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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

ORGANIZATIONAL COHERENCE: A CASE STUDY ANALYSIS
OF A PROVINCIAL SPORT ORGANIZATION

BY
BERNARD WILLIAMS

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF ARTS

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EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1988

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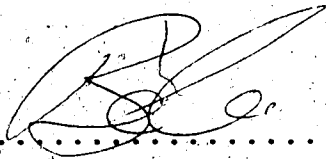
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled Organizational Coherence: A Case Study Analysis of a Provincial Sport Organization submitted by Bernard E. Williams in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Physical Education and Sport Studies.

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Date..... Oct 3rd '88

ABSTRACT

The major focus of this study was to operationalize a theory of organization design archetypes in order to better understand the relationship between the activities of a voluntary sport organization, and the members of that organization. Values and beliefs (interpretive schemes) were the central focus of the study, and a provincial sport organization was selected for a case study examination of the patterns of values and beliefs among organizational members. An organization was selected based on the researchers perception that the organization was experiencing an observable change event about which organizational members could articulate their values and beliefs. Following the theoretical framework proposed by Greenwood and Hinings (1987) values and beliefs concerning three areas of activity were examined: (1) the appropriate domain of operations i.e., the broad nature of an organization's *raison d'être*; (2) beliefs and values about appropriate principles of organizing; (3) appropriate criteria for evaluating organizational performance.

Ethnographic data collection techniques were utilized, and patterns of consensus were considered in terms of organizational coherence which was defined in a two fold manner. Firstly, coherence was considered in terms of the extent to which there was widespread agreement among organizational members concerning particular values and beliefs. Secondly, coherence was considered in terms of the extent to which the relationships realized in the day to day activities of the organization were a reflection of the values and beliefs of the majority of organizational members.

The values and beliefs expressed by informants and respondents, and observed by the researcher, were characterized to represent two differing ideal-type interpretive schemes. The two different interpretive schemes were reflected in differing systems of power within the organization. These two different systems of power were found to be contradictory and conflicting.

Organizational coherence was discovered in the organization studied, with widespread support to a particular interpretive scheme being found. There was evidence to suggest, however, that the level of coherence observed in the organization had not always existed, and that the change process was on going and continuous.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Introduction

The manner in which the cultural phenomenon of sport is socially organized in Canada has been observed by many scholars to be in a state of transition (cf. Kidd, 1980; Slack, 1985; MacIntosh, Franks, and Bedeck, 1986). The nature of this transition, or change, has been characterized as involving the process of rationalization (cf. Kidd, 1980; Slack, 1985). Through this process, the organization and administration of sport has evolved from an ad hoc "kitchen table" type activity, into a more systematized and goal directed management process (cf. Slack and Hinings, 1987). Of notable influence on this trend towards rationalization in amateur sport organizations, has been the growing involvement, in recent years, of both federal and provincial government agencies. While providing funding, and other forms of support to amateur sport organizations, government agencies have encouraged and directed these organizations to legitimize

themselves by becoming increasingly more effective, efficient, and accountable (cf. Frisby, 1983; Slack, 1985).

A number of different researchers have examined the processes of rationalization in amateur sport organizations, and have considered its impact in a variety of ways. Some researchers have adopted what may be termed a "critical approach", and have considered some of the social implications of rationalization. Through this approach it has been observed that the progressive development of a rationalized sport system in Canada has led to the exclusion of certain individuals and groups (cf. Kidd, 1982; Gruneau, 1982; Beamish, 1985; Hall, 1985). The intention of this critical research has been both to describe the effects of rationalization, and to encourage change.

Other researchers have chosen a non-critical approach intended to describe and analyse the effects of the process of rationalization, without necessarily suggesting change. Recently, within this non-critical approach, there has been an influx of research which has been informed by organizational theory. This research has examined the organizational

characteristics associated with the process of rationalization in amateur sport organizations, and has done much to increase our understanding of the complex nature of sport and sport organizations. (cf. Frisby, 1982; Slack, 1985; Hinings and Slack, 1987).

For researchers concerned with social issues in sport, the concepts and theories made available through organizational theory may be seen as valuable tools which can be used to increase our understanding of rationalization and other processes. In much of the sport research informed by organizational theory, however, there is a sense in which the effects of the process of rationalization have been examined only partially.

While the rationalization process has been studied extensively from a macro organizational point of view, few researchers have considered the implications of this trend for the individuals involved in amateur sport organizations on a day-to-day basis. Sport organizations, as socially constructed entities, are created by human beings in order to serve human needs. But often times in the examination of sport organizations, the implications of processes such as rationalization are examined not

in human terms, but rather only in terms of prescribed organizational structure.

A problem associated with this approach, is the tendency to reify organizational characteristics and lose sight of their relationship to the human actors in the organization. When the dynamic and complex issues associated with the human element, or the notion of "agency", in the creation of organizational reality are overlooked, however, not only is the conceptualization of the organization somewhat simplistic and limited, but so too is the range of research issues and techniques that transpire.

It may be seen that in much of the previous research concerned with the process of rationalization in amateur sport organizations, researchers have essentially adopted what Miller and Friesen (1984) have termed an "analytic approach" to examining organizations. As Miller and Friesen (1984) point out, the utilization of such an approach presents several limitations to the conceptual and practical understanding of what organizations are, and how organizations change. The fundamental weakness of this approach relates to the tendency to draw conclusions about the broad nature and

effectiveness of an organization based on the examination of abstract and contextually removed conceptions of organizational characteristics.

It may be seen that through the utilization of the analytic approach, the potential exists for the interests of certain individuals to be overlooked, and for the information obtained to be somewhat fragmented. The methods and systems that researchers have used to examine sport organizations in the past, however, seem understandable and logical, nonetheless, given the practical reality of few researchers with limited resources attempting to evaluate a large number of organizations with a broad geographic distribution. But these practical realities have been a factor primarily because researchers have attempted to deal with entire populations of organizations in order to establish central tendencies in the occurrence of various organizational characteristics (cf. Hinings and Slack, 1987; Thibault, 1987; Zimmermann, 1988).

The limitations imposed by these practical realities, however, can be overcome through the methodological construct of the case study. The case study approach provides the opportunity for a more

in-depth level of analysis to be pursued within an individual organization, and allows the researcher to move beyond the "analytical approach" towards a richer and more comprehensive level of understanding, when examining processes such as rationalization.

As an alternative to the "analytical approach" and its related conceptual weaknesses, Miller and Eriksen, along with other contemporary organizational theorists (for example: Ranson, Hinings and Greenwood, 1980; Romanelli and Tushman, 1986; Daft and Steers, 1986; Greenwood and Hinings, 1987), advocate the utilization of the "approach of synthesis" (Miller and Eriksen 1984:18). This approach is believed to create a more comprehensive and complete image of organizational reality as it allows for the simultaneous consideration of a variety of naturally occurring, contextually situated, organizational characteristics, processes and relationships. This approach allows the researcher an opportunity to grasp the complexity of the interplay between social structure and human agency in the creation of organizational reality.

In light of the fact that amateur sport organizations have been observed to be experiencing fundamental organizational change, a closer examination of these organizations would seem to be an interesting and relevant academic endeavour. But in attempting to gain a more in-depth and comprehensive understanding of the process of rationalization, and its relationship to the individuals involved in amateur sport organizations, it would seem that a schema for analysis that considers the relevance of a wider range of influences than the "analytical approach", would be appropriate.

Fortunately, within the field of organization theory terms of reference and frameworks for analysis that adopt a more synthetic approach have been developed by several different scholars who have examined strategic organizational change (cf. Miller and Friesen, 1984; Romanelli and Tushman, 1986; Greenwood and Hinings, 1987). A central theme throughout this corpus of literature is the importance of the initial conceptualization of what an organization is and does as the corner-stone upon which further research may be built.

In the perspective developed by Miller and Friesen, the comprehensive conceptualization of what an organization is and does is termed the "quantum view":

Organizations are treated as complex entities whose elements of structure, strategy, and environment have a natural tendency to coalesce into quantum states or 'configurations' (Miller and Friesen, 1984:1).

In the theoretical framework developed by Greenwood and Hinings (1987), the authors embrace the concept of configuration and build upon it as they theorize the dynamics of organizational change. In the framework they propose, the starting point for conceptualizing organizations takes form in the construction of organizational design archetypes. Design archetypes are postulated to consist of a patterning of values, beliefs, and interpretive schemes enacted through various organizational structures and processes. This patterning is referred to as organizational coherence and relates to the extent to which the organization may be characterized to have a common orientation among component elements.

Greenwood and Hinings (1987) suggest that an organizational design archetype is:

a set of ideas, beliefs, and values that shape prevailing conceptions of what an organization should be doing, of how it should be doing it, and how it should be judged, combined with structures and processes that serve to implement and reinforce those ideas. (Greenwood and Hinings, 1987:4).

They further suggest that the key to understanding an organization is contained in the beliefs and values held by key individuals or groups of individuals regarding three central areas of activity: (1) the appropriate domain of operations i.e., the broad nature of an organization's raison d'être; (2) beliefs and values about appropriate principles of organizing; (3) appropriate criteria for evaluating organizational performance (Greenwood and Hinings, 1987:4).

The empirical establishment of what values and beliefs are held by a range of organizational members in a Provincial Sport Organization, regarding the three central areas of activity identified by Greenwood and Hinings, would seem to provide a good starting point in attempting to more fully understand amateur sport organizations. Examining an organization in terms of values and beliefs allows for the consideration of the role of human agency in the creation of organizational reality, and thus a more comprehensive level of analysis may be achieved.

Of central importance to this approach, however, is the establishment of who the key individuals or groups of individuals are within the organization. Much of the previous academic attention that has been focused on sport has tended to utilize data collection techniques geared towards obtaining the opinions of managers and formal leaders in sport organizations while largely ignoring the concerns of athletes, coaches and officials. (cf. Beamish, 1985; Cunningham, 1986; Thibault, 1987).

A central issue which is highlighted through the synthetic approach as developed through contemporary organizational theory, is that there is a deeper and more complex reality to organizational life than that articulated by formal leaders within an organization. For a more comprehensive understanding of organizational reality to be developed, attention must be focused on the values and beliefs of actors throughout the organization, and not simply on those of the dominant coalition, and/or those who appear to possess formal control of the organization. It was the intention of the researcher in this study to examine the values and beliefs of not only the formally recognized leaders in the organization, but also

the informal leaders and a variety of other actors within and outside of the organization.

Thus, the intention of this research project was to examine the values and beliefs of organizational members in provincial sport organization in the Province of Alberta. While amateur sport organizations have been observed to be undergoing a rapid process of rationalization, given direction and impetus by governmental involvement, we do not have a comprehensive understanding of these organizations and little attention has been given to the concerns of the individuals within these organizations. The particular values, and beliefs, (interpretive schemes), being operationalized in amateur sport organizations have not been closely examined, nor has the relationship between the formalized trend towards rationalization, and the processes and relationships actually realized in the day-to-day operation of Provincial Sport Organizations.

STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The purpose of this research was to undertake an in-depth examination of organizational values and beliefs in a Provincial Sport Organization. Towards

this end a case study approach was utilized, and the following sub-problem areas were investigated:

1. Who are the key individuals and groups who have an interest in the organization?
2. What are the operative values and beliefs held by key individuals and groups concerning the three areas of activity identified by Greenwood and Hinings (1987)? (i.e., domain; principles of organizing; and evaluation criteria.)
3. Is there a prevailing pattern or patterns of consensus regarding particular values and beliefs within the organization?
4. What is the relationship between the values and beliefs, actually held by key individuals in the PSO, and the formal organizational structures, processes, and relationships that have been observed by other researchers to be evolving towards a more rationalized and professionalized arrangement?

JUSTIFICATION FOR STUDY

The major intent of this project was to provide a descriptive-analytical examination of the values and beliefs held by a range of organizational members in a provincial sport organization. The specific research questions addressed in this study related to a particular individual organizational setting. It is believed, however, that the findings produced are relevant to the larger issues in the population of PSOs, as they represent a case study example of the implications of general organizational trends, to the specific organizational level.

Of central importance to this study is the realization that provincial sport organizations, as publicly-funded entities, represent (or should represent) a multiplicity of interests and values within the community. It is not clear, however, whether previous examinations of provincial sport organizations have been able to deal with or understand this complexity.

The large number (71) of PSOs operating in Alberta, makes it extremely difficult for researchers to deal with each organization on a personalized and in-depth basis. In acknowledging this fact, it was the

intention of this study to focus on an individual organization with a view to grasping the complexity of organizational reality and relating it back to larger generalizable issues. The examination of an individual organization was underpinned and informed by contemporary organizational theory which is believed to provide a richer and more complete understanding of organizational reality than has been previously made available.

The approach of synthesis, as developed by theorists such as Miller and Friesen (1984) and Greenwood and Hinings (1987), represents the leading edge in organizational research which builds upon, and is informed by a wealth of previous theoretical and empirical research. The utilization of such a perspective when examining PSOs represents an alternative view to those traditionally taken. As such, it may increase our understanding of PSOs by supplementing the analytical methods used by government agencies and the insights gained in previous academic research.

Increasing the level of understanding and awareness regarding an individual PSO can contribute to our understanding of the complexity of all PSOs. There

can be little doubt that uncovering a range of organizational values in a PSO could be of great benefit not only to those athletes, coaches, officials, and administrators involved directly in PSOs, but also to politicians, civil servants, and citizens at large who are called upon to make informed decisions about them.

People often have a tendency to take organizations for granted, to stereotype the people in an organization, or to not consciously consider the effects of organizational activities on various individuals within the organization. An in-depth study of a PSO could bring to light many issues and concerns that may otherwise be overlooked in the routine interactions of everyday life. Discussion, debate, and decision making about PSOs, be it political, philosophical, or economic, can only be enhanced by a deeper level of understanding and empirical findings given shape and meaning through a theoretical frame of reference.

CHAPTER II CONCEPTUAL OVERVIEW

Introduction

Government involvement in organized amateur sport has increased dramatically in the past twenty years at both the federal and provincial levels. The Government of Alberta, acting through the Department of Recreation and Parks, supports 71 different Provincial Sport Organizations (PSOs). These organizations are recognized as the agency officially responsible for coordinating their particular sport at the provincial level. As such, they are granted government funding to finance a variety of activities and programs. The responsibilities with which these organizations are charged include such tasks as the selection and support of provincial teams, the organization and sanctioning of provincial championships, and the ongoing development of coaches, athletes, and officials.

Government involvement in sport organizations at the provincial level has in many ways been modelled after federal government initiatives. At the federal level, Sport Canada, the directorate responsible for sport, recognizes 39 high-performance National

Organizations. These organizations oversee the various sports that Canada competes in at major international games. Both the Federal Government and the Government of Alberta have encouraged the development of increasingly rationalized amateur sport organizations by making the provision of funding, and other forms of support, contingent upon the development of specific organizational structures, systems, and processes.

At the national level, the guidelines that establish what organizational characteristics are to be encouraged in National Sport Organizations (NSOs), are part of a model-based approach through which it is believed that a particular organizational form, or configuration, will produce the best possible athletes to represent the people of Canada. The current objectives of this model approach are summarized in the "Best Ever" program which was designed and implemented with the explicit aim of increasing the performance levels of Canada's top athletes at international competitions such as the Olympic and Commonwealth Games.

As an integral part of the "Best Ever" program, Sport Canada also introduced the "quadrennial

planning system", which involves 36 of the 39 high-performance NSOs, and requires that they engage in a rational planning process. The intended effect of this planning system is for NSOs to enhance their effectiveness and efficiency by reviewing and evaluating their current strengths and weaknesses and proposing ways to improve future performance (Slack and Hinings, 1987). By encouraging, and in fact requiring that NSOs engage in rational planning, Sport Canada has promoted organizational change in NSOs. The nature of this change has been observed by Hinings and Slack (1987) to involve rationalization in a dual manner, in that the introduction of the actual process of planning as an organizational activity requires rational change, and creates a blueprint for further rational change, as an outcome of that activity (Hinings and Slack, 1987).

While the Government of Alberta is not directly involved in the "Best Ever" program or quadrennial planning, they have instituted provincial level programs which are similar in nature. Allocation of funding to PSOs in Alberta is based on guidelines which encourage the same sort of elite competitive focus found in the "Best Ever" program. At the same time, the Government of Alberta has introduced a

rational planning system of their own which is based on a three year planning cycle, updated annually.

As government involvement in sport organizations has increased, the organizational activities of NSOs and PSOs have become increasingly goal directed towards the development of elite high-performance athletes. There has been concern, however, that this emphasis is not at all a democratic representation of popular sporting values. Rather, it is an expression of the wishes of a small group of managers and bureaucrats (cf. Kidd, 1982; Beamish, 1985).

The analysis of social issues of this nature has arisen in recent years through the development of the "socio-cultural" approach to the study of sport (cf. Gruneau, 1976; Hollands, 1984). Through this approach, our understanding of sport and society has been greatly increased. Scholars and researchers have utilized the knowledge, resources, and perspectives of a variety of other academic fields and developed alternatives to the traditional pluralistic view of sport and sport organizations. Researchers adopting this approach have informed their work with a variety of historical, political, and sociological theories, and have initiated a number of ideological debates

as to the nature of sport and its relationship to power and cultural production (cf. Cantelon and Gruneau, 1982; Beamish, 1985; Hall, 1985; McKay, 1986).

Most recently, within the socio-cultural approach to the study of sport, there has been an influx of research which has drawn upon concepts and theories made available through the field of organization theory (cf. Frisby, 1983; Slack, 1985; Cunningham, 1986). Through this work, researchers have attempted to gain further insight and understanding into the organizations that regulate, organize, and sanction sport in Canada. The present research project continues this trend, and operationalizes research theory and methods which have not been widely used in the previous study of sport and sport organizations. This project is intended to add to, and extend, past research which has been concerned with organized amateur sport in Canada, by undertaking an in-depth organizational analysis of a PSO in Alberta. Central to this project, however, is the utilization of a conceptual frame of reference which allows for the examination of an amateur sport organization from a new and alternative point of view.

The purpose of this chapter is to outline that point of view, and to provide an explanation of how and why that particular theoretical orientation was adopted. In order to provide an overview of the circumstances which led the researcher to undertake the study, and adopt a particular theoretical outlook, four general topic areas will be examined:

- I. Organizational Theory
- II. Organizational Values and Beliefs
- III. Organizational Coherence
- IV. The Rationalization of Sport and Sport Organizations.

I. Organizational Theory

In recent years, the conceptualization of what organizations are and what they do has taken many forms. As Hinings (1988) points out, the study of organizations has evolved dramatically over the past twenty-five years, and has seen the development of a variety of approaches and orientations. While some

researchers still maintain a strong structural/functional approach to the study of organizations (cf. Donaldson, 1985); other researchers advocate a more complex approach and view organizations as dynamic socio-political entities (cf. Burrell and Morgan, 1979; Clegg, 1988; Karpik, 1988).

Hinings (1988), suggests that the taken-for-granted subject of organizational theory is organizational design. He further suggests that implicit in the study of organizational design is a concern for organizational efficiency and effectiveness, and the effects of different organizational conditions on the achievement of these states (Hinings, 1988). And so too, the effectiveness (or ineffectiveness) of sport organizations, in a certain sense, may be seen to be the ultimate concern of many sport theorists as well (cf. Kidd, 1980; Beamish, 1985; Hall, 1985; McKay, 1986). The study of organizational effectiveness, however, is very much dependent on the manner in which one conceptualizes organizational design.

One of the seminal works on organizational design was that developed by the Aston Group (cf. Pugh, Hickson, Hinings, and Turner, 1968, 1969), in which

it was postulated that specific organizational characteristics developed in response to demands placed upon the organization by its context. This research provided the basis for "contingency theory" which is viewed by many to be the dominant schema for analysis in the area of organizational theory (cf. Aldrich, 1988; Hinings 1988).

Although contingency theory remains widely recognized and utilized in the study of organizations, it has been the subject of much critical debate for several years (cf. Child, 1973; Burrell and Morgan, 1979; Clegg and Dunkerly, 1982; Donaldson, 1985). The fundamental conceptual weakness of contingency theory is its assumption of a static and prescriptive normative structure, and its failure to account for the role of human agency in the creation of organizational design. Child (1972), for example, points out that organizational structures are not wholly rational responses to situational circumstances, but rather, are products of the social activity of human actors and are subject to their perception and interpretation.

Despite the conceptual weaknesses found in contingency theory, it has been institutionalized as

a way of looking at organizations and as such the development of new or alternative perspectives relies on the old perspective for its terms of reference and points of departure. Thus, in theories such as Child's "Strategic Choice" (1972), there is a blending of new ideas with the old in order to synthesize a new approach which maintains what is seen as valuable in the old theory, and at the same time attempts to rectify its conceptual deficiencies.

Through the processes of empirical research, theory building, critique, and modification, theories of organizations have evolved and become increasingly complex and comprehensive. But while extensive debate at the level of ideas continues to take place within the discipline of organizational theory, the relevance of organizational theory to people outside the discipline, in areas such as sport studies, rests in its ability to produce empirical research findings and solve real world problems (Aldrich, 1988). In the present study the real world problem to be addressed is that of attempting to comprehend the relationship between what an amateur sports organization does, and the values and beliefs held by the members of that organization.

The contribution that organizational theory can make to the study of this problem is the provision of a theoretical frame of reference through which the problem may be examined. The theoretical framework developed by Greenwood and Hinings (1987) was found to be appropriate for providing the basis for developing a research strategy for the study of sport organizations, for two interrelated reasons. First, the framework they develop adopts what Miller and Freisen (1984) have termed "the approach of synthesis". This approach involves a blending of a variety of ideas and perspectives in order to gain a perspective which is more comprehensive and rigorous than any of its component parts. The Greenwood and Hinings (1987) framework was developed through an extensive programmatic research strategy which has continually attempted to integrate conceptual developments and change.

Secondly, and closely related to the first, the framework they propose allows for the comprehension of both social structure and human agency in the creation of organizational reality. The theoretical and methodological advantages of attempting to comprehend the interplay of structure and agency, when conducting social research, have been outlined

by several social and organizational theorists (cf. Giddens, 1973; 1977; Ranson, Hinings, and Greenwood; 1980; Bourdieu, 1977; Knorr-Cetina and Cicourel, 1981), and by several sport sociologists as well (cf. Beamish, 1982; Gruneau, 1983; Theberge, 1984). In the framework developed by Greenwood and Hinings (1987), the interplay of structure and agency is grasped by approaching organizations through the examination of organizational values and beliefs.

II. Organizational Values and Beliefs

The approach through values and beliefs developed by Greenwood and Hinings (1987) builds upon their early theory developed with Ranson in an article entitled "The Structuring of Organizational Structures" (Ranson, Hinings, and Greenwood, 1980). In this article, the authors draw upon the works of sociologist Anthony Giddens in attempting to construct an integrated framework for the analysis of organizations. The main thrust of their proposed framework was to reconcile the theoretical differences posed by different conceptualizations of organizational structure. They point out that

structure has traditionally been conceived of as either a patterned regularity of roles and procedures (the prescribed framework of the organization), or as the patterned regularity and processes of interaction (Ranson et al. 1980:1-2). They further point out that the conceptual assumptions of each of these perspectives have led research into organizations down rather divergent and incompatible paths. In attempting to "articulate the latent linkages between such paradigms and problematics" and present a "more unified methodological and theoretical framework", they propose that structure be conceived as a "complex medium of control which is continually produced and recreated in interaction, yet shapes that interaction" (Ranson et al. 1980:1-3).

The means through which an integrated theory is achieved conceptually, is through "provinces of meaning, dependencies of power, and contextual constraints" (Ranson, et al., 1980:4). While it was later suggested that the inclusion of contextual constraints may be redundant, and can be subsumed under provinces of meaning (cf. Willmott, 1981), provinces of meaning and dependencies of power remain important concepts which have informed Greenwood and Hinings' later works.

The relevance of these concepts is the assertion that organizational structures can be seen as embodiments of ideas, values, and beliefs which constitute a prevailing province of meaning or interpretive schemes (Greenwood and Hinings, 1987). As Ranson, et al. state:

Organizational members create provinces of meaning which incorporate interpretive schemes, intermittently articulated as values and interests, that form the basis of their orientation, and strategic purposes within the organization. (Ranson, et al., 1980:4).

Dependencies of power relate to values and beliefs through the view that since organizations are comprised of a number of individuals and groups, there are likely to be a number of alternative interpretive schemes. The resolution of conflicts relating to contradictory interpretive schemes is theorized to transpire as a result of dependencies of power and domination.

In the development of their later theoretical framework, Greenwood and Hinings (1987) attempt to maintain the central importance of the values and beliefs of organizational members, and integrate the consideration of interpretive schemes into the concept of "organizational design archetypes" (Greenwood and Hinings, 1987:5).

Design archetypes are postulated to consist of a patterning of values and beliefs (interpretive schemes), enacted through various organizational structures and processes. This patterning is referred to as organizational coherence and relates to the extent to which an organization may be characterized as having a common orientation among component elements. Greenwood and Hinings suggest that an organizational design archetype is:

...a set of ideas, beliefs, and values that shape prevailing conceptions of what an organization should be doing, of how it should be doing it, and how it should be judged, combined with structures and processes that serve to implement and reinforce those ideas (Greenwood and Hinings 1987:4).

They further suggest that the key to understanding an organization is contained in the beliefs and values held by key individuals or groups of individuals regarding three central areas of activity: (1) the appropriate domain of operations i.e. the broad nature of an organization's *raison d'être*; (2) beliefs and values about appropriate principles of organizing; (3) appropriate criteria for evaluating organizational performance (Greenwood and Hinings 1987:4).

Building from the concept of archetypes, Greenwood and Hinings develop the notion of "tracks", as maps of the developmental paths along which organizations ostensibly travel:

The temporal relationship between an organization and one or more archetypes defines an organization's track. Prototypical tracks include inertia, aborted excursions, re-orientations, and unresolved excursions (Greenwood and Hinings, 1987:21).

Greenwood and Hinings go on further to postulate the dynamics of change that may influence an organization to follow a particular track. While the examination of the temporal relations between organizational characteristics and the dynamics of change is the ultimate concern of their theory, its relevance to the present study lies primarily in the development of archetypes as conceptual devices by which we may understand, describe, and analyse organizations.

In adapting this conceptual framework for the analysis of provincial sport organizations, however, there are certain cautions we should bear in mind. Firstly, because the theory is a 'synthesis', we must consider the conceptual ancestry of the theory and attempt to avoid the conceptual weaknesses arising from component parts. Greenwood and Hinings (1987)

specifically acknowledge the influences of contingency theory and strategic choice theory and call for their "mutual penetration" (1987:1). The difficulty with this mutuality, however, is that researchers and theorists are typically oriented towards one theory or the other and need to be continually reminded of the advantages of the synthetic approach. Secondly, and also relating to the conceptual heritage of the perspective, it is essential to avoid continually relying on managerial characterizations of the organization when attempting to collect data in or about an organization. While the research techniques associated with the development of both contingency and strategic choice theory have relied heavily on such a view, a more synthetic and comprehensive organizational depiction must move beyond such a conceptualization. As Albrow (1968:163) has commented and Willmott quotes, "a science that is based upon managerial conceptions of organizational structure is inevitably misguided in its empirical analysis of organizations" (1981:474). Bearing this in mind, let us further consider the relevant implications of the framework proposed by Greenwood and Hinings (1987), to the examination of amateur sport organizations.

In the examination of amateur sport organizations, it may be seen that the approach suggested by Greenwood and Hinings (1987) provides a means to examine more fully the effects of the process of rationalization. Through the approach of values and beliefs, the role of agency in organizations is grasped and the stage is set for the relationship between agency and structure to be examined. Through the consideration of agency, it may be seen that organizational structures are in fact dynamic products of the formalization and institutionalization of the shared values and beliefs of individuals (cf. Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Zucker, 1977). Thus, the nature and intention of organizational structures cannot be fully appreciated without knowledge of those values and beliefs.

The framework Greenwood and Hinings (1987) propose not only incorporates a conception of agency through values and beliefs, but it also spells out what individual values and beliefs are relevant to the overall functioning of the organization, and should be investigated (i.e., values and beliefs about: domain; principles of organizing; and evaluation criteria). These guidelines set out a means by which the values

and beliefs (interpretive schemes) of individuals may be examined. At the same time, however, their theory also provides a means through which a variety of values and beliefs held by different individuals may be related to the overall organization. This is achieved through the development of the notion of "organizational coherence".

III. Organizational Coherence

The term "coherence" is generally defined as a logical connection or consistency (Webster's, 1980:216). In the framework developed by Greenwood and Hinings (1987), the term is used to describe the logical connection in the patterning of interpretive schemes and the various organizational structures and processes through which they are enacted. In the study of the process of rationalization in amateur sport organizations, this concept is crucial in determining the extent to which the rationalization of structures and processes is in fact an expression of the values and beliefs of the people who are involved in, and comprise, these organizations.

The fundamental purpose of considering the concept of coherence, in the Greenwood and Hinings (1987) framework, is to capture the notion of "total design" or "configuration" as developed by Miller and Freisen (1984). Implicit in the Greenwood and Hinings definition of coherence, however, is a conception of power and domination. It is through these processes that a particular interpretive scheme becomes enacted in an organization. As Ranson et al. (1980) suggest:

The interpenetration of power and provinces of meaning is of greatest consequence to organizational structuring, embedded not merely in the structural scaffolding of an organization but bred into the routine constituting and recreating of interactive relations (Ranson, et al., 1980:9).

In the study of amateur sport organizations, an issue which has been widely discussed in recent years is the relative autonomy of these organizations, and the ability of members to carry out their own wishes (cf. Kidd, 1980; MacIntosh, 1983; MacIntosh and Franks, 1986). Thus, to create a framework which provides greater insight into this area, the conception of organizational coherence proposed by Greenwood and Hinings (1987) may be expanded to include the extent to which various organizational

members are in agreement as to the purposes and directions of the organization.

Examining the values and beliefs of organizational members regarding the three value areas identified by Greenwood and Hinings (1987), (i.e., domain; principles of organizing; and evaluation criteria) provides an avenue through which to examine the notion of organizational coherence, both in the sense intended by Greenwood and Hinings, and in the wider sense, of agreement of direction and purpose among organizational members. Through this frame of reference it is then possible to examine the effects of the process of rationalization on amateur sport organizations, and consider a variety of potential influences which have not been considered in previous examinations of the rationalization of sport and sport organizations. In order that this distinction may be made clear, let us now consider what is already known about the rationalization of sport, as has been shown through previous research.

IV. The Rationalization of Sport Organizations

It may be seen that the process of rationalization, as a basis of substantive shifts in societal values, is pervasive as both an implicit and explicit theme in much of the current sociology of sport literature. The concept of rationalization, however, has not been systematically investigated in sport research nor has it been clearly articulated as a focal point around which various perspectives may converge.

The term "rationalization" generally refers to the process through which a logical and efficient relationship is developed between means and ends. As Diesing (1973) points out, rationality, in modern-day western society, has come to be synonymous with efficiency, or more precisely, economic efficiency. The process of rationalization has long been the subject of social analysis and has been widely theorized in social and organizational theory (cf. Blau, 1955; Diesing, 1973). One of the early influences in modern social thought on the subject was Max Weber who suggested that the rationalizing trend in western society set it apart from all other

known civilizations (cf. Hughes, 1958). Weber theorized that the process he called the "bureaucratization of all phases of public activity" is a manifestation of the rationalizing trend. Through this trend, social interaction that was once based on myth and tradition is replaced by that which is based on rationality and science (cf. Weber, 1960).

Building on the work of Weber and others, sport sociologists have observed that sport, like other social activities, has been dramatically changed by the influences of the rationalizing trend (cf. Guttman, 1978; Gruneau; 1983). Qualitative changes in the values operationalized in and through sport have been observed to be closely tied to the rationalizing trends of society at large. In comparing modern Canadian sport to that of the past, Gruneau observes the visible influence of rationalization:

If versatility and fair play were once perceived as an important part of excellence in sports, the notion of excellence is now widely understood as the achievement of abstract standards objectively defined (e.g. records). (1983:145).

Gruneau points out that the conflicts between "traditional" values and "rational" values of industrial society have been a topic of sociological

inquiry for quite some time. In examining the works of Durkheim and Weber, and considering their relevance to the study of sport, Gruneau notes:

...each author sought ultimately to come to terms with the forces that had destroyed feudal society and stimulated the growth of industrial capitalism, and each was interested in reconciling the dilemma posed by capitalist industrialism for the optimal expression of human capabilities (1983:6).

At the heart of Gruneau's analysis seems to be this very point; a concern for the optimal expression of human capacity. Gruneau points out that the development of rational structures, systems, and processes in the organization and administration of sport in Canada has "enabled" the expression of human capabilities in some forms but has limited or "excluded" expression of human capabilities in other forms (1983:146).

Gruneau's point of view may be seen to be representative of an approach to the analyses of sport and sport organizations that has been identified in the previous chapter (page 2) as the "critical approach". The relevant point of concern to be drawn from this approach is that of the relationship between the rationalization of sport and sport organizations,

and the optimal expression of human capabilities. In Canadian sport this may be seen to be a particularly relevant social and political concern because of the proactive role that government agencies have played in the promotion, and encouragement of the rationalization process in amateur sport organizations.

Government involvement in sport has been studied from a number of different perspectives by researchers and academics concerned with sport. Several have examined the manner in which sport organizations have evolved as a result of government involvement and have noted a trend towards the bureaucratization and professionalization of sport organizations (cf. Kidd, 1980; MacIntosh, et al., 1982; Slack, 1985). Through the analysis of these processes, many have come to question both the effects upon actual sporting activities, and the wider social implications. MacIntosh et al., for example, suggest:

Because the salaries of these bureaucrats (administrators of sport organizations) are paid largely by government funds, the loyalties of these executives, technical and program directors are divided between representing their respective organizations and respecting the views of the government agency which supports them. This has contributed substantially to the

acquiescence of the federal government's penchant for promoting high performance sport and to the disappearance of an independent voice for amateur sport (MacIntosh, et al. 1984:5-6).

Wider ranging social concerns are also expressed by Cantelon (1980) as he questions:

Does the existence of a sport organization which promotes national teams, monetary assistance for athletes, full-time professional coaches, all of which are funded out of public tax dollars, express the wishes of the majority of citizens, or is it the policy of a small sports elite? (Cantelon, 1980:31).

The social analyses of the role that the process of rationalization has played in creating opportunities for democratic human expression through sport organizations has been the concern of several other researchers as well, both implicitly and explicitly (cf. Beamish, 1982; Cantelon and Gruneau, 1982; Slack, 1985; McKay, 1986). But as was mentioned previously, the examination of issues such as this in sport research has often lacked a comprehensive, theoretical approach.

The key point which often seems unrecognized in critical sport research concerned with democratization, is that there are a number of ways through which the process of rationalization in

amateur sport organizations may potentially either contribute to and extend, or rectify and redress, various forms of domination and oppression within society. From a methodological point of view, a cogent and comprehensive research strategy for investigating the potential manifestations of these processes seems to be lacking. Most notably, there is a failure on the part of researchers to articulate potential alternative organizational forms or to investigate the values and beliefs of those individuals who are believed to be oppressed and/or excluded from activities which are implicitly believed to be desirable.

In attempting to address some of the theoretical deficiencies in the study of amateur sport organizations, Slack and Hinings (1987) propose a conceptual framework. In developing their framework, Slack and Hinings (1987) examine the process through which the design of sport organizations has evolved, and provide a review of the literature that deals with the process of rationalization in sport organizations. The concept they emphasise, as extracted from this literature, is the organizational manifestation of rationality which is bureaucracy. Research into the

bureaucratization of amateur sport organizations in Canada (cf. Frisby, 1982, 1983; Slack 1985; MacIntosh et al., 1986), may be seen as an extension of other previous research that has revolved around the theme of government involvement (cf. Kidd, 1980; MacIntosh and Franks, 1982; Franks and MacIntosh, 1983). Through this research it has been illustrated that government agencies have created situations of resource dependency which have enabled them to establish a directive role in changing the formal structures, systems and processes through which amateur sport organizations conduct their activities (MacIntosh, et al., 1984). Through the establishment of this dependent relationship, which involves the provision of operating grants in exchange for the implementation of specific policies, government agencies have encouraged sport organizations to move towards a legal-rational organizational form. The implementation of this organizational form is believed to create a more efficient and more accountable mode of operation.

Government agencies themselves may be seen as prototypical of the organizational form and style of operation they encourage in sport organizations. The

fundamental characteristics of this bureaucratic organizational form are an official and explicit division of labour, a hierarchical authority structure, and a dependency on written documents (cf. Gerth and Mills, 1979).

While research into the changing nature of amateur sport organizations in Canada has suggested that sport organizations are becoming more centralized, more professionalized, and more bureaucratized, these are very broad and general terms. In developing a conceptual framework for the analysis of amateur sport organizations, Slack and Hinings (1987) acknowledge the insight provided through the examination of the processes of bureaucratization and professionalization in sport organizations. But they also point out that within the general concept of bureaucracy a variety of organizational possibilities exist (1987:187). Drawing on organizational research and organizational theory, they build a strong case for locating the examination of bureaucratization and professionalization within a more general conceptualization of organizational design. Organizational design, they point out,

...is concerned with managing the twin processes of differentiation and integration through the design of appropriate structures and attendant processes. As such, a bureaucratic form of organization is just one way of dealing with them (1987:187).

Slack and Hinings (1987) theorize that an examination of the effects of rational planning on the organizational design of amateur sport organizations is likely to reveal a lack of uniformity among the various sport organizations. They postulate that design differences will be observed in the configuration of sport organizations both prior to the introduction of rational planning systems, and as a result of this introduction.

They further suggest that the introduction of rational planning systems may change the fundamental make up of sport organizations. They theorize that sport organizations could, for example, change from being controlled by volunteers and operated with professional help, to being controlled by professionals assisted by volunteers (Slack and Hinings, 1987:186). The reality of such a possibility, however, seems difficult to deal with and imagine when so little is known about the actual operation of these organizations as they presently exist. While a certain amount of research has been conducted into the trends towards rationalization, professionalization, and bureaucratization in sport organizations, it has focused almost exclusively on prescribed

organizational structure as reported by executives, directors, and government bureaucrats (cf. Frisby, 1983; Beamish, 1985; Zimmermann, 1988). Few researchers have considered either the extent to which these processes have actually changed the day-to-day modes of operation realized in these organizations, or the effect these processes have on organizational members.

In the examination of the effects of processes such as planning, rationalization, professionalization, bureaucratization, and organizational change in general, it must be recognized that each is a form of human expression of some sort or another and must be treated as such. For in order to evaluate the effects of a particular social process in human terms, that process must initially be conceptually framed in a manner which comprehends the human condition.

Through the approach of organizational design advocated by Slack and Hinings (1987), however, it is possible to develop an approach which considers the role of human agency, and the interaction of social structure and human agency in the creation of organizational reality. A process oriented conceptualization of organizational design allows for

the consideration of the organizational values and beliefs (interpretive schemes), which give shape and meaning to structure and context (cf. Ranson, et al., 1980; Beyer, 1981; Galbraith, 1987; Greenwood and Hinings, 1987). When consideration is given to the theoretical issue of the relationship between prescribed organizational structure and that which is realized in the actual day-to-day operation of an organization, it may be seen that approaching organizations from the point of view of prescribed structure could potentially provide an inaccurate view of an organization. Further, the nature and intention of organizational structures cannot be fully appreciated without a prior knowledge of the values and beliefs which underpin them. The intimacy of this relationship becomes apparent in the framework proposed by Greenwood and Hinings (1987) as the authors argue:

The starting point for identification and classification of design archetypes (is the) identification of interpretive schemes and how they relate to structural attributes and processes. ...Our approach through provinces of meaning gives initial primacy to values, and their implication for organizational form (Greenwood and Hinings, 1987:11-12).

Thus, through the approach of values and beliefs it

may be seen that the dynamic influences of human behavior may be examined in relationship to the activities carried out by and through an organization.

The distinction between a static structural view, and more dynamic process-oriented conceptions of organizations, has been made clear in recent years through the changing treatment of the concept of organizational effectiveness. As the conceptualization of what organizations are and how they operate has changed dramatically in recent years, the conceptualization of criteria by which to evaluate effectiveness has changed as well. In one of the few attempts to inform the study of sport organizations with organizational theory that relates to organizational effectiveness, Chelladurai (1987) discusses the notion of paradox developed by Cameron (1986). Cameron develops his theory through a competing values approach to organizational effectiveness and postulates that:

Organizational effectiveness is inherently paradoxical. To be effective an organization must possess attributes that are simultaneously contradictory and even mutually exclusive (1986:545).

Chelladurai (1987) observes that in sport organizations, Cameron's notion of paradox is both

relevant and insightful because of the existence of inherently contradictory influences. In attempting to develop criteria by which to evaluate the effectiveness of sport organizations, Chelladurai points out that while several groups may benefit from organizational activities of sport organizations, one group may be viewed as the "prime beneficiary" (Chelladurai, 1987:45). He further argues that "to keep the prime beneficiary in perspective is to keep the ultimate purpose of the organization in perspective" (Chelladurai, 1987:45).

In amateur sport organizations, one might assume the prime beneficiaries to be the participants, players, or athletes. But there must be some benefit to all involved in an organization as Jackson, Morgan, and Paolillo, (1987) point out:

In order for an organization to form, a potential for benefits to members must be displayed. To be a member of an organization involves effort, compromise and restriction of behavior. Therefore, there must be positive benefits to offset the restrictive aspects of membership before a member will voluntarily join an organization (1987:6).

The fact that the roles of coaches, officials, administrators, and spectators in amateur sport are filled primarily by volunteers would seem to indicate

that the people who fill those roles do receive benefits of some sort or another. At the same time, however, it would seem that the ultimate purpose or raison d'être of amateur sport organizations relates to the sport itself and thus the players or athletes. But at the present time such theorizing takes the form of mere conjecture as there has not been, to date, any in-depth analysis of the values and beliefs of the people in these organizations. Thus, as has been suggested previously in this discussion, an investigation of the actual operative values and beliefs within a sport organization would seem to facilitate further theorizing about the nature and direction of sport organizations by providing an empirical basis for discussion.

The approach developed by Greenwood and Hinings (1987) provides the basis for exactly the kind of analysis described above. In the Greenwood and Hinings (1987) framework it is readily apparent that the necessary prerequisite to an understanding of organizational change is the conceptualization of design archetypes composed of both structural and processual attributes and values, beliefs, and interpretive schemes. In initially approaching

organizations from the point of view of values and beliefs, it is possible to gain an understanding of how individuals view the organization, and what commonly held beliefs about the organization exist. Examining specific values and beliefs about what the organization should be doing, how it should be doing it and how it should be judged, provides organizational terms of reference through which the concept of coherence may be examined.

Conceptual Framework

The substantive issue with which I was concerned in this study was the impact of the trend towards rationalization on the people involved in PSOs on a day-to-day basis, and on the overall operation of the organization. Three specific concepts were central to this investigation. The first concept was that of realized organizational structure. As has been previously discussed, the possibility exists that the relationships realized in the day-to-day activities of an organization can differ substantively from those described as prescribed structure. In order to research the effects of rationalization, I deemed it

necessary to observe and examine the realized structure of a PSO.

The second important concept was that of values and beliefs. Following Greenwood and Hinings (1987), I theorized that organizational activities are expressions of values and beliefs, and therefore viewed values and beliefs as my primary research concern. Formal conceptions of organizational structure and context were not considered in this study, but rather the focus was on the values and beliefs of organizational members. I considered values and beliefs of individuals to be expressed in and through the various activities they engaged in. I also postulated that the sentiments and opinions expressed by organizational members, concerning specific organizational issues, were reflective of that individual's values and beliefs. In order to maintain the overall organization as the focus of the study, however, the values and beliefs of individuals were investigated with a view to examining a third concept which was organizational coherence.

Coherence is generally defined as a logical connection or consistency. In the framework developed by Greenwood and Hinings (1987), the term is used to

describe a patterning of interpretive schemes enacted through various organizational structures and processes. The manner in which I defined coherence, however, differed slightly from the definition developed by Greenwood and Hinings. The notion of coherence in my study related as much to the extent to which there was agreement between and among individuals in the organization as it did to the relationship between interpretive schemes and the attributes of organizational structure and process.

Values and beliefs relating to three specific organizational issues were investigated:

1. Values and beliefs about the overall purpose of the organization
2. Values and beliefs about the most suitable and effective means of achieving the purposes of the organization (principles of organizing)
3. Values and beliefs about the the appropriate criteria for evaluating the performance of the organization.

I theorized that the values and beliefs held by organizational members about these three general value areas reflected their overall conception of the organization. I further postulated that patterns of values and beliefs concerning these three value areas

would constitute interpretive schemes. Looking for patterns of values and beliefs, and looking for patterns of consensus regarding particular interpretive schemes provided a means to examine the extent to which there was coherence within the organization. It also provided a means through which to examine the extent to which the process of rationalization impacts on the members of a PSO, and is a salient value within a PSO.

Viewing PSOs as political entities suggested that an ongoing investigation of the relationships realized in the day-to-day activities of the organization would provide insight into values and beliefs as well. The literature on the political nature of organizations suggests that there would likely be more than one value orientation or interpretive scheme operative within the organization, and that different interpretive schemes would likely be contradictory and competing (cf. Ranson et al., 1980; Clegg and Dunkerly, 1982). Thus, the strategy I developed was to hypothesise the existence of two or more ideal-typical interpretive schemes, within the organization, and test the accuracy of my hypothesising through the course of the research.

Ranson et al. (1980) suggest that interpretive schemes entail the taken-for-granted values and beliefs of organizational actors. These taken-for-granted values and beliefs shape the purposive actions of organizational actors, yet (are typically not articulated in daily activity (Ranson et al., 1980). Because values and beliefs are thought to typically be not articulated in daily activity, I examined an organization in which a visible change event was taking place. This event provided a theme around which to investigate values and beliefs further. I theorized that the existence of a change event would raise the consciousness level of organizational members and provide a point of reference for the articulation of otherwise latent values and beliefs.

The initial assumptions made in this project were that organizations are made up of individuals, and that individuals have values and beliefs. Specific values and beliefs about specific organizational issues were examined in order to determine if there was a pattern or patterns of consensus within the organization. With this framework as a basis, I then utilized a methodology through which values and beliefs in a PSO were examined.

CHAPTER III. METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Within the theoretical orientation adopted in this study, the central task on the research agenda was to access and document the values and beliefs (interpretive schemes) held by and enacted by individuals in a provincial sport organization. While the essential focus of the study was necessarily the individual, it was the organization that provided the terms of reference and framework for analysis. The logical technique for accessing highly subjective qualitative interpretations within an organizational setting, was ethnography. Ethnography, as a method, allows a certain amount of freedom of technique and tactic intended to allow the researcher to adjust behavior and expectations in order to assume a workable set of relationships with the group being studied (McCall and Simmons, 1969:28-29).

Ethnographic methods in organizational studies, as described by Van Maanen (1982:15-16), are "guided by a procedural principle which calls for the first-hand inspection of ongoing organizational life." This

principle seemed to succinctly summarize my intentions in the present project when considering PSOs. Thus, a research strategy was developed, to gain a first hand and in-depth understanding of PSOs by utilizing a qualitative approach.

Ethnography involves a variety of techniques which may include but not be limited to: direct observation; informant interviewing; direct participation; document analysis; and respondent interviewing. These techniques are effective methods of data collection when combined to produce an analytic description of social situations and organizations (McCall and Simmons, 1969:1-27). While the attraction of this method was the potential to produce rich and accurate information about social phenomenon, there was a drawback in the intensive commitment of time and attention required to make the method effective.

In order to obtain the sort of in-depth and comprehensive information desired in this project, I sought to cultivate a working relationship within a Provincial Sport Organization. Because of the personalized nature of this desired relationship, and the magnitude of the time commitment required, it was determined that a single organization should comprise

the sample. By concentrating on one organization, I was able to commit a great amount of time and attention to the development of relationships and employ numerous and rigorous data collection techniques.

Selecting an Organization

In choosing an organization to study, I formulated guidelines and criteria, concerning basic organizational characteristics that I thought would be desirable. Firstly, I determined that the organization should be in some perceived state of change or transition. I believed that within an organization experiencing visible change or transition the members would likely be more conscious of organizational issues and would likely be more willing and able to articulate their feelings about the organization.

I also believed that a specific change event or definable situation within the organization would provide a theme around which to collect information. This event also served to provide a credible guise under which to solicit information and opinions from organizational members.

The second criterion for selecting an organization was that of accessibility and approachability. The nature of the relationship ideally sought in this project suggested that the issue of accessibility was of key importance. As such, I attempted to identify an organization whose members were perceived to be the type who would be cooperative in this kind of study. For practical reasons of accessibility, I also sought an organization that was based primarily in Edmonton.

The third criterion for selection of the organization to be studied was that of familiarity. I thought it necessary that I choose an organization that dealt with a sport that I was at least somewhat familiar with, in order that I may enter the organization with a baseline understanding of the subtleties and intricacies of the sport. I felt this was necessary because of the personal and subjective nature of the information that I sought. Literature on the subject of organizational culture suggests that values and beliefs may be closely tied to other elements of culture such as traditions, myths and symbols (cf. Schein, 1984; Trice and Beyer, 1984). I thought that an initial knowledge of some of these relatively intangible customs could be of assistance in attempting to understand values and beliefs.

With the above stated criteria in mind I set out to select an organization. As part of a larger research project that I was involved in, I was able to gain access to various documents concerning the different provincial sport organizations. The three-year plans, documents of association (i.e., constitution and bylaws), and financial statements of a sampling of 12 out of 71 provincial sport organizations were reviewed. I read over annual reports prepared by members of the sport organizations and attempted to identify organizations that fulfilled the desired criteria.

Through the review of the documents of the 12 PSOs, I attempted to identify an organization that was experiencing a specific organizational change that could be used as a research theme. The organization that was selected was the Alberta Rugby Union (ARU). The ARU was initially selected because of two identifiable issues.

The first issue was one that was repeatedly articulated in the annual reports of the organization for the past three years. This issue had to do with government funding, and basically concerned the fact that the sport of rugby received a lesser amount of

funding than some other PSOs, because it is not an Olympic sport.

The second issue had to do with the hiring of professional staff. The organization had experienced past difficulties with professional staff members, and was in the process of hiring a new staff person at the time that the documents were reviewed by the researcher.

After the initial identification of these issues through the document analysis, I approached the provincial sport consultant responsible for the ARU. In discussions with the consultant, the consultant agreed that the ARU was experiencing organizational changes and that the issues identified by the researcher were salient issues worthy of examination. The consultant also indicated that he believed that the organizational members in the ARU would likely be willing to cooperate with me and allow me to study the organization.

I had a certain amount of familiarity with the sport of rugby, as a result of my involvement in the sport at the club level as both a player and former volunteer administrator (club newsletter editor). The responsibilities and functions of the organization at

the provincial level, however, were not well known to me prior to my involvement in this project. Thus, in order to gain an initial familiarity with the organization, other preliminary unobtrusive measures were taken.

Initial steps basically involved talking to people outside of the organization who had knowledge about it. The people I discussed the organization with included both the former and current government consultant responsible for the organization. I also discussed the organization with another graduate student who had conducted previous research with the organization. A faculty member who had previously acted as a facilitator for one of the organization's planning seminars was also consulted. All of the people with whom I discussed the organization seemed to agree that the organizational members would be approachable and cooperative. They also agreed with my identification of the salient organizational issues.

In order to enhance my ability to understand and relate to the activities I intended to observe, I once again reviewed the available documents and information about the organization prior to my official entry into

the organization. I felt this to be an unobtrusive method of gaining some familiarity with the organization in order that I would have a basic knowledge of the organization at the outset of my involvement with it.

My formal involvement with the ARU began when I contacted the Acting Technical Director by telephone, and expressed an interest in studying a provincial sport organization and examining the structures, processes, relationships, and activities of the organization. I offered to assist around the office and provide any services I could. I suggested I could help with photocopying, stuffing envelopes, answering the telephone, or any other tasks that they felt I could perform. The Acting Technical Director (ATD) was very receptive to my offer, and was generally cooperative on the telephone. The ATD agreed to meet with me in person the following week.

At the first meeting the ATD provided me with an overview of the organization, and agreed in principle to the study I proposed. I outlined my desire to assist around the office, and attend organizational activities such as board meetings and other events. The ATD indicated that assistance around the office

would be welcomed. She also indicated, however, that it would be necessary for her to obtain approval from the board of directors as she did not have the authority to allow an outsider to attend meetings and other organizational events. Approval from the board was received through contact with the Vice President, and my involvement with the organization then officially began.

Data Collection Techniques

My direct involvement with the ARU spanned a six-month period beginning in February, 1988. The specific data collection techniques employed constituted a triangulation of qualitative methods (Denzin, 1970). The primary source of data was field notes collected through observations at various organizational activities such as meetings, coaching clinics, social events, and other events, and activities found to be constitutive of the organization's existence. The more than one hundred pages of field notes taken during these activities served to provide descriptions of the various settings, participants, behaviours, and occurrences. These observations were supplemented,

augmented, and verified through the second method utilized which was informant interviews.

Informant interviews were set up immediately following each field observation episode. These were usually done in an informal manner and sometimes involved more than one informant. An effective technique I used in this regard was to get a ride to and from observation episodes with various organizational members who could be informally interviewed during the drive home.

The third technique employed was that of respondent interviewing, in which I conducted semi-structured interviews with twenty different organizational members. The interviews were 'semi-structured' in that while I developed a standardized series of questions which I posed, there were no formalized choices or responses. All questions were basically open ended, and respondents were not given any prompts, direction or guidance to shape their responses. The interview format I developed was initially to ask three questions dealing with the value areas identified by Hinings and Greenwood (1987). Following these questions I asked a series of other questions that dealt more specifically with current organizational

issues. These questions were developed with the assistance of the ATD, and were intended to investigate the values and beliefs as they relate to specific organizational events. A copy of the interview format may be found in Appendix A.

The size of the organization, and the geographical distribution made the sampling process somewhat difficult but there were some basic criteria which I determined should be met. Firstly, because reports reviewed in the document analysis suggested that urban and rural clubs may receive differential treatment in the organization, I desired to solicit opinions from members of both urban and rural clubs.

Secondly, in keeping with the guidelines developed in the theoretical framework, I solicited the opinions of people who held a variety of different roles within the organization. The selection of people who held different roles in the organization was relatively random, with the only real determining factor being the respondents' willingness to cooperate. The ATD provided me with the provincial directory of the ARU, which lists the names and phone numbers of members of each of the clubs. The people interviewed occupied the following roles in the organization:

Club Players	Representative Team Players
Club Social Coordinator	Club Equipment Manager
Club V.P. Athletic	Club President
Club Coach	Provincial Junior Coach
High School Coach	Club Past President
Club Member at Large	Club Captain
V.P. Referee's Society	Women's Club Coach
Women's Club President	Provincial Board Member
Sub-Union Board Member	Provincial Women's President
Spectator	Club Secretary/Treasurer

Respondents were interviewed individually, and interviews generally lasted approximately one half hour each. Each interview produced three to four pages of point form notes which I recorded as the respondents spoke. Immediately following each interview I would outline and expand my notes and record my general thoughts regarding the particular respondent and responses given. Interviews were conducted in settings associated with the sport, such as in the bleachers, on the sidelines, or in the club house, usually either before or after organizational events such as games or training camps. I utilized this technique in order to solicit opinions from the respondents while they were in their own familiar element, and had aspects of the sport fresh in their minds. Since all of the people interviewed were involved in the sport in a voluntary capacity, I

felt that interviewing people away from the sport setting could produce less thoughtful and insightful responses. For example, interviewing "Joe" at his office could elicit responses from "Joe the accountant" rather than "Joe the coach". Thus by conducting interviews within the sporting setting, I hoped to elicit more naturally situated responses.

Through the systematic compilation of the data collected using these techniques, I attempted to generate three specific data sets. The first was a general overview of the organization, which assisted me in understanding the relationships among the various actors, and established a framework through which to approach the collection of data for the second data set. The second data set represented the investigation of the organizational values and beliefs (interpretive schemes) as articulated by informants, and formed the basis for developing potential archetypes. The third data set was gathered through respondent interviewing, and provided a means through which to test the accuracy of the hypothesized archetypes developed previously.

Because of the emergent nature of this process, I attempted to establish informants early in the data

collection period. Field notes obtained through observation and supplemented by informant interviewing constituted the basis for the development of the format utilized in the respondent interviews relating to values and beliefs.

The actual methodological techniques used were somewhat modified and adjusted through the course of the six-month observation period. The nature of the issues examined and the research strategies used required a certain amount of flexibility and discretion on the part of the researcher. The methods and results are closely intertwined and thus, as necessary in the presentation of results, some methods will be presented in the sequence in which they unfolded. The results are presented in the following four chapters, with each of the sub-problem areas being addressed in turn.

CHAPTER IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION, SUB-PROBLEM 1,

Introduction

The first sub-problem area researched was that of attempting to gain a general overview and understanding of the organization and answer the question "who are the key individuals and groups who have an interest in the organization". Prior to attempting to delineate who was actually involved in the organization, I attempted to gain an understanding of the general purpose and role of the organization. This understanding was gained through document analysis, through observations at meetings, and through informant interviews. I established two primary informants early in my involvement with the organization. The first was the Acting Technical Director (ATD) who provided me with candid opinions and insights on an on-going basis throughout my involvement with the organization. The second was a Board member in the organization with whom I obtained rides to and from board meetings which were usually held in Red Deer.

The opinions expressed by the two different informants represented two rather different perspectives on the organization and helped me to get a broad picture of the issues and events of the organization. The insights I gained from the informants and from observations at meetings, also differed markedly from many of the impressions I had developed through the document analysis. As had been theorized prior to the data collection, there were substantive differences between the prescribed structure of the organization, as described in the formal documents of the ARU, and the relationships realized in the actual operation of the organization.

An Overview of the Organization

As a provincial sport organization, the responsibilities of the ARU relate to the sport of rugby on a province-wide basis. The general functions of the organization may be divided into three broad categories. First, the organization generally oversees and is responsible for "rep" teams which are high-performance competitive teams which represent the province of Alberta at national championships and

other interprovincial competitions. Activities and responsibilities that fall into this category are the selection and training of provincial teams, talent identification, funding of travel for athletes to attend competitions, and the development of coaches and referees.

The second general function of the ARU is to act as an official representative of the sport of rugby in Alberta to the Canadian Rugby Union. Activities associated with this role include such things as providing names for consideration for national teams, coordinating the National Coaching Certification Program at the provincial level, and obtaining approval and sanctioning for Alberta clubs to host incoming tours of international teams.

The third general function of the ARU is to oversee and coordinate the sport of rugby province wide. This includes scheduling "fixtures" (games) province wide, overseeing the conduct of players and clubs and administering discipline when necessary, fund-raising, and providing liability insurance for players, coaches and referees.

The most notable organizational characteristic of the Alberta Rugby Union is that it is a "union" in

the truest sense of the word. That is, the organization is actually a coalition or banding together of a number of different groups. The organization is composed of "sub-unions" which represent the various interest groups in the sport of rugby province wide. The sub-unions that are officially represented on the board of the ARU are: The Southern Alberta Rugby Union; The Calgary Rugby Union; The Northern Alberta Rugby Union; The Edmonton Rugby Union; The Alberta Women's Rugby Union; and The Alberta Rugby Union Referee's Society.

At the same time, however, each of these constitutive sub-unions are "unions" in and of themselves, and as such represent a variety of clubs and teams that also may be seen as key groups who have an interest in the organization. The Northern Alberta Rugby Union for example, represents 15 different clubs which field more than 50 different teams and involve well over 1,000 participants.

In addition to the various clubs and teams that are represented in the ARU through their respective sub-unions, there are a number of other groups that may be seen to have a definite interest in the ARU. These include: the Canadian Rugby Union (CRU), of

which the ARU is a member; The Government of Alberta, which provides funding to the organization; The Alberta Sport Council, which provides funding to the ARU; corporate sponsors such as Labatt's and Crush who provide funding.

Individuals who have an interest in the organization include: players; coaches; referees; administrators; trainers; spectators; social members; and paid staff members.

Realized Organizational Structure

While each of the sub-unions identified in the constitution of the organization were supposedly equally represented on the board, observations at meetings, discussions with informants revealed that this was not the case. The most dominant groups in the organization were the Edmonton and Calgary sub-unions, while the women, the referees, and the rural clubs were secondary or background figures. Interviews with the board members who were representatives of the groups I observed to be less powerful revealed that they were in fact aware of their unequal treatment on the board. The women's

representative, for example, believed she was often treated in a token manner on the board, and referred to the fact that the chairman often hurried her through her report, and was not really interested in what she had to say, as an example of this tokenism.

Women's Sub-Union

The women's group is nonetheless dependent on the ARU as it is through this organization that provincial funding is received. Women's rugby in Alberta is quite well developed, as compared to other provinces, both in terms of participation and in terms of successful competitive teams. The Alberta Women's team have been Canadian Champions since the institution of the Canadian Championships in 1986 and approximately half the Canadian National Women's Rugby Team is composed of players from Alberta. Compared to the men, in terms of participation, women's rugby is far less developed, and the women seemed well aware of this fact. While the funding they received through the ARU was rightfully theirs, they seemed to be grateful and beholden to the ARU for providing them with it. Several of the women I

interviewed also expressed a belief that men's rugby was far more developed and thus far more deserving of funding.

The funding provided to the Women's union, by the Alberta Government, promotes the principle of the "separate but equal" division of sport based on sex (cf. Hall and Richardson, 1983:13). One of the difficulties with this approach, however, is that despite the fact that the women are separated on the basis that they are, on average, at a physical disadvantage in a contact sport such as rugby, their performance and effectiveness is, nonetheless, judged using men's achievements and standards as the basis (cf. Klein, 1983). The fact that the women themselves believed that the men's game was more developed illustrates the extent to which the practice of evaluating sport on the basis of male standards is institutionalized as a societal norm (cf. Klein, 1983).

Referee's Society

The referees representative on the board frequently complained, half jokingly, and half

seriously, that he was never properly informed of what was going on in the organization and that he was kept on the periphery. While the referees are an essential and necessary part of the sport, it was readily apparent at meetings that their involvement in the formal decision making and direction of the organization was minimal. At the same time, however, the referee's were able to influence the development and emphasis of the sport in more subtle ways. The referee who was responsible for assigning referee's to the various matches, for example, confided to me his personal belief in emphasising the development of youth. When making decisions regarding which referee would oversee which match, he would always provide the junior teams with the most knowledgable referee available, even if senior teams suffered because of it. This was done on the assumption that a better referee could likely do more to increase the quality of play and make the match a learning experience for those involved. This practice is one example of the manner in which the referees were able to shape and to some extent control the values enacted and direction taken by the organization.

Regional Sub-Unions

While the prescribed structure of the board suggested that Northern and Southern Alberta (i.e., clubs outside the major centres) receive full and equal representation on the board, this representation did not exist in the realized structure. Discussions at board meetings were dominated by the concerns of Edmonton and Calgary. Both the past and current sport consultants responsible for the ARU indicated to me that they were aware of this discrepancy and outlined to me that government policy requires that a minimum of three regions be represented on the boards of PSOs. The representation system of the ARU, however, which been in place long before the government policy came into effect, was designed so that the Edmonton and Calgary sub-unions were equally represented, and were in turn to represent the smaller centres from their respective halves of the province.

In order to meet the formal requirements of the government policy, the constitution of the ARU had been changed to include the formal representation of Northern and Southern Alberta at the provincial

level. In practice, however, this representation was still achieved through the respective sub-unions, and not on the direct basis that the constitution suggested. Government officials were aware of this practice but believed that the representation the smaller centres received via the sub-unions was acceptable and substantive, particularly when compared to other sports.

Edmonton and Calgary Sub-Unions

The Edmonton and Calgary sub-unions, which were found to be the dominant forces in the organization operated in very different ways from one another. The president of the Edmonton Union was very much a delegator who distributed both responsibility and authority to the sub-union board members and club representatives. The Calgary Union on the other hand was found to be very autocratic, with the president assuming several different roles and generally maintaining responsibility and authority himself. These differing management styles were commented on by several informants, and were observable in the operation of the organization.

The Edmonton Union was generally more organized and decisive in its activities. During my involvement with the organization I observed that while the Edmonton union was proactive and innovative in carrying out its affairs, the Calgary Union was bogged down with "firefighting", and limped from one crisis to the next. These differences seemed to relate primarily to the different management styles taken by the president of each of the unions. The fact that the president of the Edmonton Union was more delegative and receptive to the input of a variety of others, allowed the pursuit of a number of different goals simultaneously, with different efforts being the contribution of different members, but coordinated through the president.

The Calgary President on the other hand, seemed to suffer from "information overload", and often appeared disorganized and confused at meetings and events. Because he tried to do everything himself, he found himself with several half-finished tasks, and was often frustrated by the undue amount of confusion and stress he experienced.

Through my on-going involvement with the ARU, it became apparent that the differences between the

Edmonton and Calgary Unions related to the differing systems of power being operationalized in each of the respective unions. The Calgary Union, which has a middle-aged male for a president, operates under a system of traditional male hegemony in which power and control is held by a few, and decision making is unilateral and directive. The Edmonton Union, on the other hand, which has a younger-aged female for its president, operates under a more democratic system of collective decision making, and diffused power and control.

Levels of Involvement

The final organizational feature worthy of note is the levels of involvement of various members. While the formalized organizational charts suggested a relatively widespread division of labour in the organization, in the actual operation of the organization I found numerous incidences of overlap, with individual people often assuming a variety of different roles. Many board members, for example, were also board members in their respective sub-union and also executive members of their local club.

Provincial coaches were also found to often hold not one but several different coaching roles with the organization.

Identifying the Key Individuals and Groups

The purpose of describing the overall operation of the organization was to identify the key individuals, in order that their values and beliefs could be examined. The fact that all board members in the organization were involved at both the sub-union and club level, created a situation of a multiplicity of dynamics, and competing values and beliefs. And so too, the great number of clubs and geographical distribution of those clubs also created a situation for many potential conflicts and differences. Thus, the purpose of investigating values and beliefs was to examine the extent to which the various groups and individuals came to reconcile their many interests into collective organizational action.

The groups and individuals identified were: Urban Clubs; Rural Clubs; Northern Alberta Clubs; Southern Alberta Clubs; Junior Level Players; Senior Level Players; Over-35 Players; Female Players; Rep Team

Players; Social Members; Professional Staff Members; Board Members. From this list there were several key individuals and groups who stood out as more influential than others, and centrally important to the investigation of the extent to which there was agreement or 'coherence' within the organization.

The business of the organization was carried out by the board of directors and by the paid staff who are directed by the board. The paid staff include an Acting Technical Director, an office secretary, and sport outreach course conductors who are hired on an 'as needed' basis. The activities of the board and of the paid staff were the primary focus of my observations, when establishing what the organization is and does. In the investigation of values and beliefs, however, I attempted to consider the interests of all the groups identified above, in order to investigate the extent to which activities and actions of the board were reflective of the values and beliefs of the various groups and individuals who comprise the organization.

Through observations at meetings and through informant interviews, it was readily apparent that some board members were much more active and

influential in the organization than others. There were several sources of power through which board members were able to gain and maintain influence within the organization. The most widely utilized source of power in the organization was that of information and information control.

Using information as a resource to which selected privileged organizational members had access, was the basis of power and control for the board member (I refer to him as BM1) who was the most influential and important in the organization. BM1 acted as what Pettigrew (1972:197) terms a "gate keeper along communication channels". Through the practice of controlling and maintaining information, BM1 was able to continually sustain himself as an "expert" in the organization who was relied upon by other organizational members for his knowledge and expertise. Organizational power based on information control has been examined previously by Bacharach and Lawler (1980), and Kanter (1977), who observed that there are a number of ways in which people can use the organization, or operate through it to increase the power available to them. In the case of BM1, it clearly was a situation in which his position in the

organization allowed him access to the information that was a source of further power and control.

In addition to the board members in the organization, another key individual was the Acting Technical Director (ATD). The ATD was a female of an age similar to that of the president of the Edmonton Union. The ATD may be seen as what previous researchers of voluntary sport organizations have called a "zealot" (cf. Slack, 1985). The ATD had been previously involved in the organization as a player at the club, provincial, and national levels. She had very definite ideas about the direction the organization should be heading in, and developed specific strategies to achieve various objectives. The ATD was hired initially on a temporary basis to prepare the grant applications for the ARU. While in the position temporarily, however, the ATD was able to demonstrate her potential contributions to the organization by continually finding new things to do and convincing board members of the necessity of doing them.

The ATD used information as a source of gaining and maintaining power in the organization, but she

did so in a manner far different from that of the board members. The ATD worked in the ARU office where all correspondence for the organization is received. Upon receiving correspondence and information at the office, the ATD photocopied and distributed information to a variety of organizational members, and kept them informed of activities and events. By distributing information freely and openly, the ATD effectively broke down the power base of some of the board members, and at the same time secured her own position. As other organizational members began to receive and use information from her, they became dependent on that information and dependent on the ATD, to continue the flow. This is consistent with the theorizing of Ranson et al., (1980), who suggest that:

The subjective and motivated nature of "interested" action derives from a perceived deficiency in, or satisfaction with, a particular distribution of wealth, status, and authority, and a motivation to maintain or enhance one's resource position. Like values, interested action is typically oriented toward the framework of the organization, with organizational members striving to secure their sectional claims within the its very structure, which then operates to mediate and reconstitute those interests (Ranson, et. al., 1980:7).

The changing nature of the manner in which information was handled and exchanged within the organization impacted on the overall power structure of the organization, as information was a key resource. The ATD and BM1 were the key individuals involved in this transition, and therefore were held as central figures in the investigation of organizational values and beliefs.

The dominant groups identified, as discussed previously, were the Edmonton Union, and to a lesser extent the Calgary Union. Both the Edmonton and Calgary Unions were more dominant than the other sub-unions on the basis of available resources. The Edmonton and Calgary Unions had larger numbers of members than the other sub-unions, which provided them with greater financial resources and more developed capital facilities. At board meetings the dominance of the Edmonton and Calgary Unions was readily visible. The overall purpose of this study, however, was to examine the values and beliefs of a range of individuals and groups throughout the organization. Thus, with this general overview of the organization in mind, let us now examine the values and beliefs of the various groups and individuals who comprise the organization.

CHAPTER V. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION, SUB-PROBLEM 2

Introduction

Once I had established a general understanding of the basic functions of the organization and the groups and individuals who have an interest in the organization, I set out to investigate the second research sub-problem, and address the question:

What are the operative values and beliefs held by key individuals and groups concerning the three areas of activity identified by Greenwood and Hinings (1987)? (i.e. domain; principles of organizing; and evaluation criteria.)

The fact that the ARU was in a state of transition at the time that I initially approached the organization, greatly facilitated the investigation of this question. When I first approached the Acting Technical Director (ATD), and stated my general interest in examining the organizational characteristics of a Provincial Sport Organization, she outlined to me the changes occurring in the organization, and basically related the changes to differences in the values and beliefs of certain individuals in the organization.

Through my discussions with the ATD regarding the role of the ARU's paid staff member she outlined to me two different value orientations which she believed were operative within the organization. In the early stages of my involvement with the organization I used her description of these two value orientations as general themes and attempted to investigate the existence of these general value orientations through my observations and discussions with other organizational members.

Value Orientations

For research and discussion purposes, I developed an ideal-typical description of each of the value orientations (interpretive schemes) that the ATD described to me. This was the first step in constructing potential organizational design archetypes as described by Greenwood and Hinings:

To establish an organizational design archetype underlying values have to be first isolated and the structural and processual implications analysed, by the observer (their emphasis). It is the observer who eventually outlines the nature of the coherent organizational design. And it is therefore possible (but not very likely) that no organizations exist which exactly conform to the archetype (Greenwood and Hinings (1987:12)).

I labelled the two typifications the "communicative democracy" and the "alakadue system". The communicative democracy, as the name implies, describes a value system oriented towards a belief in open lines of communication and democratic decision making. The "alakadue" orientation relates to a belief in an oligarchical system in which power is held by "alakadues" who are similar to tribal chiefs or patriarchal leaders. "Alakadues" are middle-aged men of British origin who believe they have exclusive insights and authority regarding the 'way things should be done', and are unilaterally directive in their style of leadership. The two different value orientations are very much contradictory and conflicting which is consistent with suggestions about the nature of organizational values made by other researchers (cf. Ranson, et al. 1980; Clegg and Dunkerly, 1982). The different interpretive schemes represented a transition in the organization from a more traditional form of organizational power and control, or "order of domination" (cf. Weber, 1949), based on male hegemony, to a more rationalized and democratized form.

Through my discussions with ATD, I established that she saw herself as representative of the "communicative democracy" and found that in her formal role with the ARU she was in a position to be a change agent who could operationalize these values and beliefs. She stated that all those involved in the sport of rugby in Alberta basically had the same desire for the sport to develop and grow, but that the way to achieve this general goal was the major point of contention between those of different value orientations. She believed that open communication and a free flow of information were the principles of organizing essential for the development of the sport of rugby in Alberta:

The ATD pointed out that the sport of rugby in Alberta had some very definite and distinct ties with Britain, and that the administration of the sport in Alberta had historically been controlled by people of British origin ("Alakadues"). But she stressed the fact that Canada and Alberta are much different from Britain and that the philosophies and principles of organizing that are effective and successful over there are not necessarily the most well suited to the Alberta situation. Thus, the distinction she made

between the two dominant value orientations in the ARU was that those of the "communicative democracy" were open and receptive to new ideas while those of the "alakadue system" clung to British traditions, including styles of play and principles of organizing.

The ATD cited the success in international competition, in recent years, of teams from Australia and New Zealand as a reason for the ARU to be open and receptive to new ideas. She articulated a belief that the possibility of developing a uniquely Canadian style to the game would be greatly enhanced through being open to a variety of styles and philosophies. She also believed that developing successful Canadian teams, and a broad base of participation was highly dependent on adapting the game to the Canadian situation.

The "alakadue" approach to rugby was very much in opposition to the progressive view described above. According to the ATD, the people of this value orientation view believe that the traditions and heritage of the game are its heart and soul. The ATD described the principles of organizing associated with this orientation as the "country club" approach

in which there is a closed exclusive group in control. This exclusive group are seen as the keepers of the game. They know the way that things are traditionally done and insure that they go on doing them that way. People cannot learn or develop these traditions, but must be born into them and indoctrinated from an early age.

The formation and basis of the British traditions and ideology of the sport of rugby have been examined previously by Sheard and Dunning (1973), who theorize that:

The fact that the English concept of the 'Gentleman' is derived, in part, from the ethos of an elite with military roots is probably of some significance with respect to the development of these ideals (of the sport of rugby). Under the urban-industrial conditions that were increasingly to prevail, it became more and more difficult for traditional upper and middle class norms of masculinity to find expression in the normal run of everyday life, and rugby football began to emerge, not without considerable conflict, as one of the social enclaves where they could be legitimately expressed (Sheard and Dunning, 1973:6).

I found these beliefs in elitism, masculinity, and tradition to be very much alive and well in the "alakadues" of the ARU.

This maintenance of traditional British values and beliefs by British immigrants has been observed previously by Donnelly and Young, who describe British ethnic groups in North America as "cultural bubbles" (1985:29). Donnelly and Young observed while British rugby experienced some major ideological transformations during the 1960s and 1970s, those who immigrated to North America at that time tended to cling to traditional ways:

...old country values tend to become 'frozen' at the time of migration such that, within a few years, the ethnic group no longer reflects the changing values of their country of birth or the values of their adopted country (Donnelly and Young, 1985:29).

The values and beliefs that became "frozen" in the case of the "alakadues" were those relating to a system of power and control based on male hegemony. Donnelly and Young (1985:29) describe both the manner in which these values were challenged in Britain through the progressive democratization of the sport of rugby, and the manner in which the "pre-rationalized values of English Rugby would be retained and preserved in North America".

In Britain, one of the reasons why traditional rugby values had been challenged was similar to

reasons cited by the ATD; the emergence of other successful teams, such as South Africa and New Zealand, on the international rugby scene. Donnelly and Young (1985:26), describe the opposition to the rationalization and democratization of British Rugby as "rearguard action", as the majority acknowledged the necessity of progressively changing traditional ways in order to remain competitive in the increasingly rationalized forum of international competition. In the ARU, however, the British "traditionalists" had dominated the organization since its inception, and it was the trend towards rationalization and democratization which appeared as "rearguard action".

This rearguard action in the ARU, however, was rapidly changing into "head-on" action as several organizational events combined to challenge the strong hold which the system of male hegemony and traditional British values had held on the organization. The first of these was the incorporation of the Alberta Women's Rugby Union into the ARU. This had occurred in 1985, and although the "alakadues" disagreed to it in principle, they were forced to cooperate or risk the loss of provincial

government funding. The second event was the resignation of the president of the Edmonton Union in 1986 (he was transferred to another city by his employer), which necessitated the vice-president (a woman), taking over the presidency. While the "alakadues" would likely not have ever condoned a female president under normal circumstances, the desperate situation they were placed in as a result of the resignation of the president on short notice left them no alternative than to promote the vice-president. The woman vice-president had reached the position primarily as form of "tokenism" similar to that described by Kanter (1977:232), and was never expected to end up as president.

When this female vice-president took over the presidency through these extraordinary circumstances, however, she proved herself both competent and capable. This female president responded to those who questioned her abilities by proving herself through her actions. As was described previously (page 80) it was through her leadership and management style that the Edmonton Union had remained the most dominant and influential sub-union within the ARU.

The third event which heightened the awareness of organizational members as to the outdated nature of the values of the "alakadues" was the appointment of the ATD (a woman). In the case of the ATD, there were several different circumstances and conditions which made it possible for her to have a dramatic impact on the organization. The ATD was initially seen as harmless by the "alakadues" because she was a woman, but was thought to be useful in that she could prepare the grant applications for the organization. While the ATD was not unaware of the reservations held by the traditionalists in the organization, she did her best to avoid confrontation over the issue of gender, and continually proved the doubters wrong through her performance, in a manner similar to that of the female president of the Edmonton Union.

In many ways, the ATD "made her own breaks" by demonstrating both her own abilities, and the need for those abilities in the organization. In this regard, the ATD was a prime mover in the ARU, but the changes she made, and the ideas she implemented, would not have been possible without the back up and support of other members in the organization. As Greenwood and Hinings (1987), point out:

Patterns of commitment to prevailing and alternate interpretive schemes have to relate to the power structures of an organization. The configuration of power-dependence can operate as a destabilizing dynamic for change if the dominant coalition embraces an alternate interpretive scheme or if it perceives its interests to be ill-served by existing structures; this would produce reorientation. A not uncommon scenario for such a transformation is to remove the existing senior managers and replace them with a group who are committed to the new design archetype and whose interests are served by ensuring its introduction and success (Greenwood and Hinings, 1987:22).

The board member who headed up the Technical Director Search Committee was oriented to the "alakadue" interpretive scheme and was strongly apposed to having a woman in the role even in a temporary capacity. But the ATD did such an outstanding job administratively that many people noticed. Although the "alakadues" believed that the ATD knew little about rugby, they were forced to accept the fact that she was a capable administrator and was helping the organization immensely.

The ATD worked within the existing organizational structure, but at the same time altered it. When she dealt with the "alakadues", for example, she often "played dumb" knowing that they believed that since she was a woman she did not know as much as them.

Johnson (1976) observed that this technique of gaining power through "helplessness" is often effectively used by women. She suggests that women use this technique because of both a lack of concrete resources and the expectation of their lack of competence. Through this technique, the ATD was able to draw information and explanations from the "alakadues", that they would not normally share with other more "knowledgable" men in the organization. In drawing out many of these assumptions from the "alakadues", the ATD was able to demonstrate how out of touch the "alakadues" were with the majority of other organizational members. At the same time, she was able to distribute the information and knowledge, and generate an expectation and dependence on the continued flow of information.

Individually, each of these events (the incorporation of the Women's Union; the promotion of the female vice-president of the Edmonton Union to president; and the appointment of a female ATD) had an effect on the overall value orientation of the organization, with the traditional beliefs in male hegemony being challenged by more democratic orientations. Collectively, however, the effects of

the three conditions created a situation in which the traditional male values were challenged on a regular basis and organizational events and modes of operation began to reflect a changing value orientation.

Major Decision Event

An important organizational issue in the ARU was what the role of the Technical Director (TD) should be. The fact that the organization was in the process of hiring a new TD provided a theme about which to investigate values and beliefs within the organization. The hiring of a new Technical Director represented what Miller and Freisen called a "major decision event" (1980:593). Differing job descriptions for the role of the TD represented, following the theory of Greenwood and Hinings (1987), structural expressions of differing interpretive schemes. At the same time, the role of the TD represented Kanter's (1984) notion of a "high impact system" in the organization. Because the TD was the only full-time paid position in an otherwise volunteer organization, the role that the TD assumed

had the potential to impact profoundly on the operation and direction of the organization. Thus, soliciting opinions about what the role of the TD should be provided an avenue through which to examine the values and beliefs of different individuals.

The ATD confirmed that people of the differing value orientation in the organization would indeed have different ideas about what the role of the TD should be. According to the ATD, those of the "alakadue" orientation placed a strong emphasis on the technical aspects of the game and required a TD who had a background in international rugby. The main criteria by which those of the "alakadue" orientation evaluated effectiveness of the organization was through success on the field. It was their opinion therefore that strong technical support was required to achieve that success.

Those oriented to the "communicative democracy", on the other hand, saw the widespread development of the sport as the yardstick for effectiveness. From this point of view, administration and coordination was a higher priority than technical expertise, in order that the sport could expand and grow. The ATD suggested that if participation was increased, that

elite levels would eventually improve as a result of a broad base of support and a "feeder system". She suggested that the ideal situation for the sport would be to have community based teams similar to minor hockey, and believed that the development and implementation of such a system required the attention of a full-time administrator.

Through my conversations with the ATD, it appeared that she strongly believed that the organization needed to redefine the role that the paid staff member fulfils from that of a Technical Director to an Executive Director or some other more administratively-oriented position. Such a change can be seen as a form of organizational adaptation which Miller and Freisen (1980) term a revolution. Greenwood and Hinings (1987) suggest that such a change would be a reorientation, in which first the alternate interpretive scheme requires support among organizational members, and then the corresponding structural attribute (in this case a new job description and function for the professional staff member) may be implemented.

The ATD indicated that such a change would have to be made through the board of directors. She believed

that all would be readily agreeable with the exception of two board members whom she believed were very well representative of the "alakadue" philosophy, and maintained a strong belief in the need for a technical expert.

The Alternate Value Orientation

Following the informant interviews with the ATD, I developed an initial framework with which to work when observing meetings, training camps, competitions, and other organizational activities. I had developed two potential interpretive schemes and a specific organizational issue (i.e., the role of the TD) to guide my research activities. Having, to this point, been informed by a person who clearly identified herself as ascribing to a particular value orientation, I set out to investigate the values she had identified as being different from her own.

I contacted one of the board members whom the ATD had identified as ascribing to the "alakadue" philosophy and established him (BM1) as an informant who could provide information regarding the "alakadue" orientation. BM1 was clearly of British

descent as evidenced by his Welsh accent and his preference of music selected in the car stereo (Welsh rugby songs). In our conversations about the organizational characteristics of the ARU, BML explained to me that each of the members of the board had a strong background in business, and knew how to "get things done". He indicated his belief that this was an important attribute for board members and that being able to achieve results quickly and with minimal fuss was a necessity. This orientation is similar to that found previously in a different sport organization by Slack (1985), who observed that the practice of recruiting people with a "businesslike" approach resulted in a form of "social closure" (cf. Parkin, 1974:3).

BML also stressed the importance of "learning the system and making it work for you". He felt that this was particularly important when dealing with government and obtaining funding. He recounted to me the many years he had been involved in organized sport and the many grants he had received. He also outlined his belief that government bureaucrats do not really understand sport, and that you basically just have to tell them what they want to hear in order to receive funding.

When questioned about the role of the Technical Director, BM1 commented that the ATD was doing a great job, but that the organization needed a more technically oriented person to fulfil the role properly. He suggested that the ATD was "80% administrative and 20% technical" and that what was ideally needed was "just the opposite - someone who is 80% technical and 20% administrative". BM1 also demonstrated his strong belief in the traditions of the game, as he suggested that because the ATD was a woman, she could never really properly understand the game of rugby.

Values and beliefs regarding rugby as an exclusively male domain have been researched previously, and are thought to have evolved out of historical circumstances in Britain. Sheard and Dunning (1973), believe that the relationship between the emergence of a rugby subculture and the rise of the suffragette movement is highly significant. They suggest that the suffragette movement constituted a threat to the masculinity of males in the upper and middle classes, and the rugby subculture provided one of the few "sacrosanct refuges from women" where men could bolster their threatened feelings in the

company of other men (Thomson, 1977:65). Donnelly and Young (1985) added to Sheard and Dunning's observation of the relationship between the rise of rugby and the suffragette movement, the observation that the arrival of British immigrants in the 1960s and 1970s, and the appearance of male oriented rugby traditions, coincided with the rise of the women's liberation movement in North America. In BM1, this British tradition of maintaining rugby as an exclusively male domain was readily apparent.

BM1 also indicated that the only real administrative needs of the organization are the grant applications and government profile documents. Since these documents are prepared in January and February, and the season runs from May until October, a technical person should have sufficient time to complete the paperwork in the winter and commit the time during the season to technical aspects of the sport.

Values in Action

While working in a temporary capacity as an administrator, the ATD did such an outstanding job

that she had many people convinced that the role of the technical director should be redefined. This belief within the organization did not go unnoticed at the sub-union and provincial board levels. At the ARU board meeting in May, a directive was forwarded from the Edmonton Rugby Union requesting that the search be suspended and the role be redefined. As a result of this initiative, the ARU board discontinued the search for an international technical person and initiated discussions with government officials regarding their willingness to fund an administrative position rather than a technical one.

Through my ongoing observations of the organizational activities associated with the ATD, and with the movement to redefine the formal position in the organization, the interaction of structure and agency could clearly be seen. One of the ATD's greatest assets was her "Big Picture" approach, which kept her focused on the overall betterment of the organization and prevented her from becoming bogged down in day-to-day politics or petty squabbles. Many of her actions within the organization served to change the way things were done, and at the same time reinforced and perpetuated the need for change.

7

In general, my observations at meetings revealed no definite conflicts or value differences, other than the fact that one of the Board members (BM2) frequently insisted on the use of the formal communication system of the organization and democratic principles. There were several occasions when BM2 questioned the manner in which organizational decisions were made, and, reminded board members of proper political process. But the practice of circumventing formal procedures seemed to be more of a problem in the ARU's dealing with the national body (the CRU), than it was within the ARU. Various ARU board members complained about not being informed about national program initiatives being implemented in Alberta. Their complaints generally related to the fact that CRU members had been circumventing the formal lines of communication with the provincial body and relying on their "old boy network" to get things done. Discussion of this issue led to a letter from the ARU to the CRU requesting that this practice be stopped (see appendix B).

Summary of Organizational Values

The ATD had indicated to me that she believed that

there were two competing styles of operation within the ARU. The same two styles seemed operative in the interactions between the ARU and CRU. The pervasiveness of the two interpretive schemes lends support to Greenwood and Hinings' (1987) contention that archetypes may be institutionally specific and that norms and values within an interpretive scheme are connected to an institutionally derived normative order (cf. Greenwood and Hinings, 1987:26). These two factors considered together indicated to me that maintaining the two different potential interpretive schemes would provide me with a workable research strategy. A summary of the values and beliefs associated with each of the constructed ideal type interpretive schemes is presented below:

VALUES	ALAKADUE SYSTEM	COMMUNICATIVE DEMOCRACY
Domain	exclusively male	rugby for all: all ages
	primarily high perf	all levels, both sexes
princ.	few old leaders	free flow of info
of	keep info to self	collective decisions
organ.	directive decisions	
eval.	success of high	numbers of participants
crit.	performance teams	at all levels in all
		locations
role of TD.	technical expert	administrator

Although the actual style of operation normally adopted in the meetings of the ARU seemed to closely represent the "communicative democracy", there were sometimes undertones which suggested that a style of operation consistent with the "alakadue" value orientation was still used outside of formal meetings by individual board members. Through my interviews with BM1, it was apparent that he subscribed to an interpretive scheme which was closer to the "alakadue" style than the "communicative democracy". While I did not conduct in-depth interviews with all board members, my discussions with them and observations of their conduct led me to believe that in addition to BM1 there were two other board members who strongly believed in the "alakadue" system.

Keeping in mind that the two interpretive schemes I had established were ideal types, I set out to investigate them further. While the two depictions I established did have empirical grounding, it was important to consider Greenwood and Hinings' (1987) suggestion:

Of course, organizations do not always operate with all-embracing, unified sets of values about their proper domain, mode of organizing and evaluation criteria. There may be a variety of

preferences about desired outcomes and ways of working. Sets of values can emerge in competition providing an essential dynamic of change (Greenwood and Hinings, 1987:13).

Thus, I concluded that while the two potential ideal-types of interpretive schemes I had developed were viable and workable research tools, they should remain subject to alteration or adjustment during the course of data collection. I then set out to investigate the values and beliefs held by a range of other members of the organization. While I did anticipate that there would likely be variations with the general framework, I initially adopted it as a basis for approaching the issue of organizational values and beliefs. The questionnaire I developed was not intended to specifically discriminate between the two ideal-types outlined above, but rather, it took an open-ended approach. In using an open-ended approach, the accuracy of these ideal types could be tested, and at the same time new or different patterns and themes were allowed the opportunity to emerge.

CHAPTER VI. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION, SUB-PROBLEM 3

Introduction

While my involvement in the organization to this point had been primarily with the formal leaders in the ARU at board meetings, my ultimate concern in the research project was to investigate the values and beliefs of a range of organizational members and answer the third sub-problem question:

Is there a prevailing pattern or patterns of consensus within the organization regarding values and beliefs relating to the three value areas identified by Greenwood and Hinings (1987)? (i.e., domain; principles of organizing; evaluation criteria).

In order to answer this question, I conducted 20 semi-structured interviews with a variety of members through out the organization. The interviews were not conducted until later in the research process as I felt it was important to first become familiar with the organization and the issues.

The basic intention of the interviews was to obtain opinions about the three value areas identified by Greenwood and Hinings (1987), (i.e., domain; principles of organizing; and evaluation criteria). Through the interview format I developed,

I attempted to solicit these opinions directly, but also covered other salient organizational issues.

In general, all those approached were very cooperative and more than willing to participate. The people interviewed occupied the following roles in the organization:

Club Players	Representative Team Players
Club Social Coordinator	Club Equipment Manager
Club V.P. Athletic	Club President
Club Coach	Provincial Junior Coach
High School Coach	Club Past President
Club Member at Large	Club Captain
V.P. Referee's Society	Women's Club Coach
Women's Club President	Provincial Board Member
Sub-Union Board Member	Provincial Women's President
Spectator	Club Secretary/Treasurer

In addition to these 20 members of the organization, three people from outside the organization who were representative of groups who had an interest in the organization, were interviewed. These included a representative of the Canadian Rugby Union, and officials from Alberta Recreation and Parks, and the Alberta Sports Council.

The results of the interviews with organizational members revealed near-unanimous agreement regarding what the organization should be doing, how it should be doing it, and how it should be evaluated. The


responses consistently reflected a value orientation towards the "communicative democracy" interpretive scheme. The general consensus relating to each value area was:

1. the overall purpose of the organization should be to promote and develop the sport of rugby throughout Alberta.
2. the most effective way to achieve this purpose is through a systematic development plan through which a wide number of people are involved and are kept informed of what is happening, on an on-going basis.
3. a systematic approach should be used to evaluate the organization, and multiple criteria should be used to consider the organization's achievements in a variety of different areas.

Responses dealing with each of the value areas shall be dealt with in turn.

Domain

The overall purpose of the organization was described by all respondents in rather general terms, with approximately half the respondents (9/20) including the concept of growth or expansion in their definition of promoting the sport throughout the province.



With the exception of one respondent, the performance of representative teams was never held to be an organizational focal point. Rather, many respondents believed in a systematic approach through which representative teams were continually improved as a result of a growing "feeder" system". One respondent, a former rep player himself, referred to the constant tension and conflict that exists between a rep player's commitment to his own club and to the representative team. He commented that this tension existed when he began playing in 1969, and was still a problem for players today. He believed that there was no easy solution to this problem and that it was merely a fact of life in rugby as in other sports.

Another respondent who also discussed the problem of the conflicts between rep teams and clubs outlined to me that club games and practices generally required a player to commit three nights a week to the game, and rep involvement added an additional two nights per week. He believed that this was too much to expect from players and blamed the shortness of the season for this conflict. He indicated that the Alberta season is really only four months long, while in British Columbia a seven-month season allows for the separation of club-level play and rep-team play.

When discussing the issue of rep-team development in Alberta, six respondents specifically mentioned the fact that past organizers had been obsessed with a short-term objective which was to beat British Columbia in the National Championships. All felt this objective to be detrimental to long-term development, and stressed the need for a long-term approach which emphasizes the continual development of younger players. They believed that as more players are developed and brought up through the system, elite levels will continually improve.

Principles of Organizing

When asked about the most suitable means of achieving the purposes of the organization, the majority of respondents generally agreed with the present system with the exception of two respondents. Of these two dissenting opinions, one suggested the abolition of the ARU with the responsibilities being placed on the Edmonton and Calgary sub-unions. The other, who labelled himself a "radical", suggested just the opposite. He favoured the abolition of the sub-unions which he felt to be too powerful and directive at the provincial level.

When discussing principles of organizing, six respondents expressed the opinion that the current approach being taken by the organization was far superior to the previous system, which three of the six respondents specifically referred to as the "alakadue" approach. Four respondents also made specific reference to the uniqueness of the Canadian situation and the need to move away from the old traditions of the game.

Another consistent pattern which emerged regarding principles of organizing was the perception of the need to develop the sport within the school systems. Fourteen of the twenty respondents indicated a belief that the sport needed to be systematically developed in the school systems. This belief was closely tied to the domain belief that the purpose of the organization was to promote the sport in order for it to expand and flourish. Also relating to this belief was the concept of a systematic development plan. Seven respondents specifically referred to the idea of a pyramid effect, and to the belief that if the base of the pyramid was expanded, the top would take care of itself.

A further manner in which the values and beliefs regarding principles of organizing were investigated was through questions regarding certain processes in the organization. Specifically, questions were asked regarding the process through which the Board of Directors is elected and Provincial Teams are selected. These questions revealed a general satisfaction with the current system, with many respondents specifically expressing a belief in democratic systems and processes. When responding to these questions, several respondents, once again expressed a belief that the current situation is far more democratic and fair than past years, and that the system is progressively improving from a democratic point of view.

The pattern of commitment found in the ARU, and belief in the fact that the organization was progressively changing, lends support to Greenwood and Hinings (1987) suggestion that patterns of commitment can constitute a potential dynamic of change. The nature of the commitment in the ARU seemed to be widespread and consistent in terms of the communicative democracy interpretive scheme. In terms of the enactment of that interpretive scheme

through organizational structures and processes, however, the organization could be seen to be in a state of what Greenwood and Hinings term a "reorientation", in that the structures and processes of the organization were changing to be brought into line with the dominant interpretive scheme.

While the communicative democracy interpretive scheme had wide-spread support, the reference of several respondents to its superiority over the "old way of doing things" suggested that the organization was indeed in the process of "reorientation". Greenwood and Hinings (1987) describe this process:

Where an organization leaves one archetype and ultimately moves to another, a design reorientation (or transformation) has occurred. Prevailing ideas and values have lost legitimacy and become discredited. In their place an alternative interpretive scheme emerges, carrying with it a different pattern of structural arrangements (Greenwood and Hinings, 1987:22).

In the ARU the transformation of structural arrangements appeared to have already taken place as the supporters of the communicative democracy interpretive scheme consistently indicated an agreement with the current principles of organizing being operationalized in the organization.

The overall consensus regarding principles of organizing was that the present systems are basically good, but that there is always room for improvement. There was a general feeling that the present system was better than before and that it was still improving. The overall concepts stressed by all respondents were democracy, coordination, communication, and a systematic approach.

Comments by several respondents suggested that while the "system" was appropriate, filling organizational roles with people who did not ascribe to the corresponding value orientation was the source of organizational inconsistencies. This inconsistency was reflected in comments such as: "the system is basically good, but it depends who you get in there" and "the infrastructure is there, but people have to leave their club interests behind". There were also frequent references made to the volunteer nature of the many roles and the demands positions could place on a person. Comments of this nature reflect the interplay of structure and agency in the creation of organizational reality, and the extent to which respondents were aware that the relative successes and failures of the organization were not exclusively attributable to either.

Evaluation Criteria

The most general values and beliefs expressed concerning evaluation criteria was the need to look at several different aspects of the organization simultaneously. With the exception of one respondent, all expressed some sort of concern regarding democracy. The exception was the respondent who commented: "the bottom line is success on the field-winning the Canadian championships- tempered with fiscal responsibility".

The concept of democracy was captured in a number of different ways. The three recurrent themes here were geographic representation, ranges of skill levels, and ranges of age levels, all of which I interpreted to basically reflect a belief in a democratic approach. Underlying this concern was always a concern for growth and development as well, as is reflected in the following typical response:

The emphasis of the organization should be to involve more and more people at all levels; evaluation, therefore can be easily done by looking at the numbers of people participating in the sport. A foundation of participation also improves the chances of success for competitive teams.

Others expressed additional concerns with issues such as continually improving the calibre of play at the club level; the satisfaction of participants; and the quality of coaching throughout the province. Several respondents specifically stated that the best way to evaluate the organization was definitely not to look at the success (i.e., wins) of competitive teams. Again, there was some suggestion that this had been the method used in the past, and it was not found suitable in the present.

Three respondents referred to the concept of a five-year development plan, and evaluating the organization in terms of achieving objectives contained in the plan. Once again, these respondents saw the need to include a wide range of objectives which related to areas such as junior development, coaching development, and overall participation rates. One of these respondents elaborated on the inappropriateness of using rep teams as the only criteria, citing the fact that players and teams can have exceptionally good or bad years, and that long-range and comprehensive criteria are much more appropriate. Comments of this nature reflect an orientation towards a more systematized and

rationalized approach to the organization of sport. Value orientations of a similar nature were observed in a previous examination of values and beliefs in four other PSOs in Alberta (cf. Cunningham, 1986). This would suggest that values of this sort may be part of what Greenwood and Hinings (1987:26) term an "institutionally derived normative order" among Provincial Sport Organizations.

The Role of Professional Staff

Specifically asking respondents what they thought the role of paid staff should be provided a another avenue through which to examine values and beliefs (interpretive schemes). The role of the paid staff member in the organization represented an example of a structural enactment of a particular interpretive scheme. Fifteen of the twenty interviewed believed that the administration and coordination are the most important responsibilities for a paid staff member to assume. Four respondents expressed the belief that there should actually be two paid positions; one administrative person and one technical person. Several of those who indicated that administration

was the most important emphasis showed an awareness of the fact that the past emphasis in the organization had been more upon technical aspects. Some respondents were of the opinion that ample technical expertise was available through the volunteer corps, and that what was needed most was the coordination and communication that could be provided by an administrative person.

Many of the respondents specifically mentioned that they felt that the ATD was doing a very good job and was providing a far better service to the organization than the more technically-oriented people who had previously filled the position. The organization had experienced many difficulties with Technical Directors in the past. The last full-time TD the organization had was "let go" by the board because they felt he did not perform in a manner becoming the position. That TD was replaced in a temporary capacity by a board member (BM2) who later resigned the position at the annual general meeting in a display of protest against the "alakadues". Another board member (BM1) had then taken over the position in a temporary capacity, and resigned two months later due to other commitments. Thus, the ATD

who took over the position in a temporary capacity in January, was being closely scrutinized by members throughout the organization.

There was unanimous agreement among those who commented on the ATD that she was a fine administrator and a great asset to the organization. There was some concern, however, even from the women interviewed, that the ATD was lacking in sufficient technical knowledge because she is a woman. This again reflects the institutionalized nature of the belief in male standards of excellence and the judgement of females as inferior based on that criteria (cf. Hall and Richardson, 1983; Klein, 1983).

Overall, there was widespread agreement that coordination and communication were central to the effective functioning of the organization. The fact that the ATD had been concentrating her efforts in this area, and had opened lines of communication that did not previously exist in the organization seemed to be an important factor in creating such widespread agreement on this issue. This may be seen as an example of the manner in which interpretive schemes can be "continually produced and recreated in

interaction and yet shape that interaction" (Ranson et al., 1980:3).

The interpretive scheme being encouraged and developed in the organization through the efforts of the ATD was generally well received by the majority of organizational members. There was, however, also a certain amount of hesitancy and uncertainty lurking in the background. While people were excited about and committed to the new levels of communication being achieved in the organization, there was still a concern over the technical aspects of the sport that were seemingly being ignored.

Increasing attention to the technical aspects of sport has been observed by several researchers, and related to the rationalizing trend in society (cf. Gruneau, 1976; Guttman, 1978; Klein, 1983). Klein (1983) observes:

The belief that technology can master nature and the belief in technological progress without limits to growth belongs to the modern secularized myths of industrial society. This belief can be found in sport too. The drive for objective measurableness and top-class performance lead to the elimination of the uncertain and incalculable (Klein, 1983:42).

In organizational settings, Kimberly and Quinn (1984) have observed that technical emphasis often comes to

dominate organizations through the "right- and wrong-way" mentality. They suggest that when dealing with technical issues errors may be identified and solutions found. But the attraction of technical emphasis can often lead to two problematic results. First, fascination with technical issues hampers hard evaluation, and second, becoming caught up in technical emphasis can lead to an escalation of bad decisions (Kimberly and Quinn, 1984:4). In the ARU, the past history of difficulties involving the Technical Director position demonstrated this sort of pattern, both of fascination with technical expertise and escalation of bad decisions.

Many of the respondents in the ARU were committed to the concept of an administrator/coordinator, and several stressed the need for that person to have the "big picture" in mind. There was clearly a relationship between changing the formal description of the paid position from technical to administrative, and the interpretive scheme I had identified as the "communicative democracy". The concerns that many people had about ignoring technical aspects appeared at first to be an example of what Greenwood and Hinings (1987) term a schizoid

state, in which the interpretive scheme within the organization changes, but people are still committed to structural and processual arrangements associated with a different interpretive scheme."

Closer examination of the concerns raised, however, revealed that many of the technical concerns raised related to developmental aspects of the organization that were consistent with the "communicative democracy", and were being dealt with by the ATD in ways unknown to many of the respondents. Technical aspects of the ARU that were valued by organizational members were similar to those found to be valued in other sports (cf. Cunningham, 1986), and included areas such as coaching development and athlete development. In dealing with the technical aspects of the ARU, the ATD had many innovative ideas which she believed would both rectify the problems of the past and provide direction and purpose for the future. In this regard, the ATD displayed many of the qualities of a "transformational leader" as described by Tichy and Ulrich (1984:246):

The transformational leader must provide the organization with a vision of a desired future state. While this task may be shared with other key members of the organization,

nonetheless, having a vision remains the core responsibility of the transformational leader. The leader needs to integrate analytic and creative, intuitive, and deductive thinking. Each leader must create a vision which gives direction to the organization, while being congruent with the leader's philosophy and style.

The ATD demonstrated this sort of thinking in many ways, regarding both the technical and administrative aspects of the organization. She pointed out to me, for example, that having a paid TD conduct sport outreach clinics was a redundant service since the Alberta Sport Council provided an honorarium for volunteers to conduct such courses. The ATD compiled a list of volunteers who were qualified to conduct sport outreach clinics and pointed out to the board of directors that having volunteers provide this service allowed her to commit more of her time to administration. Thus, although past TDs had spent much of their time conducting sport outreach clinics, this was not necessarily the most effective use of that paid staff position.

A second area of technical concern was that of coaching coaches and coaching elite teams. While this had been an emphasis for past TDs, the board did not feel that the ATD was qualified to fulfil this role, and thus she was not expected to. Two different

respondents outlined to me problems that had been experienced in the past when trying to have a technical director assume this role. One respondent suggested that the salary they were able to pay would not attract the calibre of coach expected, but would only attract a "drunk" (this was a reference to a previous TD who many believed spent too much time playing the game and socializing afterwards). Another respondent commented that importing an international figure to assume this role typically led to conflicts based on philosophy, personality, ethnicity, and a range of other traits.

As a solution to both past and present problems in this technical/coaching area, the ATD proposed that the ARU utilize the Master/Guest coach program made available through Alberta Recreation and Parks. She suggested that by having an administrator to coordinate and plan, needs could be assessed well in advance and experts could be brought in on an "as needed" basis. Through this scheme, higher calibre coaches would be available as it would involve shorter time commitments, and the Alberta rugby community would be exposed to a number of different styles, philosophies, etc., as a different coach would be sought for each occasion.

A third technical concern was that of implementing programs in the schools. The need for implementing a development program within the schools was articulated by 14 of the 20 respondents. One respondent commented on the fact that the past TD had done a lot more in this area than people realized, particularly in rural schools. He outlined to me how this TD had adapted variations of the sport, such as 7-a-side and touch rugby, and made the game both attractive and accessible to teachers. The ATD, however, pointed out that adapting the sport into a form which is more marketable to the schools is not a task which required extensive technical skill or knowledge. Rather, the process of developing school rugby programs she believed was more dependent on developing a systematic approach and development plan.

Ideas for what should be included in such an approach were suggested by several respondents. These included such things as rule changes to make the game safer for younger children, and communication systems which "buddied" local clubs with specific schools. They also included a suggestion that a marketing and P.R. campaign be developed to stress the physical and

skill elements of rugby, and down-play the beer drinking, rowdiness, and violence often associated with the game. These negative aspects of the sport have been well documented through previous research (cf. Thomson, 1977; Young, 1983).

Overall, the suggestions made in the area of school programs seemed to be far more administrative than technical. They also were in many cases related to areas which were already being investigated by the ATD. She had, for example, already begun to establish a resource centre which contained coaching and teaching manuals and outlines of programs which had been implemented in other provinces and other countries. She also had been developing linkages and contacts with organizations such as C.A.H.P.E.R. and H.P.E.C., who could be influential in promoting and developing rugby in the schools.

Through these sorts of proactive enactments of the communicative democracy interpretive scheme, the ATD used her privilege of position to take actions which would insure the entrenchment of this interpretive scheme into the framework of the organization. The ATD despised the actions of past key organizational

members whom she believed maintained power through the control of information. Using information as a resource to which selected privileged organizational members had access, had been the basis of power and control in the "alakadue" system.

By distributing information freely and openly, the ATD effectively broke down the power base of the "alakadues" and at the same time secured her own position. As other organizational members began to receive and use information from her, they became dependent on that information and dependent on the ATD to continue the flow. The manner in which the ATD used her privilege of position in the organization, and used the flow of information as a source of power, may be seen in many of her actions. Some of her actions in this regard appeared to be conscious rebellions against the "alakadues", while others seem to be less conscious and intentional but equally effective in implementing the "communicative democracy" interpretive scheme within the organization.

An example of the extent to which the ATD's actions were somewhat deliberate and somewhat unintentional was the coaching "Super Clinic" she organized in the spring. While working in her

temporary capacity, with the ARU, the ATD received correspondence from the Canadian Rugby Union concerning the possibility of hosting a "Super Clinic". The normal procedure for previous TDs or "alakadues" would have been to decide the organization did not have the resources to host such an event and throw the correspondence in the garbage. The ATD, however, who was overseeing the operation of the ARU office, where all correspondence is received, promptly photocopied the letter and mailed it out to all the various clubs and coaches, throughout the province, along with a covering letter suggesting that interested parties should contact the various board members.

An overwhelming response was received by the board, and soon they approached the ATD asking if she would be able to continue in her role (the applications she had been hired to complete were nearly finished), and organize the clinic. The "Super Clinic", which was held in the spring, was cited by many respondents as a new organization activity. The concept of the clinic, and the idea of bringing coaches together and sharing information, was very well received and was commented on by seven

respondents. Many of those who made this comment accredited the ATD with the organization and execution of the clinic and expressed a desire to continue this sort of event in the future.

The "Super Clinic" may be seen as what Kanter (1977) describes as an activity which provides a route to power. Kanter suggests that in order for an activity to increase organizational power to a particular person, three criteria must be met. First, the activity must be extraordinary. In the case of the "Super Clinic", it was extraordinary, as an event of this type had never been held in Alberta before. Second, the activity and the person engaging in it must be visible. In the case of the "Super Clinic", the event was highly visible as a very successful and well-attended provincial event. And so too, was the ATD highly visible as she organized the clinic and was present at the registration sessions. Further, her signature appeared on the correspondence relating to the event. The third criteria Kanter suggests is that of relevance. The activity must be "identified with the solution to a pressing organizational problem" (Kanter, 1977:177). In the case of the "Super Clinic", it was seen as solution to a number

of organizational problems. The clinic served to advance the technical areas of the sport which many members felt were lacking. It served to bring together a large and diverse group from around the province who shared in information which had previously not been available. And it served to strengthen the relationship between the ARU and the national body.

The "Super Clinic" was but one of the many ways the ATD created a demand for her services, gained power, and in effect wrote a new job description for the role she was assuming. The ATD's success in the organization was made possible, in many ways, through the value orientation she held, and by the fact that many others throughout the organization shared that same orientation. Thus, through the actions of the ATD, she effectively operationalized the particular interpretive scheme to which she subscribed, and at the same time gained support for a particular style of operation which more closely reflected the values and beliefs of a wide range of organizational members. In doing this, she demonstrated many of the qualities of a "transformational leader" (cf. Tichy and Ulrich, 1984), as has been discussed previously.

Summary of Consensus

Overall, the values and beliefs expressed by the respondents interviewed consistently related to the interpretive scheme described earlier as the "communicative democracy". While several respondents referred to the "alakadue" way of doing things, all seemed to think that this was a way of the past, and no respondents provided responses that were characteristic of the "alakadue" interpretive scheme.

There was, generally, an overall consensus about what the organization should be doing, how it should be doing it and how it should be evaluated. There was also an overall consensus that the organization was performing in a manner which was consistent and congruent with those values and beliefs. But this current situation was in no way thought to be the status quo. Rather, it was thought to have evolved and to be still evolving.

Although some respondents did express concerns regarding some political processes of the organization (for example, some felt there was favouritism shown in the selection of players to provincial teams), all respondents seemed to be in

agreement with the overall direction and methods of the organization. The general consensus was best summarized by the respondent who commented "we are on the right track, and while there are still a few wrinkles to iron out, the systems are in place so that the ironing can be done".

CHAPTER VII. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION, SUB-PROBLEM 4

Introduction

Through my ongoing involvement with the ARU, I was able to examine the events, occurrences and operating procedures that constituted the organizational existence of the ARU. Comparing this knowledge to the information I gained through document analysis and respondent interviewing provided me with the means to examine the final sub-problem area and address the question:

What is the relationship between the values and beliefs, actually held by key individuals in the PSO, and the formal organizational structures, processes, and relationships that have been observed by other researchers to be evolving towards a more rationalized and professionalized arrangement?

The first and most obvious point to be made here is that the organizational changes I observed to be occurring in the ARU can definitely be characterized as involving the process of rationalization. But the manifestations of the process of rationalization were found to be much different from those described previously by other researchers. The effects of the process of rationalization were most clearly evident /

in this study as a changing form of power and domination. Clearly, the transition of the organization from the "alakadue" system where power is based on traditional male hegemony, and the control of information preserves power, to the present system that is democratically based, is quite a different system of domination and authority. Uncovering this value-based transition was made possible in this study through the conceptual framework adopted and methods employed.

Membership Coherence

The first value-related organizational aspect of the ARU which is relevant to the process of rationalization is the fact that there was general consensus in the organization regarding a "rational approach" to organizing. The belief in a "systematic approach" to the affairs of the ARU was found to be consistent among members throughout the organization. Thus it may be said that there was organizational coherence in the ARU, using the term coherence to relate to the unified view within the membership. This sort of pattern of commitment within an

organization is dealt with in the framework proposed by Greenwood and Hinings in a "tentative" manner, as a dynamic of inertia or reorientation (Greenwood and Hinings, 1987:28).

In the ARU, the pattern of commitment among organizational members was clearly to the "communicative democracy" interpretive scheme. What was less clear, however, is where that interpretive scheme fit in relation to the structures and processes of the organization. Initially, the pattern of commitment appeared to be what Greenwood and Hinings term a "reformative commitment" which refers to widespread commitment to an alternative interpretive scheme. As the data collection process progressed, however, it became clear that the widespread commitment was not to an "alternative" interpretive scheme, but to the dominant interpretive scheme, which was in fact represented in the activities of the organization. Thus, it appeared that transformation or reorientation had already taken place within the organization, and that the last vestiges of the former interpretive scheme remained not in the structures and processes of the organization, but only in the attitudes and outlooks

of certain individuals.

There was coherence in the organization in another sense as well, as the actions of the board, and specifically the changes taking place, were very much reflective of the values and beliefs expressed by members throughout the organization. It seemed, however, that this had not always been the case, and that the implementation of the dominant interpretive scheme was an ongoing and dynamic process. Openness and receptiveness to change seemed to be key values associated with the dominant interpretive scheme, as members openly espoused the virtues of innovation and change.

The issue of the changing role of the Technical Director provided a good example of this fact. First of all, many of the respondents interviewed expressed the opinion that if a person had the interest and commitment to become involved in the administration of the organization, the system should allow them access and opportunity to become involved. In the case of the ATD, this was very much the situation. The ATD was what may be termed a "zealot", who had ideas and beliefs about the organization and saw an opportunity to become involved. The ATD worked

within the existing organizational structure, but at the same time altered it.

Governmental Influences

The move towards rational and systematic approach seemed internally driven in the ARU, and not externally driven as has been observed in the study of other amateur sport organizations (cf. Slack and Hinings, 1987). While the government officials I interviewed did express some concerns about the manner in which planning was being carried out in the ARU, government officials did not have an observably significant impact on the direction the organization was headed, as expressed by organizational members. While government policy does generally encourage rational planning in PSOs, the planning system in place in the ARU, and the other changes towards rationalization that were taking place, were very much member initiated at the present time. The original source of the value system is difficult to determine, however, and may be an institutionalized form of values already generated through proactive government involvement.

Government involvement with the ARU served both to encourage and to limit the development of the organizational form desired by the majority of organizational members. One area where rationalization was encouraged was that of realistic planning. The preparation of plans, budgets and other documents intended for government purposes was an activity in which there were blatant discrepancies between the prescribed and realized structure. At the first board meeting I attended, in March, the board member who had recently prepared the government documents told me that there were actually two sets of budgets and plans, one set for funding purposes, and the "real set". The government official I interviewed was aware of this matter and in fact at a meeting in July he confronted the board member about it. The government official stated to me that the board member was not "pulling the wool over anyone's eyes" and that the ARU's funding level had been reduced for 1988 because of unrealistic planning.

The official outlined to me that government planning documents are intended to be realistic and feasible working plans for the organization. He felt that the ARU, is a well-developed organization on its

own, and that organizational members basically tried to adapt government-funded programs to their own already existing programs. In doing this, the organization effectively created a "funding document" rather than a "planning document", and did not include realistic expectations. Numbers were inflated on the assumption that if you needed \$10,000 realistically, you would ask for \$22,000 and hope for \$11,000. The official explained how this eventually worked against the ARU, as yearly plans were evaluated on how well the last year's objectives were met.

Both the government official I talked to and the ATD believed that the unrealistic approach to government planning that had been used in the past was attributable to the particular board member who had liaised with the government and had been responsible for the documentation. Both observed that this particular board member seemed to hold government bureaucrats in contempt, and always assumed an adversarial role. The government official expressed a belief that realistic planning was a necessity and hoped that the ARU would be more cooperative in the future. The ATD expressed a

similar belief and indicated that the particular board member concerned (an "alakadue") would likely step down this year, paving the way for these problems to be resolved.

This would again seem to confirm that the "alakadue" interpretive scheme was significant in the organization strictly through particular organizational members, and not as an intricate aspect of the organizational structures and processes of the ARU.

With regard to the planning done by the ARU, it seemed that the sort of rational planning desired by the government was already being done in the ARU. The honesty and openness regarding funding figures which the government was encouraging was consistent with the wishes of the majority of board members as well. It was agreed at one of the board meetings that the practice of "fudging" dollar amounts and inflating figures should be discontinued, and several board members seemed surprised and uncertain as to why the practice was started in the first place.

Overall, the practice was attributable to the one board member. This particular board member (BM1) had been able to impose his own particular philosophy in

the handling of the organization's financial statements in the past through the control of information. BM1 had been responsible for the acquisition of government funding for many years. He had "learned the system", and kept this knowledge to himself. He was respected by others in the organization because of his expertise in this area as most others were unfamiliar with the procedures for applying for government funds, and were somewhat intimidated by the process. Government involvement helped to highlight the inappropriateness of that board members activities, in light of the values and wishes of the rest of the board and the organizational members in general.

In my discussions with the government sport consultant, he outlined government policy and indicated a belief that government involvement in PSOs should follow a bell-curve relationship. This would involve gradually increasing government support to encourage the organization to develop, and then decreasing support as the organization becomes highly developed and self supportive. The consultant believed that the ARU was on the down side of the curve and that it required very little advise or

direction. In regards to funding, the consultant indicated that PSOs are encouraged to set their own goals and objectives, and funding is awarded based on the organization's achievement of those goals and objectives. In the case of the ARU, funding was reduced in 1988 because unrealistic planning in 1987 resulted in the organization not achieving what it had set out to achieve.

While the consultant indicated that the role of the government was merely to enhance and encourage the natural evolution in a non-directive capacity, this did not seem to be the case in the issue of the ARU Technical Director position. As a result of the discussion initiated by the Edmonton Board about what the role of the TD should be, it was agreed that the role of the TD should be redefined into an administrative position. When the Alberta Sports Council, the agency which provides the funding for the position, was approached, however, the ARU were informed that the funding was earmarked for "technical programs" and that if the position was redefined as strictly administrative, the funding would be lost. This added fuel to the argument of the "alakadues" in favour of a technical person, and at

the same time disrupted the momentum of the ATD and her supporters who believed that redefining the position would be a great asset to the organization.

, After long discussion and debate with both the ASC and the sport consultant from Alberta Recreation and Parks, it was agreed that the position could be redefined as a "Technical Administrator". This was in many ways a compromise, but a compromise which is difficult to understand from a governmental point of view. The consultant had indicated on the one hand that the organization should determine its own needs and direction. On the other hand however, he was unwilling to approve an organizational change which was initiated by organizational members, and reflective of the wishes of the majority of organizational members. By defining the position as a "Technical Administrator" the consultant was acknowledging the administrative needs of the organization but suggesting that administrative attention should be focused on technical issues.

While the consultant had been encouraging the ARU to bring its documentation and budgeting more closely into line with what actually was going on in the organization, his position on the TD issue

contradicted that philosophy. The majority of organizational members believed that a full-time administrator was necessary, and the creation of such a position would have represented a coherent structural enactment of the dominant interpretive scheme. By formally defining the position as technical, and allowing it to in fact be administrative, the consultant perpetuated the incongruence between the prescribed and realized structure of the organization. Further, he encouraged the existence of structural attributes which reflected an outdated interpretive scheme.

Archetype Coherence

The final area worthy of discussion is the relationship between the values and beliefs of organizational members, and organizational structures and processes through which they were enacted. Once again, I observed the strong influences of rationalization. Through my initial document analysis I was able to discover that rational planning was first introduced in the ARU in 1982, as is outlined in the president's report:

In the spring of 1982, the ARU Board expressed concern over the general understanding, or rather lack of understanding, by the rugby population, relative to the functions of the Alberta Board. There seemed to be a lack of direction and commitment relative to rugby at the provincial level. On this basis, the board decided to develop a method of determining what it was that the Alberta Rugby population really wanted to achieve, and what the board could do to help meet those goals. At the time, Alberta Recreation and Parks was encouraging Provincial Sport Associations to begin to develop long-range plans. The ARU Board convened first of what was anticipated to be an annual planning seminar in Red Deer in November 1982 (ARU President's Report, 1982:2).

The report goes on further to describe the outcomes of the seminar and states:

...the development of the plan gave the ARU Board a firm sense of direction, as well as a commitment from the majority of the rugby community with regards to priorities.

This seminar was a key event in the development of the ARU, and, from my examination of the available documents of the organization, represents the formal beginning of the rationalization of the organization. The events that followed are similar to those that occurred in many other PSOs during the same time period. The ARU hired a part-time Technical Director in 1984, and increased that position to full-time in 1986.

At the same time, other aspects of the organization became more rationalized and formalized as well. Descriptions of portfolios for board member were developed, and the number of portfolios has gradually increased. Coaching clinics were developed, and sport outreach camps were started. But through all this, the emphasis was upon the technical director and the development of technical aspects of the game, whereas coordination and communication within the organization remained ad hoc and spasmodic.

The second major event in the development of a more rationalized organization was the hiring of the current ATD. During my involvement with the ARU, I observed how little continuity there was within the organization and what a central role the ATD played in consolidating the efforts of several individuals into a more unified approach. While some of the ATD time in the office was spent "fighting fires", she generally had things well under control, with specific directions clearly in mind. One of the complaints that was sometimes voiced at board meetings was that plans were in place and procedures existed, but they were not always followed. The ATD played a strong role in rectifying many problems in this regard.

Being on the job full-time and continually keeping the overall organization in sight, the ATD was able to coordinate the efforts of the diversity of members into a more unified and systematic approach. This was achieved through simple but thoughtful tasks such as picking up the telephone to remind people of deadlines and commitments. The ATD also acted as a communicator and ensured that the appropriate correspondence got to the right people and that the routine paperwork of the organization flowed efficiently and effectively.

Overall, the things that the ATD did were reflective of the wishes and desires of the majority of organizational members. This key role that she assumed seemed to be what tied together the interpretive scheme and the structures and processes that were a reflection of it. Prior to the ATD's involvement, it seemed that the interpretive scheme was in place, and the organizational structures and processes that were suited to the scheme were also in place. What was missing, however, was the facilitator and integrator who could ensure that the overall organization was kept in mind in light of the dominant interpretive scheme.

CHAPTER VIII. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The major focus of this study has been to operationalize a theory of organization design archetypes in order to better understand the relationship between the activities of a voluntary sport organization, and the members of that organization. In doing so, the conceptual approach adopted and methods utilized were somewhat different than those previously used in examinations of provincial sport organizations in Alberta (cf. Cunningham, 1986; 1987; Zimmermann, 1988). The most noticeable difference appears in the fact that while previous studies have considered what changes have occurred in the prescribed structure of the organization as a consequence of rationalization, the focus in this study was on the changes in the nature and system of organizational power and control.

The purpose of the present chapter is to draw conclusions about the effectiveness of the concepts and methods used, and to present conclusions regarding the discoveries made through the course of

the research process. Conclusions are presented in three sections relating to the following three areas:

- I. Conceptual - conclusions about the conceptual approach taken in the study.
- II. Methodological - conclusions about the methods utilized in the study.
- III. Substantive - conclusions about the discoveries made concerning the organization and issues under study.

I. Conceptual Conclusions.

The thesis developed in this study was that amateur sport organizations could be more fully understood through the utilization of a conceptual approach which allowed for the consideration of the interplay of social structure and human agency in the creation of organizational reality. The conceptual approach taken in the study was based on a theoretical framework for the study of strategic organizational change developed by Greenwood and Hinings (1987). Through this approach, organizational structure was conceived of as a complex medium of control which is continually produced and recreated in social interaction, yet shapes that interaction. It was theorized that the relationships realized

through this type of social interaction could be investigated and understood by examining an organization in terms of the values and beliefs (interpretive schemes) held by organizational members.

Values and beliefs (interpretive schemes) were the central focus of the study, and a provincial sport organization was selected for a case study examination of the patterns of values and beliefs among organizational members. An organization was selected based on my perception that the organization was experiencing an observable change event about which organizational members could articulate their values and beliefs. Patterns of consensus were considered in terms of organizational coherence which was defined in a two-fold manner. Firstly, coherence was considered in terms of the extent to which there was widespread agreement among organizational members concerning particular values and beliefs. Secondly, coherence was considered in terms of the extent to which the relationships realized in the day-to-day activities of the organization were a reflection of the values and beliefs of the majority of organizational members.

The values and beliefs of organizational members, and the overall patterns found within the organization, were considered in relationship to the general process of rationalization. The process of rationalization has been observed by previous researchers to be influenced and driven by government involvement. The view of a provincial sport organization developed through the approach of values and beliefs was further considered in relation to the influences of government involvement, and relationship between the values and beliefs of organizational members, and the activities encouraged through government programs.

Overall, this conceptual approach provided the terms of reference necessary for the type of analysis I desired to conduct, although I did experience a number of difficulties and points of confusion during the course of the research process. One of these problems related to level of analysis achieved through the study. The research questions developed, and the methods utilized to investigate each of the questions, were designed to create a process of progressive discovery. The discovery process progressed both in temporal terms and in analytical

terms as the investigation of each question was dependent on, and built upon, the previous question.

The research questions also provided the framework for the presentation of the results. Thus it may be seen that the level of analysis achieved is also progressive. The results achieved from answering the first research question (chapter 4) are primarily descriptive, and may be seen as somewhat incongruent with the level of analysis attempted when addressing the subsequent research questions (chapters 5, 6, and 7). This description of the organization, however, was viewed initially as a necessary starting point, and represents a related conceptual difficulty which was experienced in this research project.

As was discussed in chapter 2, (page 24) contingency theory remains the dominant conceptual schema for the analysis of organizations in North America. While the intent of this study was to move beyond such an approach and analyse the dynamic effects of the interaction of structure and agency through the approach of values and beliefs, a starting point was necessary. The documentation and information available regarding PSOs in Alberta, takes the form of descriptions of prescribed

organizational structure in a static "contingency type" manner. Thus, in attempting to establish a starting point a choice had to be made as to whether the available information should be utilized, or whether values and beliefs should be the exclusive focus.

I chose to utilize the available descriptions of the organization for two reasons. First, descriptions of the organization were readily available and provided a clear frame of reference as a starting point. Second, as was argued in chapter 2 (page 24), research which breaks from the dominant conceptual schema is dependent on that schema for its terms of reference and points of departure. Thus, by beginning with a static conception of the prescribed organizational structure of the ARU, I hoped that through the course of my process-oriented investigation I would be able to demonstrate the weakness of such a conceptualization. In retrospect such an approach served essentially to create a "straw man", and the results were more or less inevitable in light of conceptual orientation adopted and the methods utilized.

I was, nonetheless, highly dependent on that original information about the organization as a starting point for the research. Although in the final analysis much of the description contained in chapter 4 seems meaningless and/or irrelevant, this description was a necessary and integral part of the process of progressive discovery.

The establishment of a definitive starting point was another problem I experienced with the conceptual approach adopted in this study. Approaching an organization from the point of view of values and beliefs initially is both challenging and confusing because of the multiplicity of potential interests and dynamics which can exist. While very little research has been done regarding values and beliefs in sport organizations generally, rugby is a sport which is an exception (cf. Sheard and Dunning, 1973; Thomson, 1977; Dunning and Sheard, 1979; Young, 1983; Donnelly and Young, 1985). I chose not to utilize this information, however, and instead adopted the approach I did for two reasons.

First, while previous studies of rugby values have investigated a number of themes such as deviance (cf. Thomson 1977; Young, 1983), amateurism (cf. Dunning

and Sheard, 1979; Donnelly and Young, 1985), and masculinity (cf. Sheard and Dunning, 1973; Thomson, 1977; Donnelly and Young, 1985), I was uncertain of the relevance of these various themes to the Alberta situation, and determined that this material should be considered after the data collection process, rather than before. These previous studies have been conducted in number of different settings and serve to illustrate both the institutional nature of some values and the contextual specificity of others (cf. Donnelly and Young, 1983). Since some organizational researchers have suggested the organizational specificity of ideologies, values and beliefs (cf. Beyer, 1981), it made more sense to enter the ARU with an open agenda aimed at discovery, rather than establishing preconceived themes of the values and beliefs to be expected.

Secondly, the fact that there is a corpus of literature pertaining to values and beliefs in the sport of rugby was incidental to the selection of the ARU as a case study example of a provincial sport organization. The ARU was chosen for study because of the observable change event taking place in the organization, and was approached initially as a

"typical" Alberta PSO. The initial overview of the organization was gained from government documents which similarly exist for other PSOs in Alberta. Thus, by utilizing this approach, I was attempting to adopt a view of the ARU as a "typical" PSO, hoping that the results would be generalizable to other PSOs. In the final analysis, however, the unique nature of the sexist values which were found to be so predominant in the ARU suggest that the results of this study may not be all that generalizable, and that the ARU may not be a "typical" PSO.

Despite these conceptual difficulties experienced through the course of the research, the approach through values and beliefs provided a rich and meaningful perspective of the organization. The concept of coherence, conceived in the dual manner adopted in this study, proved to be a useful and effective concept in providing organizational terms of reference for individual values and beliefs.

The approach through values and beliefs allowed for the consideration of many aspects of organizational life in a PSO that have not previously been considered in the study of voluntary sport organizations. The overall results regarding the

extent to which there is coherence in the organization were somewhat surprising, however, there were many indications that this level of coherence has not always existed, and that the change process is continuous. In this study, it also became apparent that the examination of the processes associated with change were as relevant and important as the substance of that change. The theoretical framework adopted was found particularly suitable in this regard as it provided a means through which to examine both the substance and the process of change, both of which may be seen as relevant areas of concern to those interested in understanding amateur sport organizations.

II. Methodological Conclusions

In light of the conceptual approach taken in this study, and my desire to consider realized organizational structure, a methodology which allowed for the first-hand and on-going examination of organizational processes was required. Ethnography proved to be particularly suitable and effective in this regard, and was congruent with the conceptual

approach of progressive discovery. The methods employed allowed for the first-hand observation of organizational events over time, but the methodology was not without difficulties as well.

One of the greatest difficulties I found in this methodology was the uncertainty associated with it. Through the methods I employed I was very much dependent on the cooperation of organizational members in general, and informants in particular. I was fortunate in this study to be able establish cooperative informants who were well placed in the organization, early in the research process. There was, however, still a great amount of uncertainty involved throughout the data collection process due to the progressive nature of my enquiry and the emergent nature of the research themes.

In the early stages I found myself struggling to establish relevant and consistent themes to form the basis for the development of archetypes. When I did establish a tentative framework, I found myself continually questioning and second-guessing my observations until I had obtained sufficient evidence to be satisfied that my characterizations were appropriate. Thus, the research process did not

advance as a consistent ~~and~~ continuous linear progression, but rather involved a stepped type of progression which advanced as a series of plateaus, breakthroughs, and more plateaus.

While I anticipated uncertainty and accepted it as part of the nature of the methods I chose at the outset of the project, I did find it unsettling and disconcerting at times. There were several points in the research process when I wondered whether things were going to work out and considered abandoning the project. Persistence and patience, however, always seemed to yield the breakthrough necessary to continue on, although I sometimes wondered about the extent to which these breakthroughs occurred as a result of good luck rather than good management. Thus, while the methods I employed did provide me with rich data and insightful results, I would caution other researchers that this sort of method does require patience and persistence, and is not advisable for the faint of heart.

Also relating to the progressive and emergent nature of the methodology employed in this study was the consideration of time. Time was an important element in the methodology I employed in two

different ways. First, time was a consideration as the methodology was open ended and unbounded by time. While involvement in a research project ideally (for convenience of the researcher) involves a finite commitment of time, the progressive strategy adopted in this study required a reliance on the natural exploration of phenomena which could not be limited by time. In other words, the intent was to progressively discover the answers to the research questions posed, regardless of the time involved.

Secondly, time was a factor in the intense commitment required in order to make the method effective. In order to cause the least possible amount of disruption to the natural course of events in the organization, I had to be accommodating to the schedules and events of the organization. This required both intense commitments of time (attending a board meeting, for example, usually required ten hours), and flexibility in other personal matters in order that the events of the organization could be attended. In short, the first-hand observation of organizational events and activities required that I be available at the organization's convenience as there were a limited number of organizational events

which presented the opportunity for research episodes.

The final point I would like to discuss regarding the methodology employed is the continuous need to "stand back" from the data and attempt to maintain a wide-ranging view. As Loy and Seagrave (1974:300) have commented:

...there is a very real danger that the participant observer will 'go native' and become so identified, oversocialized, and emotionally involved with a given group and its members that he ceases to be an objective observer.

Through my involvement with the ARU I found a necessity to be continuously aware of this tendency. My two primary informants (the ATD and BM1) had very strong opinions about the organization each of which was much different from the other. Each was strongly and genuinely committed to their respective opinion and in our discussions often presented compelling arguments in favour of their personal orientations. Following discussions with either of them, I often found it necessary to remind myself that each view was only one opinion and not the necessarily a definitive depiction of "the way things are" in the organization. Often I would write up my field notes

immediately following an episode with an informant and then several days later go back and re-examine and analyse them after reflecting on them and considering alternate views and specific organizational events. This proved to be an effective means of avoiding becoming overly enamoured in the point of view of one organizational member or another.

Substantive Conclusions

The extent to which organizational structure is both constitutive and constituted of interpretive schemes was readily apparent throughout the study, both in the manner through which the "alakadue" interpretive scheme had formally dominated the organization, and in the manner in which the communicative democracy interpretive scheme came to take over and dominate.

The changes that occurred in the ARU during the course of the research did create a more democratic system of power and control within the organization. The manner in which this was achieved was through the flow of information which was found to be a key

resource within the organization. Control of information was both the means through which the "alakadues" formally held control, and the means through which the ATD was able to break-down their grasp on the control of the organization.

The insights gained through this study with regards to the political process and operation of a voluntary sport organization are probably not representative of the sorts of processes that go on in other voluntary organizations because of the uniquely historic and ethnic nature of values and beliefs relating to male hegemony which were a central organizational issue in the ARU. The centrality of hegemonic male values in the sport of rugby have been theorized through previous research to have evolved out of specific historic circumstances in Britain (cf. Sheard and Dunning, 1973). The suggestion of Donnelly and Young (1985) that values of this nature tended to become "frozen" in British immigrants at the time of immigration does much to explain the fact the the "alakadues" in the ARU maintained a value orientation which was out of line with the values of the majority of other members in the organization, and with mainstream society in general.

The "alakadues" who were of British descent and immigrated in the 1970s were initially established as powerful figures in the ARU on the legitimate basis of their expertise in a sport which was relatively new to Alberta at that time. The manner in which they have attempted to maintain power and control the organization in recent years, however, is less legitimate and does not reflect the values of the majority of organizational members. While I did observe that the "alakadues" in the ARU made deliberate attempts to control information and maintain power, their behavior did not appear deliberately malicious but rather a was a genuine struggle to hang on to and defend the values and beliefs they honestly held.

The challenge to the hegemonic male values enacted by the "alakadues", however, was inevitable in the ARU in light of its incongruence with the widely-held values of the larger society, and the growing expertise in the sport among other organization members of non-British descent. The "communicative democracy" interpretive scheme was found to be dominant in the organization with wide-spread support existing among a variety of individuals and groups

who comprise the organization. This wide-spread ascription to this interpretive scheme reflects the values of the wider society in which male hegemony has long been questioned and progressively rejected in favour of a more meritocratic system of domination and legitimation.

The continued anachronistic existence of male hegemony in the ARU, however, remained dominant as a form of cultural lag because of the exclusively male participation experienced by the sport for years. Thus while the "communicative democracy" interpretive scheme may have existed as a value system held by many of those male participants, its incorporation into the structures and processes of the organization did not to any significant extent until women became actively involved in the organization and challenged the system of male hegemony.

But just as the maintenance of power did not appear to be a consciously subversive action on the part of the "alakadues", the challenge to male hegemony on the part of the women in the ARU did not seem conscious or deliberate either. Rather, their struggle to progressively change the structures and systems of the ARU were enactments of their own

values and beliefs, which naturally opposed male hegemony, but did not consciously consider it as such.

The three specific occurrences in the ARU which provided opportunities for more active involvement in the organization by women (the incorporation of the AWRU into the ARU for funding purposes; the promotion of the female V.P. to president of the ERU; and the appointment of a female ATD), all may be seen as extraordinary events which individually and collectively had a profound effect on the organization and provided the means to challenge the system of male hegemony on several fronts. The extraordinary nature of these activities provides examples of both the extent to which the observations made in the ARU may be relevant to other sport organizations and may not. They may not be relevant because they were rather extraordinary circumstances and not typical events in the political process of the ARU. On the other hand, the fact that the first catalyst for change (the incorporation of the AWRU) resulted from a government initiative suggests a proactive role on the part of government in enacting the values of the wider society. It also suggests

that the same process could occur in other sport organizations as a result of government initiatives.

Further, the fact that both the female president of the ERU and the female ATD were able to establish themselves in powerful positions in a predominantly male organization on the basis of their abilities, suggests the prevalence of a meritocratic ethos. The manner in which each of these individuals came to gain both power and respect within the organization reflects the interaction of structure and agency. In both cases, however, the role of the specific agents appeared paramount, as they worked within the existing structure, and at the same time changed that structure. It is doubtful that this would have been possible had each of these individuals not been resourceful, motivated, and committed to the well-being of the organization, and persistent in their pursuit of organizational change.

The existence of prime movers or zealots, such as these two women, has been observed in previous studies of voluntary sport organizations (cf. Slack, 1985; Cunningham, 1986). The focus on values and beliefs in this study, and the qualitative methods utilized, made it possible to gain a better feel for

the dynamic processes that can influence the success or failure of such a person, and therefore provide insights that may be relevant to other amateur sport organizations as well.

Recommendations

The approach utilized in this study provided insight and understanding into the manner in which the social reality in an amateur sport organization, is created through the interaction of social structure and human agency. Further research into amateur sport organizations should attempt to replicate and extend the conceptual orientation and methods used in this study, through the continued use of the case study approach. While some researchers (cf. Beyer, 1981), have suggested the organizational specificity of ideologies, values and beliefs, the only way to investigate the extent to which this may be true in the population of PSOs, would be to conduct similar studies to provide the basis for comparative analysis.

Greenwood and Hinings (1987) suggestions as to the possible institutional nature of values and beliefs

can be used as a basis to theorize where a further investigation of values and beliefs should begin. The similarities found in this study between the interpretive schemes of the provincial and national level organizations, suggest that institutionalization may be sport specific. It would be interesting to conduct a study similar to this one on the Canadian Rugby Union, in order to compare the sorts of values and beliefs that are enacted at the national level.

A comparative analysis of other sports would be interesting as well in order to compare the actual extent to which values and beliefs are sport specific. This would be particularly relevant to the issue of rationalization and government involvement. In the present study it appeared that the trend towards rationalization was member initiated to a great extent, but it would be interesting to investigate to what extent values and beliefs concerning rationalization are pervasive in the entire sporting community or specific to particular sports.

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APPENDIX A

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDELINES

NAME:

PLACE:

DATE:

What, in your opinion, should the overall purpose of the ARU be?

What do you think would be the most suitable and effective means of achieving the purposes of the ARU? (principles of organizing).

What do you think are the most appropriate criteria for evaluating the effectiveness (success or failure) of the ARU?

At the present time, do you see the role of the ARU having any effects on your club?

Do you feel that the ARU employing a paid full-time technical director provides any benefits to your club?

What do you think the role of that paid position should be?

Are you aware of who the members of the board of directors of the ARU are?

Are you aware of the process by which people are elected to the ARU board? Do you feel this is a reasonable and effective process?

Are you aware of the methods through which players are selected to ALBERTA REP sides? Do you feel this selection process is fair and equitable?

Do you have any additional comments or concerns about the ARU?

HONORARY LIFE MEMBERS
BRUCE D. BATEMAN
FRANK E. WRIGHT

Alberta Rugby Football Union

(FORMED 1961)



MEMBER
CANADIAN RUGBY UNION

Tel. (403) 453-8627

May 26, 1988

Tom Jones
Canadian Rugby Union,
333 River Road
Ottawa, Ontario
K1L 8H9

Dear Tom,

On behalf of the Alberta Rugby Union I wish to voice some concerns regarding the lines of communication between the Canadian Rugby Union and the provincial counterparts, particularly in the case of the "centres of excellence."

It appears that the CRU has established these "centres of excellence" and the designated contacts within our province without any counsel from the Alberta Board of Directors. Therefore we seem to be relatively "in the dark" when approached by our unions regarding a program that surely should have at least been brought to our attention before being implemented.

Another area of concern relates to a general vagueness with regard to selection of Canadian representatives to national teams. Several board members have indicated that they feel there is a lack of information flowing to the provinces regarding selection procedures for national teams, as well as expectations of our roles in that procedure.

A general consensus would indicate that the provincial board feels "overlooked" with regard to programs being administered from a national level within a provincial boundary.

Hopefully we can rectify the situation with a full disclosure of the aforementioned topics of concern.

Yours truly,

Jim Mallarky
President, ARU

JM/ke