives	
			lack of day-to-day running	
		Administration	lack of back-up	
		politicians		
	Day-to-day per-formance	Foreman	back-up	
		team-leader/ ganger	new role	competences
				coaching
				support

Heading	Subheadings	Code level 1	Code level 2	Code level 3
		management in common	self management	conflict management
		meeting routines	day-to-day running	morning meetings
				friday meetings
				monthly meetings
			common meeting	
	Resource control systems	steering means		
		resource control	clarification	participation
				responsibility
				contracting tool
			specification	
			timesheets	
		raise consciousness	economical incentives	
		budget	team	competition
	Organisational structure	organising	team building	self governance
				non-hierarchical running
				obstruction
			hierarchy	
		Purchaser-provider organisation	New needs	
	Level of information	information	everyday	
			tendering process	
			mode	
	Machinery	machinery		
	Reward	carrot		
		wage negotiations	profit sharing	
		new pay deal		
	Contract, control, quality	maintenance	influence	co-responsibility
		control	follow up	
			attention	motivation
		quality	accountability	
			professionalism	
			priority	
			methods for maintenance	spraying
		contract	objectives	specify
			function	
			interference	politicians
	Developing competences	education / learning	common trip	
			courses	MED-committee
		attendance		
Process of change	Merging road and park	merging process	bad management	
			evaluation	
		decision-making	influence	information
		relocation	rebuilding	
	Tendering process	tendering process	revolution	stressful
			strengthening	
			consultancy	
		decision to tender	influence	lobbyism

Heading	Subheadings	Code level 1	Code level 2	Code level 3
			resistance	
		transfer	to be pointed out for transfer	insecurity
			take precautions	unreasonable arguments
		purchaser-provider	watertight shutters	
		waiting	anxiety	
			frustration	activity
			pressure	considerations
		evaluation	contract regulation	
			profit	
		procurement	mak	consultant
				work sharing
		offer	own bid	pricing
				field measuring
	Several changes at the same time	lack of coherence		
		bad management		
	ISO 9001 & 14000 certification			
	Introduction of self governance working groups	self-governance	team-construction	
	Introduction of internal contracting agreement			
	Municipal structural reform			
Motivation and well-being		job satisfaction		
		well-being	strength	
			weakness	
		freedom at work		
Corporate culture and identity		cultural difference		
		grey / green	improvement	
			challenge	tradition
		uniformity	identity	
			merging	funding
			acceptance	
		competitiveness		
		community	initiative	
Spaciousness and social responsibility		social responsibility		
		spaciousness	dilemma	reduction

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