

**THE (RE)CONSTRUCTION OF ORGANIZATIONAL
CULTURE WITHIN SOCIAL CONTEXTS: A CASE STUDY
OF THE SIX NATIONS ARROWS LACROSSE ORGANIZATION**

by

James Michael Allen

A Thesis

Submitted to the College of Graduate Studies and Research
Through the School of Human Kinetics

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Human Kinetics at the
University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

1999

© 1999 James Michael Allen



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-52502-3

Canada

ABSTRACT

This thesis, a case study of the Six Nations Arrows Junior A lacrosse organization, expands upon existing research in organizational culture and racial relations by exploring and describing the perceived influence of different social contexts on organizational members and the cultures that they (re)construct. The Arrows are unique in that they are the only Junior A lacrosse organization situated in a First Nations community, and they are the only team in Junior A owned and operated by their community.

A theoretical framework based on Edgar Schein's conception of organizational culture, as well as Anthony Giddens' ideas on duality of structure underlies the case study. In accordance with this framework, the sub-problems explored included 1) how have members of Six Nations Arrows influenced the (re)construction of their organizational culture, and 2) what has been the role (i.e., facilitating, constraining) of various social contexts in influencing the Arrows' organizational culture?

Interviews with members of the Arrows Association and members of the Six Nations sporting community, observation of Arrows monthly meetings and of Six Nations sporting events, as well as analysis of Arrows Association documents were used to explore these sub-problems. Interviewees reviewed a late draft of the case study to verify the validity of the researcher's interpretation.

Findings indicated that all members of the organization have been influential cultural agents. Founders and Association members have been influential based on their ability to set goals for the organization, introduce new practices and values, and construct rules governing access to valuable resources in a manner that reinforced existing values. Team members'

influence has primarily stemmed from their use or challenge of the structures that the Association has (re)constructed.

The structures and cultural practices from four different social contexts (Six Nations community, Six Nations sport, surrounding non-native communities and non-native sport), contexts were explored in regards to their influence on the Arrows' organizational culture. Interviewees each described structures within these social contexts that they felt facilitated or constrained them in conducting practices that reinforced Arrows' organizational values. Interviewees also described different perceptions of similar structures, thus reinforcing the complexity of the duality of structure.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the Six Nations Arrows. Your time, openness, and the interest you expressed from our first contact were greatly appreciated and very encouraging. Thank you for inviting me into your organization, community and homes. It is with much work and pride that I dedicate this thesis to you; it is your story. Congratulations on your past successes and I wish you much more success in the future.

Acknowledgements

There are numerous individuals who were involved in the formation of this thesis. To each of you, I am grateful and appreciative of your time, support and insight.

To my committee, Victoria Paraschak, Jim Weese and Max Hedley, I thank-you for your contributions, time and definitely your patience. Dr. Weese, thank you for your support throughout my six and a half years in Windsor. To my advisor, Victoria Paraschak, I am thankful for the support you provided from the day that you suggested I register for graduate sociology. From this time, you encouraged me to better understand my work, and myself. Thank you for your advice and support especially during those times when I strayed to explore other endeavors.

To my families and friends, my education would definitely be incomplete without the skills and perspectives I have learned from you. Each time you express your pride it provides motivation; for this I am also appreciative.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
DEDICATION	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
CHAPTER	
1 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND	
Introduction	1
Literature Review	
Organizational Culture	4
Artifacts.....	6
Values	6
Assumptions.....	8
Duality of Structure	11
Structures	11
Agency	13
Power	14
Organizational Culture within the Duality of Structure	15
2 RESEARCH FRAMEWORK	
Directional Hypotheses	19
Assumptions	20
Delimitations	21
Limitations.....	21
Research Design	22
Research Participants	24
Data Collection.....	27
Data Analysis	31
3 THE SIX NATIONS ARROWS	
Background of the Six Nations Arrows.....	34
The Six Nations Arrows 1998-99.....	40
Ownership of the Arrows.....	40
Organizational Structure	42
Central Values.....	45

CHAPTER

4	THE INFLUENCE OF ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERS ON ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE	
	The Influence of Arrows' Founders on the Arrows' Culture	49
	The Influence of Non-Founding Members on the Arrows' Culture	61
	Changes in the Arrows Culture	67
	Conclusion	69
5	THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL CONTEXTS ON ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE	
	Social Contexts and the Arrows' Organizational Culture	73
	The Six Nations Community	74
	The Six Nations Sporting Context	81
	Non-Native, Surrounding Communities	89
	Non-Native Defined Sporting Contexts	93
	Conclusions	102
6	SUMMARY AND CONTRIBUTIONS	
	Summary	105
	Implications	106
	Contributions	107
	Racial Relations Research	107
	Sport Management Research	108
	Recommendations for Future Research	109
	APPENDIX A: Sample Interview Guide	112
	APPENDIX B: Six Nations Arrows' Charter Members	114
	APPENDIX C: Six Nations Arrows Logo	115
	APPENDIX D: Constitution of the Six Nations Arrows Lacrosse Association	116
	APPENDIX E: Six Nations Arrows Lacrosse Association Monthly Meeting Agenda	125
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	126
	VITA AUCTORIS	131

List of Figures

FIGURE

1: The Levels of Culture and their Interaction	6
2: The Cultural Dynamics Model	9

List of Tables

TABLES

1: Participants Scope of Involvement with the Arrows	26
2: Arrows Rules and their Relation to Arrows Central Values	47

CHAPTER 1: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This thesis was developed out of personal interest as well as my desire to expand on sport management research related to organizational cultures. When this thesis began the I was interested in exploring structures which reflect and reinforce asymmetrical power relationships as they influence the perceptions of agents regarding their ability to act in their social contexts. This interest initially stemmed from my desire to better understand the experiences of his ancestors. My father's heritage is African American and my mother's heritage is Euro-American. An interest in studying the history between members of these groups in North America from a sociological perspective led me towards a theoretical framework which included duality of structure, social construction and power. My interest in organizational culture provided an excellent opportunity to apply this framework to sport management research. While the researcher did struggle to combine such theory with those theories used in sport management, this thesis was an attempt to take organizational culture research one step further by exploring and describing the internal and external social relationships that influence those who construct a sport organization's culture.

Statement of the Problem

Organizational culture researchers often make reference to organizational culture's sociological and anthropological roots. In many cases, especially in sport management, such trans-disciplinary links¹ end at this point (Schein, 1996). Sociological constructs such as duality of structure and power relations seem to be overlooked in organizational culture research as elements of past and present contexts in which cultures are (re)constructed².

¹ Trans-disciplinary in that organizational culture is often considered an element of business and management studies.

² (Re)construction refers to the process of formation, reproduction and transformation.

North American research in organizational culture did not solely begin with the work of Pettigrew (Hofstede, Neujin, Daval Ohaly & Sanders, 1990) and Schein (Weese, 1995), but rather began with the work of early cultural theorists. Cultural theorists have enriched our understanding of social life and social institutions, and created a base of knowledge from which social and anthropological researchers can work. Thus, their work should be an integral part of organizational culture research. Regardless of its prefix, organizational culture is culture. The prefix 'organizational' reminds us of the type of social system in which these individuals are interacting. While recognizing that the context of an organization may provide for forms of culture or cultural processes that are somewhat different from other social institutions, one must also recognize the social forces and relationships that are instrumental in forming the context of these institutions.

Theorists/researchers such as Weese (1998), Schein (1984) and Hofstede et al. (1994) have each suggested that organizational leaders and founders form, maintain and embed an organization's culture. Gordon (1991) somewhat disagrees with this statement suggesting that cultures are neither formed randomly, nor are they solely the product of a leader's influence (Gordon, 1991). A sociological understanding of culture would reinforce Gordon's statement. Culture is not an entity that is freely formed in a desired manner by any one person or group. This is not to suggest that the former researchers are wrong, but that the leaders they refer to are part of much larger social systems that strongly influence their behavior, beliefs and intentions (Nagel, 1994). Individuals in asymmetrical power relations, within the context of socially and historically constructed 'realities', negotiate cultures. To study an organization, its members and its cultures separate from their environments and power relationships is to isolate the organization, its members and their culture from their

influencing contexts. It is within these contexts that cultures are constructed and reconstructed: it is within these contexts that they should be studied and better understood.

Different cultural communities can hold quite diverse values for sport and their sport involvement (Paraschak, 1997). Thus, a sport organization existing in a distinct cultural community, and consisting of mainly members from this community, may not be properly represented by existing organizational culture frameworks. Conceptions of organizational culture, especially in sport management, appear³ to have been constructed in the context of sport organizations possessing 'dominant mainstream cultures'. Members from First Nations communities are rarely participants in organizational research. It is often their mainstream counterparts who are the focus of and/or respondents in such research (Kirby & McKenna, 1989). This thesis will explore the experience and knowledge of the members of a Canadian First Nation regarding their involvement within a community sport organization and their different social contexts.

Thesis Problem

What has been the historical development of the Six Nations Arrows' organizational culture?

Sub-problems

- 1) How have members of Six Nations Arrows influenced the production, reproduction and transformation of their organizational culture(s)?
- 2) What has been the role of various social contexts⁴ in influencing the organization's culture?

³ Researchers such as Weese (1995, 1996) and Kent (1995) did not mention the racial/cultural background of their research participants.

⁴ Social context is defined as a socially constructed, cultural environment with "deeply embedded and historically created patterns of social relationships" (Metcalf, 1996, p. 40). Individuals' through their interaction with structures within these contexts, shape and are shaped by the practices and values consistent with the cultures of these contexts.

- 3) Which of the Arrows' social contexts have been the most inhibiting of their organizational culture?
- 4) Which of the Arrows' social contexts have been the most facilitating of their organizational culture?

Literature Review

Organizational culture

Organizational culture is an area of study which has been popularized by management researchers such as Pettigrew (1979) and Schein (1983). Similar to many constructs in social study, organizational culture has lacked a distinct definition for what it is that those in this field are studying. Kent (1995) suggested that while differences in meaning do exist, many definitions of organizational culture can be condensed to being the "rooted assumptions, beliefs and attitudes which are shared by members of an organization, and which shape and reflect [their] identity and actions" (p. 33).

Organizational culture has been empirically linked to numerous social-psychological elements including leadership styles and increased organizational effectiveness (Kent, 1995; Weese, 1995, 1996), increased employee retention (Sheridan, 1992), and increased job satisfaction (Wallace & Weese, 1995). Such studies are indicative of the pervasive nature of organizational culture and of the interest that researchers have in understanding how culture is influenced by and can conversely influence other organizational variables. This effort to understand culture may be best reflected in Schein's (1985) statement that understanding an organization's culture allows one to understand the "dynamic of why and how [organizations] grow, change, sometimes fail, and - perhaps most important of all - do things that don't seem to make any sense" (p. 1).

Sport management researchers have attempted to create a base of management knowledge that accounts for the uniqueness of the sport organization. In the area of organizational culture, those in sport management have often used the work of Edgar Schein as a base for their own (Weese 1995, Kent, 1996). Thus, understanding Schein's work is a first step to better understanding current work in sport management and organizational culture. Schein (1985) defined organizational culture as "the deeper level of basic assumptions and beliefs that are shaped by members of an organization, that operate unconsciously and that define in a basic 'taken for granted' fashion an organization's view of itself and its environment" (p. 6). Key components to Schein's definition include the following:

- cultures are deeply rooted;
- cultures are shaped by organizational members;
- cultures operate unconsciously and are 'taken for granted', and,
- cultures define the identity of an organization and its environments.

Central to Schein's definition is the recognition of the social aspect of culture: people construct culture, it is not a phenomenon that merely occurs. Culture is the continually (re)constructed outcome of shared group experiences. Furthering this notion, Schein (1985) suggested that cultural assumptions, while unconscious, are manifested in the values and social practices of organizational members and are "learned responses to a group's problems of survival in its external environment and its problems of internal integration" (p. 6). As learned responses, these behaviours and strategies become the basis for interaction and survival in the organization and its social contexts. Schein's (1984) depiction of organizational culture included three elements that constitute an overall culture (see Figure 1). These elements are artifacts, values, and assumptions.

Artifacts

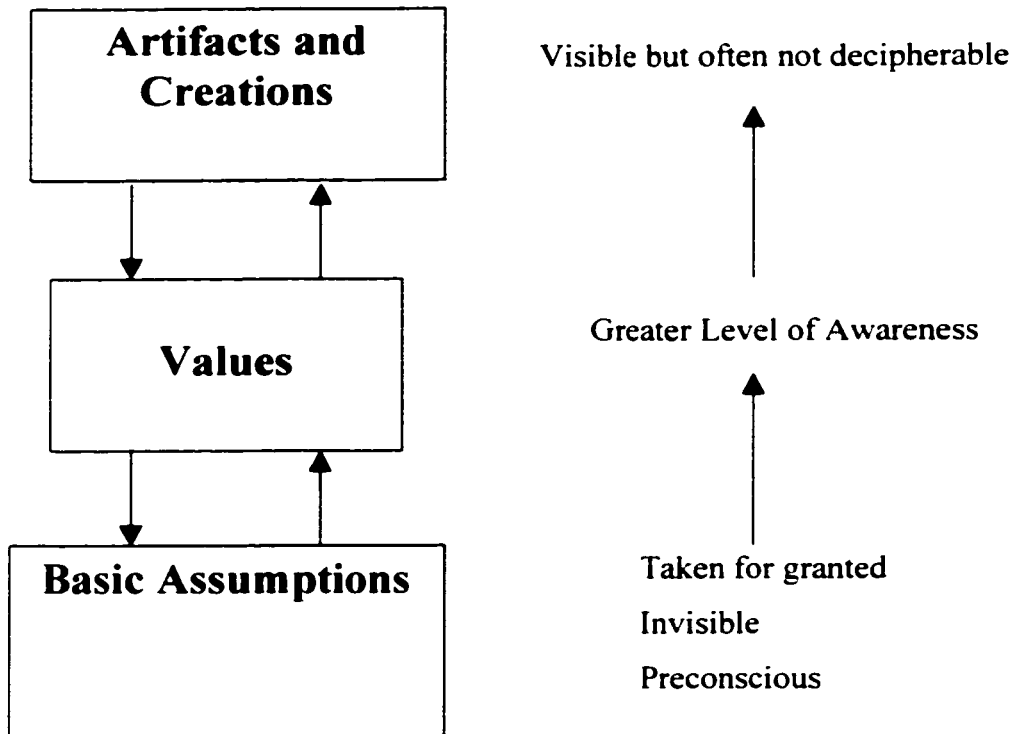
Artifacts are the most visible of the cultural elements. They are aspects of the “constructed physical and social environment” (Schein, 1985), including status symbols, such as expensive cars; logos, as are used by most professional sport teams; organizational hierarchies, as a depiction of how people relate to each other; and social practices, which are created, reproduced and/or changed through social behaviour. Organizational artifacts, such as behaviour patterns and the construction of physical space, can be easily observed, yet interpreting the underlying logic behind such superficial manifestations can be difficult (Schein, 1984).

Beyer and Trice (1987) defined organizational culture as “a network of shared understandings, norms and values...[that] must somehow be affirmed and communicated to an organization’s members in some tangible way” (p. 6). Whether intended or not, communication and affirmation of these values is achieved through cultural artifacts such as rewards, myths, symbols, modes of dress, and mission statements (Beyer and Trice, 1987). Members, through shared experiences, construct artifacts and their meanings. Symbolic meaning for artifacts, reflecting and reinforcing cultural beliefs, values and assumptions, are continually constructed, reinforced and challenged in social settings. Monthly meetings that are open to the public are an example of a social practice of the Six Nations Arrows. As an artifact, public meetings reinforce the idea that the Arrows Association values the input and support of the Six Nations community.

Values

Values are “a sense of what ‘ought’ to be, as distinct from what is;...[they are] convictions about the nature of reality and how to deal with it” (Schein, 1985, p.15). Their

Figure 1: The Levels of Culture and their Interaction



(Schein, 1984, p. 4)

relationship to assumptions is dynamic and non-linear. "Multiple assumptions engage in manifestations simultaneously and interactively to reveal values" (Hatch, 1993, p. 662). Values are often "explicitly articulated serving the normative and moral function of guiding members of the group in how to deal with certain key situations" (Schein, 1985, p.16). Policies and phrases, such as 'the customer is always right', are employed by organizations to inform themselves and others that members are dedicated to a common, valued cause - a standard of 'this is how we do things'. One objective of the Six Nations Arrows is to "encourage and assist community youth to participate in the sport of lacrosse" (Constitution of the SNALA, 1997). Values regarding the maintenance of practices linked to native heritage underly this objective.

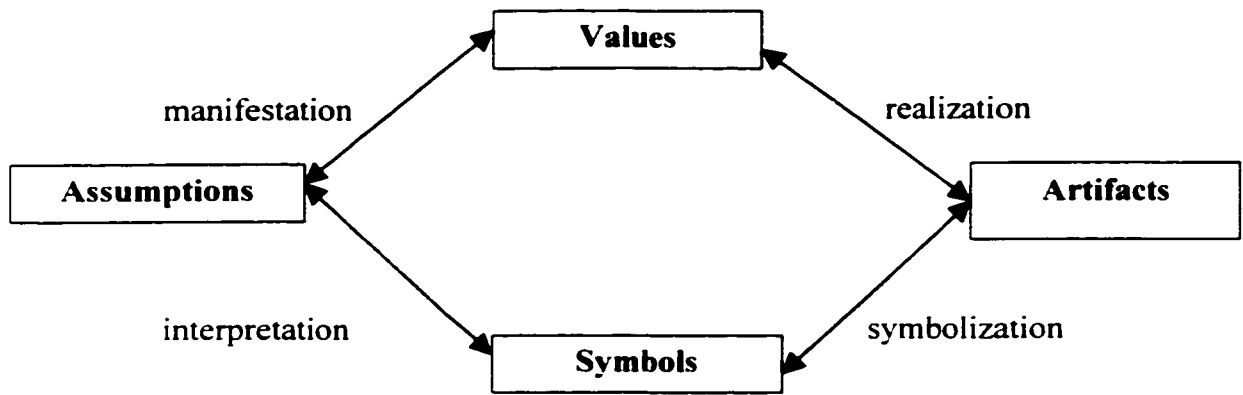
Assumptions

Basic underlying assumptions are the "essence [of culture] - what culture really is" (Schein, 1985, p.14). They are the unconscious beliefs that underlie more visible cultural manifestations, such as social practices and symbolic artifacts. These "taken for granted" notions of reality are foundational to culture and are the basis for interpreting one's environment. Schein (1984) suggested that the key to revealing the essence of an organization's culture is interpreting basic assumptions. This is often achieved through analysis of manifested values and social practices. For example, the Six Nations Arrows lacrosse club was constructed as, and continues to be, a community operated team. Managing an organization in this manner may be representative of the assumption of its founders that community sport organizations, through their conduct, are representatives of, and ambassadors for the community(ies) to which they belong.

Hatch (1993), extended Schein's cultural elements through the addition of symbols as a cultural element (see Figure 2). Hatch chose to differentiate between physical and social artifacts and their socially constructed symbolic meanings. In Schein's model, these two components were embodied within artifacts. Hatch's depiction recognizes that an artifact in one cultural community may have a totally different meaning in another cultural community (Barley, 1993) and that even within one community this meaning is continually negotiated. Thus, analysis of artifacts, as well as their culturally specific symbolic meanings, is instrumental for identifying cultural values and assumptions.

Schein (1985) suggested that the cultural elements link through the process of cognitive transformation. As group members are confronted with problems or novel tasks they generate potential solutions. These solutions are value based, for they often stem from the principles and philosophies of a small number of members – usually founders or leaders (Schein, 1984). Generally the group as a whole will not feel the same degree of conviction as these members “until (they) have collectively shared in successful problem solution” (p. 15). The employment of particular solutions - and thus the values that underlie them - creates shared experiences for the group. “When a solution to a problem works repeatedly, it comes to be taken for granted. What was once a hypothesis, supported by only a hunch or a value, comes gradually to be treated as a reality” (Schein, 1985, p. 18). Through shared experience, group members form common understandings of what practices are successful/unsuccessful, acceptable/unacceptable and thus should be part of ‘normal’ behavior.

Figure 2: The Cultural Dynamics Model



(Hatch, 1993, p. 660)

Duality of Structure

Structures

Structures form the framework for social action/inaction. They form the “boundaries within which individuals/groups/societies construct their lives... Providing a complex web of – often unconscious - restraints, they seem to both constrain and enable individuals and groups to construct their lives” (Metcalf, 1996, p. 40). Giddens (1984) suggested that structure consists of rules and resources. Rules, “are techniques or generalizable procedures applied in the enactment/reproduction of social practices” (Giddens, 1984, p. 21). Internal rules provide a framework for individuals’ perceptions about social activities. Such rules often reflect the cultural values, beliefs and assumptions of the social contexts in which individuals interact.

Internal rules are shaped through social interaction. An example of an internal rule would be that one should defer to authority figures such as a manager in the workplace. External rules are formal regulations which “sanction implicit codes of acceptable behavior” (Ponic, 1994, p. 108). These rules are the formal manifestation of ‘internal rules’. In organizations, external rules are often set out in constitutions, mission statements and codes of conduct – all of which are cultural artifacts.

Resources, which Ponic (1994) divided into material, personal and interpersonal⁵, are structural tools which knowledgeable agents draw upon and reproduce in the course of social interaction (Giddens, 1984). Material resources are tangible items, such as money, that individuals require to function in their social lives. Personal resources, such as self-

⁵ Ponic (1994) divided resources into material, personal and interpersonal as a redefinition of Giddens’ (1984) allocative and authoritative resources.

confidence, knowledge, and motivations, are characteristics of an individual that affect his/her ability to act within his/her social life. Interpersonal resources, such as positions of authority, refer to “interactions with other individuals that affect an agent’s ability to act within his/her social life” (Ponic, 1994, 20). Rules and resources are not cultural elements, but they are culturally defined. They are tools that agents use to act in their social contexts, not something that persists as an identifiable cultural element. The values, assumptions and behaviors that govern and constitute the use of particular structures are cultural elements: not the structure themselves.

Internal and external rules, which may differ from one culture to another, define the symbolic value of, means of access to, and conditions for use of resources. For example, a management position – as an interpersonal resource – is often used as a tool of power in mainstream North American communities. Thus, power is achieved by ‘climbing the corporate hierarchy’. Within this culture, terms such as ‘boss’ or ‘superior’ describe managers. As a superior, one is perceived by organizational members as having the ability, and is expected, to direct others toward organizational goals as well as to maintain order. In Canadian Indian communities, a management position is often used as a tool of facilitation (Malloy, Nilson, & Yoshioka, 1993). Such differences stem from, and are shaped by, the internal rules (personal frameworks) and external rules (i.e., regulations) that exist within a particular organization.

“‘Duality of structure’ formulates the social relations within which people exist” (Ponic, 1994, p. 107). Rules shape individual perception and, in combination with resources, provide a means for individual action, while they are concurrently transformed or legitimated through the actions of individuals who interact with and utilize them (Giddens, 1984). “The

structured properties of social activity - via the duality of structure - are constantly recreated out of the very resources which constitute them" (Giddens, 1984, p. xxiii). Those who utilize existing structures for action maintain these structures. Those who adopt the use of alternate structures and/or defy the use of current structures provide a basis for social change.

Agency

Through agency social structures are reproduced and/or transformed.

"Agency refers not to the intentions people have in doing things but to their capability of doing things in the first place. Agency concerns events of which an individual is the perpetuator, in the sense that the individual could, at any phase in a given sequence of conduct, have acted differently" (Giddens, 1984, p. 9).

Agents, even in daily routine, by nature of their agency, can choose their actions. Regardless of what resources they use, they have the choice to use others. Yet, their choice to do so is often limited by perceptions of opportunity and the perceived importance of different resources, reflective of their internal rules. "The potential for agency is always limited by social structures. The nature of individual goals, the sense of what is possible, individual's degree of control over the consequences of their actions, all are circumscribed by their structural resources" (Howard, 1994, p. 221).

Human agents "have as an inherent aspect of what they do, the capacity to understand what they do while they do it" (Giddens, 1984, p. xxii). While these agents have the ability to provide discourse regarding their actions, their knowledgability⁶ is mostly carried in practical consciousness⁷. Within practical consciousness is an individual's understanding of the day-to-day routines of social life. It is the reservoir for routine; the ability to act without

⁶ Knowledgabilty is "what agents know about what they do and why they do it" (Giddens, 1984, p. xxii).

⁷ Giddens (1984) suggests that practical consciousness consists of all the things which actors know about how to conduct oneself in social contexts "without being able to give them direct discursive expression" (p. xxiii).

conscious intention or understanding of purpose. Day-to-day intentional action, and routinized behavior, can both produce unintended consequences. "Social agency depends solely upon the capability actors maintain and exercise to make a difference in the production of definite outcomes, regardless of whether or not they intend (or are aware) that these outcomes occur (Cohen, 1989, p. 24). Individuals and groups, without realizing it, regularly legitimate current social structures through their continuance of particular behaviors. Both the discursive and practical aspects of consciousness hold importance for gaining an understanding of the conditions of individual and group actions (Giddens, 1984).

Power

Historically, the valued behaviors and resources that constitute social practices, reflect social understandings constructed in asymmetric power relations (Cohen, 1989). Power is an interpersonal resource. Agents have power to achieve outcomes to the degree that they have access to desired resources (Ponic, 1994) and recognize their ability to act as an agent. "Since agency is intentional action toward an end, power can only be measured through an exercise of agency. The better able an agent is to meet his/her end, the more power is held by that individual" (Ponic, 1994, p. 23). Often, in organizations, it is those in authority positions and/or with the ability to make external rules, and reward or punish others that are the dominant power group. Structures either enable or inhibit agents from achieving their goals. Resources and external rules work to either facilitate or inhibit an agent's action to reach a desired end. Therefore, these structures are the power tools of agency. The degree to which "existing structures either facilitate or inhibit an agents' ability to reach his/her goal directly affects the amount of power that agents can achieve" (Ponic, 1994, p. 23).

Within social contexts, such as the workplace, the sporting arena and racialized spaces⁸, humans learn values, follow regulations, and adopt particular practices that persist and become part of the group's culture. In reproducing and transforming structural properties, individuals in positions of authority produce and reproduce rules, and conditions for resources that shape possibilities for those who interact within 'their' institutions. To have access to desired rewards and opportunities, one must often learn, and act according to, the norms that this privileged group has created – for it is they who provide the rewards and opportunities (Kikulis, Slack & Hinings, 1995). While the structures created by privileged groups may not be intentionally discriminatory, the fact that they are based on particular assumptions and perceived realities means that these structures are an artifact of their culture. Thus, while the structure that these groups recreate may seem reasonable, facilitating, and logical to their members, members with other cultural values may find such artifacts offensive, exclusionary or limiting of their agency and/or cultural traditions (Paraschak, 1997). Within an organization, parties such as leaders and founders are often highly influential in the (re)production of structures due to the nature of their positions⁹. The opportunity and perceived power that these parties possess might explain why researchers have found that leaders and founders have such a profound influence on culture.

Organizational Culture within the Duality of Structure

Duality of structure does not undermine or necessarily refute existing research on organizational culture. It adds depth to this work. Organizational cultures are constantly reproduced (maintained) and/or transformed through the actions of agents. They are

⁸ Paraschak (1996) defines racialized spaces as "self-defining contexts" that lay under the control of communities defined by race.

⁹ The nature of these positions/designations is discussed in Chapter 4.

“continuous cycles of action and meaning-making” (Hatch, 1993, p. 686). Organizational members in their daily practice – whether intended or not - behave in manners that both reinforce and challenge underlying values and assumptions through their use of particular rules and resources.

When members of an organization come together they must negotiate, to some extent, a common understanding of rules and resources to function. This understanding comes through behavior. A behavior consists of the use of a resource in relation to particular internal and/or external rules. The values or common practices of the culture of a particular social context usually prescribe these rules. If the resource is used in accordance with rules reflecting the culture, it reproduces the structures of this culture by reinforcing the legitimacy of such structures. This is the process of social maintenance (Giddens, 1984). If the resource is used according to different rules, or if another resource is used in its place, the agent has challenged existing structures, and provided a base for social change (Giddens, 1984).

Organizational cultures are constructed through the shared experiences of organizational members. These members conduct social practices using rules and resources to solve problems and perform responsibilities. As these members share successes and failures, both within the organization and in their external contexts, they reinforce or challenge the values, and subjective realities upon which their behaviors are based (Schein, 1985). Those practices and values which are continually reinforced become embedded within the organization’s culture in the form of central values. Through cognitive transformation organizational members (re)construct cultural assumptions from these values and practices (Schein, 1985). Those practices that prove ineffective are often discontinued

for other practices. When a new practice is introduced, its success, if premised on different values, becomes a base for potential change in the values of a culture.

Structures, which reflect the culture(s) of a social context, can facilitate or inhibit the agency of an individual or group in reinforcing the culture of their organization. Agents are facilitated by the structures of their social contexts if they perceive that they have access to the resources valued by their organization's culture, and if they perceive they are able to use these according to the rules of their culture. To use these resources in this manner means that they are able to reproduce the structures of their organization and thus reinforce the cultural values and assumptions upon which these structures are based. Agents are inhibited in social contexts where they perceive they are not able to access resources valued by their organization. They are also inhibited in contexts in which they perceive that they have access to these resources, but also perceive that they are not able to use these resources as they would wish. They are thus inhibited by the structures of such a context.

Schein suggested that organizational culture exists within the unconscious of organizational members and that this unconscious guides members' values and behaviors. This perspective is deterministic, describing a causal relationship. It also does not coincide with duality of structure. Within the duality of structure, Giddens (1984) recognized that agents have choices. Once they realize these choices they are able to choose their behavior whether they realize this or not (Giddens, 1984), thus making it more difficult for researchers to determine how agents will behave, as well as making it difficult to infer assumptions from values and social practices. The fact that cultural practices must be exercised, and structures legitimized, on a continual basis suggests that organizational culture exists somewhere more readily available to its members. This is not to suggest that there is not an naturalized

component to culture: however the conception of practical consciousness, as a store for those behaviors which are part of one's day to day routine, seems better able to explain the nature of organizational culture.

CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

Thesis Problem

What has been the historical development of the Six Nations Arrows' organizational culture?

Sub-problems

1) How have members of Six Nations Arrows influenced the production, reproduction and transformation of their organizational culture(s)?

Directional Hypothesis 1a) Athletes, coaches, and executive members have all been instrumental in the formation, reproduction and transformation of the Arrows' organizational culture.

Directional Hypothesis 1b) Executive members have been the most influential organizational members in this construction, reproduction and transformation.

2a) What has been the role of various social contexts in influencing the Arrows' organizational culture?

Directional Hypothesis 2a) A variety of social contexts including the Six Nations community, surrounding non-native communities (i.e., Brantford), native-defined sporting contexts (i.e., Six Nations sport), and non-native defined sporting contexts (i.e., Ontario Lacrosse Association league play, the Minto Cup) have been instrumental in the formation, reproduction and transformation of the Arrow's organizational culture.

2b) Which of the Arrows' social contexts have been the most inhibiting of their organizational culture?

Directional Hypothesis 2b) Of the different contexts within which the Six Nations Arrows' and its members are active, those possessing non-native defined structures will have been the most inhibiting of the Arrows culture.

2c) Which of the Arrows' social contexts have been the most facilitating of their organizational culture?

Directional hypothesis 2c) Of the different contexts within which the Six Nations Arrows and its members are active, those possessing native defined structures will have been perceived as the most facilitating of the Arrows culture.

Assumptions

- 1) Organizational members described their experiences and perceptions openly and accurately.
- 2) The semi-structured framework of the interview facilitated the interviewees in providing discursive knowledge regarding the values and social practices of organizational members.
- 3) Mainstream (non-native¹⁰) conceptions of organizational culture and social structure will be useful in analyzing the culture of the Six Nations Arrows.
- 4) The four social contexts chosen for this study have all influenced the Arrow's culture: yet each in different ways.
- 5) Euro-American cultures, which have been the foundation for North American institutions, are qualitatively different than Six Nations' cultures.
- 6) Different sub-cultures, such as team, Association and/or coaching sub-cultures, exist within the Arrows organization. This study will explore an overall culture for the organization as perceived by the Association.

¹⁰ At the time of this study the researcher could not locate any conceptions of organizational culture generated outside of non-native organizations and thus were specifically representative of native values and practices.

Delimitations

This research study was delimited to a case study of the Six Nations Arrows for the years 1979-1999. This twenty-one year period represented the time that the organization has been in existence. As this is a case study, the researcher did not attempt to generalize specific results to other organizations. However, themes on, and perceptions, of social influences found in this study may provide a base for enhanced sociological conceptions of organizational culture and thus guide further research in this area.

Interviews were delimited to past and present Arrow's Association members. The researcher does acknowledge that coaches, as well as current and former athletes, are key organizational members and have contributed to the organization's culture. However, due to time constraints and the focus of organizational culture theory on the role of leaders, the researcher decided to only interview members of the Association. Also of importance to this decision is the fact that the team is a Junior A team. This means that executive members have had the opportunity to be a part of the organization for much longer than the athletes. Thus the researcher assumed that their experiences, understanding of the organization and influence on the organization's culture will have been more permanent.

Limitations

One major limitation for this study was the interviewing experience of the researcher. At the time the study was conducted, the researcher's previous interview experience was limited to the production of an operations manual for an international games for the physically disabled which involved approximately 15 interviews with the Chairpersons for the different games committees.

As organizational culture is taken for granted, organizational members may not be consciously aware of their organization's culture (Schein, 1985). Thus, it is the researcher's job to not only conduct interviews that will illuminate aspects of the culture, but also to provide an informed analysis of this culture. Data analysis is based on the researcher's interpretation. The researcher's knowledge, interview skills, and assumptions limit this interpretation. It was the researcher's job to attempt to ensure that his interpretations of data were both accurate and well informed.

The researcher is an important tool, shaped by those around them and the theory to which they expose him/herself (Kirby & McKenna, 1989). The researcher therefore acknowledges that this work is limited in many ways by what he knew, and who he was and the frameworks that formed his understanding.

Research design

This thesis was an exploratory study. The researcher sought to explore and describe the construction, reproduction and transformation of culture within a sport organization. The organization examined was the Six Nations Arrows Lacrosse Association. The design of the thesis is a case study of the Arrows from their founding year (1979) through to the present (1999). This club is a community owned organization which consists mainly of Native-Canadian athletes, coaches, and Association members. Data collection and analysis focuses on how the historical interaction among internal members, as well as between internal members and external structures, has constructed and reconstructed the organization's culture.

The main objective of this study was to expand upon existing research in sport management by exploring and describing how different social contexts influence

organizational members and the cultures that they (re)create. The author's personal interest and experience in racial relations led this study in the direction of an organization based in a culturally distinct space – a First Nation's reserve. Vital to this objective was the desire to give voice to those who interact in a sport organization and live in a First Nations community, recognizing and learning from their experiences. This objective made the use of interviews both desirable and necessary as the main source of data collection. To supplement interviews, secondary sources of data collection included content analysis of organizational documents and informal observation of Association meetings.

In accordance with the research objective, this study was conducted from a phenomenological approach. A phenomenological approach "makes understanding human perceptions its major research focus; if perceptions are real in their consequences, and a major determinant of what we do, then clearly we must understand them and their origins" (Palys, 1997, p. 17). Such an approach recognizes the notion that one of the best ways to understand how people perceive the world is not to externally impose objective realities, but to explore individuals' and groups' subjective realities.

Phenomenologists maintain that any effort to understand human behavior must take into account that humans are cognitive beings who actively perceive and make sense of the world around them, have the capacity to abstract from their experience, ascribe meaning to their behavior and the world around them, and are affected by those meanings (16).

Phenomenologists often adopt a constructionist perspective in their attempts to understand human behavior. This perspective suggests that matters such as the effects of race, poverty or sex on other variables, can only be understood if we understand how they are constructed by social beings, as well as something about the context within which they occur (Palys,

1997). Kirby and McKenna (1989) also suggested that research from the margins requires “critical reflection on the social context”¹¹ (p. 129).

Research Participants

Out of the possible groups within the Arrows organization – players, coaches, general managers and Association members – the researcher determined during the proposal stage that only Association members would be interviewed¹². This decision was made for three reasons – the nature of a Junior A organization, existing literature in organizational culture and the need to maintain a manageable focus. As the Arrows are a Junior A organization, players are only with the team for 4-5 years maximum. In contrast to this, a large number of the Association members have been with the Association since its inception. It was assumed that the Association members are more aware of the history of the organization and have played a more permanent part in this history than most groups of players. Thus, their knowledge of, insights about, and impact on the organization were considered more permanent. Second, literature on organizational culture has focussed on the strong influence of organizational founders and leaders on the culture of an organization. In order to further explore and expand on this topic, the researcher focussed on the governing body of the organization exploring their relationship to other organizational members. The final reason for this decision was the need for the researcher to keep the amount of information and direction of the thesis focussed and manageable. If this study were to include interviews with

¹¹ Kirby and McKenna (1989) define social context as the “fabric or structure in which the research, or the research participants’ experiences has occurred” (p. 129).

¹² In the proposal these members were referred to as executive members. The change the researcher has made, from executive members to Association members, was not in relation to research participants, but in the name of this group. It has been changed to ‘Association’ to be consistent with the terminology used by the organizational members.

past and present coaches, players and Association members¹³, the amount of information collected would be well beyond what is manageable for a thesis.

Interviewees consisted of eleven former and current members of the Arrows Association as well as two prominent members of the Six Nations sporting community. The two prominent members of the Six Nations sporting community were selected by the researcher for the purpose of providing background information on the Six Nations social contexts, as well as to provide an external perspective of the Arrows. These members were purposely selected due to their unique positions in the community, and thus the unique knowledge and experience that they possessed relative to other community members. Only two of these participants were interviewed, as members of the Arrows also provided much information on the Six Nations contexts.

To contact potential interviewees from the Arrows, the researcher was provided with a list of current and previous Association members at the first monthly meeting that he attended. From this list, the researcher attempted to contact those who were referred to him by Association members, as well as to contact those who members suggested might have unique knowledge of the Arrows. From observation at monthly meetings the researcher also developed a list of those members that he observed may have unique experience or knowledge. For example, the researcher kept track of which members were new, which members were often looked to for guidance, and which members questioned the direction of the Association. From these lists (referrals and those observed), the researcher set up a schedule of interviews based on the availability of members.

¹³ The influence of players and coaches on the culture of the organization is explored in this thesis, but these have been explored from the perspective of the Association.

Within the group of Association members interviewed, there was a wide range of involvement with the Arrows (see Table 1). For example, one interviewee was a founding member of the team, a former coach, an Association member and more recently the team General Manager. Another interviewee had held positions on the executive, been a general member of the Association, as well as worked bingos for a number of years for the team. Thus, many of the interviewees fit within more than one category making it difficult to categorize participants into distinct sub-groups such as founders, coaches and/or executive member.

Interviews were arranged based on the availability of participants. The first interview conducted was with a member of the Six Nations sporting community. The intentions of this interview were twofold. First, the researcher used this interview to gain insight into sport in the Six Nations community and thus to provide background for the Six Nations sporting context. The second intention of this interview was to evaluate and further develop interview skills prior to interviewing organizational members. This interview was extremely useful in gaining more information on the background and present status of Six Nations sport, as well as an insight into more general community values and issues.

In the second interview, the researcher interviewed a founding member of the Arrows Association. This was suggested by the Arrows members as a means of gaining further knowledge of the organization before conducting other interviews. This interview, along with the first interview, was used to provide background on the formation of the Arrows Association and thus further refine the interview guide. Over a period of three weeks the researcher interviewed ten other Arrows' Association members and one other prominent Six Nations sporting figure.

Table 1: Participants' scope of involvement with the Arrows (n = 11)

	Founder	Team Coach	General Association Member	Executive Member	Other Team Staff	General Manager	Former Arrows Player
Number of interviewees who have held designation	5	3	10	7	4	2	0

Data collection

The primary data collection method for this thesis was face-to-face interviews. The researcher completed the interview process through the following stages: identifying areas of exploration, compiling an interview guide that addressed the research problems; refining the interview guide using document analysis; meeting and building a rapport with the interviewees; conducting interviews; transcribing data; data analysis; follow-up interviews and final analysis. In preparation for interviews, and as a secondary source to enhance data collected from interviews, informal observation and content analysis of cultural artifacts were used. Informal observation is observation in which the researcher is not "constrained by checklists and coding schemes, but rather reports, in narrative fashion, any observations relevant to the research objectives" (Palys, 1997, p. 207). As an observer, the researcher attended two Six Nations Arrows' league games, four meetings of the executive, as well as other sporting events on the Six Nations reserve including two hockey games and a pow-wow. The purpose of this activity was to familiarize myself with the Six Nations Arrows, their social practices and the social contexts in which they are active. This was achieved by

observing the practices of those who were active in these contexts making note of how people interact with each other and the rules that they use in such interaction. For example at Arrows meetings, members when speaking often addressed the president. This observation suggested the use of rules of order within the Association. However when a member of the Association had something to say they were able to speak out when they felt it was necessary. This observation suggested that there was also an informal atmosphere to the Association's meetings and suggested the presence of rules that reinforced such an atmosphere.

The initial interview guide (see Appendix A) addressed each of the four research problems individually. These questions were based on the researcher's interpretation of the theory, suggestions from Schein (1985), as well as the directional hypotheses stated in the proposal stage. The researcher found it very beneficial to compose a draft of the interview guide prior to the proposal defense, as this allowed the researcher and the research committee the opportunity to identify any biases and omissions before the research took place. The research committee thus served as a means of validating the interview guide. Once the researcher has been immersed in the literature for a long period of time, such as in the formation of the proposal, it can be quite difficult for him/her to recognize personal biases without assistance. The ability to recognize and minimize these biases is beneficial as these will tend to focus, and potentially bias, the collection and analysis of data. In this regard, the research committee can be invaluable.

The first stage in data collection was refining the interview guide. This was completed through analyzing the contents of Arrows' organizational artifacts such as the Arrows' constitution, and minutes from monthly meetings for the time period 1990-1999.

This analysis was used as a means of identifying the organization's goals, values, and organizational structure, as well as to identify key organizational events and issues around which the organization's culture developed, changed or became more apparent. This analysis was used to refine interview questions, making them more applicable to the Arrows. The researcher also referred back to these artifacts throughout the research process as a means of developed, reinforcing, or challenging themes that were drawn from interview data. These documents were provided to the researcher directly by initial contacts within the Association.

The next step in the research process was attending the Association's monthly meetings. At the first monthly meeting, the researcher provided Association members with a brief verbal summary of research intentions and the research process. The Association then voted on, and unanimously accepted the study and gave their support in providing access to documents as well as past Association members for interviews. Attending monthly meetings proved to be very informative. These meetings provided the opportunity to observe social practices, meet the members and observe them interacting in an 'Arrows' context. Attendance at meetings also allowed the researcher to build a rapport with interviewees through personal contact.

The researcher attempted to construct interviews in a manner that remained sensitive to the perceptions, perspectives and symbolic meanings of the interviewees so that they, not the researcher, would be able to define their experiences. One means of achieving this type of interview was to use a funneling method (Palys, 1997). Initial interview questions were broad and open-ended allowing the participants to describe and define phenomena from their perspectives and to explain what they felt was important. This method was found to minimize the biases that would have resulted from questions structured around the

researcher's experience and knowledge. By using this method, the researcher found that his perspectives and observations were continually undergoing redefinition as the interviewees discussed and explained their experiences. The use of open-ended questions also allowed the respondent the ability to structure the rest of the interview along with the researcher (Palys, 1997). This was important in that participants are vital to examination of particular phenomena – their knowledge and experience are as important, if not more important, than that of the researcher.

Interviews

Interviews were conducted in an informal, semi-structured manner. An interview guide was used to keep the interviewer focussed on the research problems. This format was chosen because attending Arrows' meetings made it clear that Arrows members usually interact in an informal, semi-structured manner. By replicating the manner in which members usually interact, the researcher intended that interviewees would be comfortable when talking about themselves and the Arrows. This format was deemed effective in that members shared numerous personal experiences and perspectives, and each interview seemed to follow a different direction that was reflective of the interviewee. Acknowledging this individual difference in interviews made it easier to understand the Arrows members as individuals as well as their individual contributions to the organization.

With the knowledge and consent of each participant, interviews were recorded on audiocassette. The researcher transcribed interviews onto the computer prior to ensuing interviews when time permitted. This immediate review of information proved informative in preparation for following interviews. As the final interviews were conducted in a short

span of time, the final seven interviews were each transcribed after all first round interviews were completed.

Data from interviews and analysis of documents were used to construct a draft of the thesis. Compiling information in this manner was an excellent opportunity to further focus ideas and discover any ideas that had been left undeveloped in initial interviews. Once this draft was completed, the researcher provided copies to members of the Association and the non-member interviewees so that they could assess the validity of the researcher's interpretation. As well, Association members were provided with copies of the draft to verify that interpretations of the research data corresponded with what was intended by those interviewed.

Data Analysis

The purpose of this data analysis was not to uncover or describe some objective truth, but to explore and describe the perceived realities of organizational members: to uncover the thoughts, perceptions and values that underlie, and are reflective of, their subjective realities and the culture of their organization. To achieve this purpose, data was analyzed inductively. Categories for analysis were not defined or imposed prior to data collection. Through data collection and analysis these categories emerged. "The development of categories in any content analysis must derive from inductive reference concerning patterns that emerge from the data" (Berg, 1998, p. 234).

The key to analyzing organizational culture data, is to look for patterns and attempt to identify the values that are reflective of, and underlie, critical incidents, artifacts, the organization's founding as well as enduring social practices (Schein, 1985). Cultural artifacts, such as the organization's constitution and the social behaviors of its members, as

well as interview data were used to develop, support and/or refute emerging cultural themes. For example, an interviewee might state that the Arrows Association members attempt to maintain a positive, enjoyable atmosphere for their meetings. When present at a meeting the researcher observed the following situation:

- members all had the opportunity, even if arriving late, to order and eat breakfast prior to and during the meeting (as the meeting was held in a local restaurant):
- members often made jokes and resorted to humor throughout the meeting:
- there were no preset seating arrangements; members often sat with friends and/or family and:
- members appeared able to introduce and discuss ideas openly (observation notes, 1999).

Such behavior, reflecting underlying values, supports the interview data. Without the use of observation, the researcher could only rely on what he/she is told, and thus would miss out on the opportunity to both verify and clarify ideas expressed by interviewees. Categorizing these observations, along with the statements of the interviewee, the researcher begins to form a pattern or theme that can be used to search for other data. Triangulating data in such a manner thus becomes an important way to both support and refute propositions, and to ensure that results are more accurate than if only one research method is used.

Throughout the data collection process the researcher kept a list of potential themes. Any information from observations and from interviews that supported or refuted the potential themes was recorded along with its corresponding theme. The researcher also made a list of behaviors and phrases that, at the time of analysis, seemed important but did not seem to correspond to any theme. Over the course of the research process, new themes were developed from the data on this second list. Once data collection was completed, the researcher repeatedly read through each of the transcribed interviews searching for ideas and

information that further developed or refuted the stated themes. Any themes or issues of contention, including arguments for and against were recorded in an attempt to provide support for, or refute, the research hypotheses.

CHAPTER 3: THE SIX NATIONS ARROWS

Background of the Six Nations Arrows

Six Nations is a Native-Canadian community consisting of the Cayuga, Mohawk, Seneca, Tuscarora, Onondaga and Oneida First Nations. This community resides on reserve land that is eight miles wide and nine miles long straddling the Grand River in the province of Ontario. Communities surrounding Six Nations include the New Credit reserve, Brantford, Hamilton, Hagersville, Caledonia and Waterford. Six Nations is the largest of the 608 Indian bands in Canada with 18,000 people on its membership rolls¹⁴ (Maracle, 1996).

Sport has been an important part of life for Six Nations' members both as a form of recreation and as a means of continuing the traditional, cultural activities of the First Nations people (Non-member L, 1999)¹⁵. While Six Nations' teams and members of the community have experienced success in sports such as hockey and baseball, lacrosse has a unique recreational and historical value within the community. Lacrosse is one of the few remaining, traditional native sports that is widely practiced on an organized level by Six Nations' members. As well, Six Nations is one of the few First Nations that provides organized lacrosse within the community (Non-member L, 1999).

The Six Nations lacrosse system consists of an extremely well developed minor program, as well as Junior A, Junior B, Senior and numerous 'old-timers' lacrosse teams. Six Nations is represented at the highest levels of organized lacrosse in North America with the exception of a professional team, although there are members of the community who currently play professional and international lacrosse. Athletes from Six Nations have

¹⁴ Not all of these members live in the Six Nations community, as this is not a requirement for band membership.

¹⁵ For the purpose of anonymity interviewees will be referred to as Members A-K and Non-members L & M.

experienced much success in lacrosse including provincial and national championships in many divisions and age levels. Lacrosse and the Six Nations lacrosse teams are a tremendous source of pride within the community (Member D. 1999).

The focus of this research is the Six Nations Junior A lacrosse team - the Arrows. The Arrows came into existence as a Junior B team in the Ontario Lacrosse Association (OLA) in 1979-80. Prior to the existence of the Arrows, Six Nations was represented in Junior B lacrosse by the Six Nations Braves. The Braves were a family owned team, which played out of Lion's Park in Brantford. In 1980, the Braves, due to ownership problems, were not going to field a team - even though they were the runners-up at the provincial championship the previous season. Faced with the fact that many Junior aged lacrosse players from the community would lose the opportunity to continue playing lacrosse, members of the community formed the Six Nations Arrows (Member F. 1999).

The move to form the Arrows was credited by interviewees to the former General Manager of the Six Nations Braves, and the first President of the Arrows, Clifford Whitlow. The Arrows began with a general meeting of community members at a local restaurant on Six Nations. Those who attended this meeting were present to discuss the potential of forming a new team on the reserve and to determine the amount of initial support for such a team. Those who were instrumental in forming the Arrows, including the participants at this meeting and those who joined shortly after, have been granted the designation of Charter members by the organization (see Appendix B).

The first step in the formation of the Arrows was to form an Association. This Association was the Six Nations Lacrosse Association (SNLA). The SNLA started off as a community Association, holding monthly meetings which any interested parties could attend.

An executive was then elected from those who attended these meetings. With this executive in place, the SNLA began the process of forming a team. This is where the Association met their first major obstacle in the form of Ontario Lacrosse Association (OLA) regulations. At the time the Association formed, OLA regulations stated that any center could be represented by only one lacrosse team. At this time, the Six Nations Braves owned the right of representation for Six Nations. To gain acceptance into the OLA, the SNLA would have to receive, from the Braves, the right to represent Six Nations and to be voting members of the OLA. This right was eventually received. Negotiations with the Braves ended with an agreement. The SNLA financially compensated the Braves, and in return received the right to represent Six Nations in the OLA (Member A, 1999).

Having gained the ability to field a team in the OLA, the Association next undertook numerous tasks such as naming and forming the team, fundraising, and drafting a constitution. One story often told by interviewees described the naming of the team. To expand community involvement in the organization, the Association conducted a contest in the schools on the reserve to create a name and logo for the team. At one of the Association's monthly meetings, a number of local children presented their logos. From these, a logo was chosen which remains the logo proudly used by the organization at the time of this study (see Appendix C). For his part in designing the logo, a young boy was given an Arrows' season pass and a small honorarium, which he ended up sharing with his sister, as it was later discovered that she had helped him design the logo (Member F, 1999).

Having adequate funding has been an obstacle throughout the organization's existence. This obstacle, however has been managed through much dedication by Association members and other volunteers. "The one thing the Arrows have always had a

great ability to do is make money. Back when they were a Junior B team they had the bingos and the fundraising things and they always did a good job” (Member K. 1999). In the organization’s early years, the Association used a variety of methods to generate revenue. These methods included holding raffles and turkey shoots and selling advertisements in the team’s program to businesses from Six Nations and surrounding communities such as Brantford, Hagersville and Caledonia. In the mid-1980’s bingo became the Association’s major fundraiser. Bingo is still the Association’s major fundraiser at the time of this study. Each week, volunteers from the Association dedicate their time to running bingos at a local bingo hall in Brantford. Bingo has proven to be a very effective fundraiser for the Arrows, as it raises the majority of the organization’s operating dollars (Member J. 1999).

The Association (Member A, C, F & H, 1999) deemed the formation of the Arrows constitution (Appendix D) a key task. Once completed, the Association had a lawyer notarize their constitution so that it would be recognized as the official constitution of the Six Nations Arrows Lacrosse Association (SNALA). As Member A (1999) suggested, this was an important step “because the constitution explained who we were, what we wanted to be, and how we would get there”. As will be discussed in detail later, another important purpose of the constitution was to ensure that the team would remain in the Six Nations community and that it could not be taken over by those with other intentions. The Arrows’ constitution is still considered a guiding document for the organization and is reviewed and revised each year at the Association’s annual general meeting.

One of the major goals of the SNLA, at its inception, was to achieve Junior A status. To achieve this goal would mean that the Arrows would be competing at the highest level of junior lacrosse available in Canada. Equally important, this would also mean that the Arrows

would be providing the opportunity for lacrosse players from the Six Nations community to play at this level in their home community (Members A to E, 1999). This was important to members not only because it provided the opportunity for these players to stay and play at home, but also because it would keep role models in the community for all to observe. For the Arrows, providing these role models was one means of facilitating lacrosse in the community (Member A, 1999).

To receive a Junior A franchise, organizational members must prove that they have the ability to finance a Junior A team. They also must be able to prove that their team will be competitive at the Junior A level. Each year, the Arrows executive attempted to prove to the OLA that they were capable of both (Member C, 1999). In terms of the former issue, the Arrows proved eventually, by their ability to support the team through successful fundraising efforts, that they were able to finance a Junior team. In terms of the latter issue, the Arrows found themselves in a somewhat unfortunate situation, since in the Junior B league the Arrows, as well as the Braves before them, had not experienced much competitive success. They had never won a major provincial or national championship (Member B, 1999). This proved to be a problem area for the team in its bid to gain a Junior A franchise. How could a team that had not been very successful in Junior B compete in Junior A? Arrows' members who annually fought for Junior A status suggested in their requests to the OLA that Six Nations had been losing its top players to surrounding lacrosse communities with Junior A teams. These players had to go elsewhere to play at the highest junior level. This meant that Six Nations traditionally had been fielding teams without the best players from the community. For many, this was a sore point as the Six Nations Junior teams did not gain as

much respect, within lacrosse, as community members felt was deserved, based on the high caliber lacrosse players that were raised in the community's programs (Member A, 1999).

The membership of the OLA committee, which voted each year on whether or not the Arrows would be granted an A franchise, also made this obstacle a little more difficult to overcome. This committee consisted of representatives from existing Junior A teams. These Junior A teams were the ones benefiting from the fact that Six Nations players had to go to non-native teams to play at Canada's highest Junior level. "Some of the surrounding centres would not vote for us for the single fact that they were taking our players. We had to go around and try to sway the General Managers, from the other teams, our way (Member A, 1999). Granting Six Nations a team would mean that those approving the Arrows Junior A application would lose some of their top players.

In response to this situation, the Arrows executive also included in their Junior A application the ways that having Six Nations in the Junior A loop would be beneficial to the entire league. Six Nations has often been recognized as a strong lacrosse community, and as the "place where lacrosse originated" (Member D, 1999). Thus, the Arrows suggested, and have proven ever since being granted a Junior A franchise, that members of all communities will fill arenas across Canada to see them play (Member C, 1999). "Having Six Nations in there would be to their benefit and it proved it was every time. I don't care which centre we went into whether it was Windsor, Sarnia, Toronto or Oshawa, when Six Nations was coming to play they would fill their house" (Member A, 1999).

In 1990, the Arrows were granted a Junior A lacrosse franchise. For the organization, this was the achievement of a long-standing goal. This resulted in changes to lacrosse on Six Nations. Perhaps the most visible change was the ability to attract many of the community's

best players back to Six Nations to play for their home community. This meant that the Arrows could finally prove what they had been suggesting to the OLA for so many years – that their local talent could compete at the highest level. This change also involved another story often told by interviewees. When the Arrows were first granted their Junior A status, many of the best players from the community were playing for other teams and a few of these players had the opportunity, if they stayed with these teams, to win a Minto Cup¹⁶.

St. Catherines alone had 6 of our players that were playing... when we received the franchise they had the option to stay there or come home and play for their own team. We coaxed them to come back and play for the team. They could have had a chance that year, some of them, to win a Minto Cup, and they turned it down to come home: and they still won the Minto Cup 2 years later... When I finally saw that team come together at the Junior A level in 10-11 years of hard work, meetings and raising funds and dealing with all the problems that any organization had, and finally see it come to where you wanted it. That would be my greatest satisfaction" (Member A, 1999).

In Junior A, the Arrows have experienced more success than any previous Six Nations Junior lacrosse team. In the Arrows' second Junior A season, 1991, the team finished as runners-up at the provincial championship. In 1992, the Arrows won their first provincial championship by beating Brampton. Winning the 1992 national championship in British Columbia followed this accomplishment shortly afterward. Since that time, the Arrows have been runners-up at the 1997 provincial finals, have won the 1998 Ontario championship, have been runners-up at the 1998 Minto Cup finals and have been runners-up at the provincial championships in 1999.

The Six Nations Arrows: 1998-99

Ownership of the Arrows

Perhaps the most distinguishing characteristic, as well as one of the most protected characteristics, of the Arrows, is the fact that they are not owned by any one individual or party. This lack of private ownership is uncommon in the OLA/CLA as well as in the Six

¹⁶ The Minto Cup is the CLA national championship trophy.

Nations community. "The Arrows are still the only organization like this on the reserve: where we have an Association...no ownership really, but an Association" (Member C, 1999). From its founding, it was intended that no one would own the Arrows; they would be operated by everyone who was interested in becoming a member of the Association. All money that was paid out by individuals or groups to start the organization was repaid out of revenues generated from initial fundraising efforts¹⁷ (Member A, 1999). This meant that the ownership and/or initial financing of the team could not be accredited to anyone, and thus ownership was a claim that could not be made by, or attributed to, any person or parties.

Ownership of the organization was a topic in many of the interviews but was central to the researcher's interview with Member C (1999). He/she more clearly defined the Arrows' notion of ownership. Early in his/her interview he/she stated that no one owns the Arrows. Thus, no one on the Association has anything to gain except the satisfaction of watching the team succeed, because no one has financially invested in the team. Later in the interview, this member asked to retract his/her statement about the lack of investment. This was immediately followed by the statement that:

"in a round about, funny way it is like a sense of ownership. Ownership for the sense that I put a lot of time and effort into things and even though we don't really have any ownership structure, I think that you get a sense of ownership for the fact that you put up that time and effort on a volunteer basis (Member C, 1999).

This statement, along with similar statements made by other interviewees, made it clear that ownership has different meanings for different parties. Often, financial investment is regarded as the defining element of ownership in the 'business world' (i.e., George Steinbrenner, not the city/community of New York is regarded as the owner the New York

¹⁷ Repaying these funds reproduces the value of money as a defining resource for ownership, thus, reinforcing the internal rule that financial ownership is more tangible than other forms of ownership.

Yankees). However, in organizations such as the Arrows, ownership is attributed to an investment of time and effort. Thus, while no one financially owns the Arrows, there is a sense of ownership in the community that is developed as members volunteer their time and effort to maintain an aspect of their community.

Organizational Structure

The Arrows are an informal organization. Their members do not interact on Arrows' business on a daily basis. The organization does not have a main headquarters or office. Other than at the annual general meeting they meet in casual environments such as local restaurants, if this is possible. The Arrows organisation consists of "two separate entities" (Member I, 1999): these are the Association and the team. The General Manager acts as a liaison and spokesperson between these two bodies.

The Arrows team consists of the players, coaching staff, equipment manager, and trainers. Once the General Manager and the coaches are selected, it is their responsibility to operate the team. This responsibility includes instituting rules, organizing practices and dealing with discipline issues and team matters such as team selection. The team is not expected to be involved in Association responsibilities such as fundraising, and the Association is not expected to be involved in team affairs such as player selection and discipline. The team plays out of the Oshweken sports complex in Oshweken, on the Six Nations reserve.

The Arrows' Association consists of all unpaid volunteers who, by paying their annual fee, have voting rights at Association meetings. "To maintain the Junior A franchise, and again to allow our kids to not have to leave the community to play Junior A lacrosse. That's the aim of the Association on an on going basis" (Member C, 1999). The

Association's activities include raising funds to field a team, handling any Association and OLA/CLA politics, and ensuring that the Arrows will be able to field a strong team each year.

We do the business end of it. We make sure that the programs are handled in the summer, that the bills are paid, that the team has outfits, we take care of all the meetings that are handled with the OLA in Toronto, and all the disputes between other teams and us. We look after the business end of it (Member A, 1999).

The Association's responsibility to the team, as defined by interviewees, is to ensure that the team has what it requires to be successful in meeting their goals. "All their equipment, all that other stuff, the travel, everything is taken care of by the Association. We make sure they have everything they need to play and play well" (Member I, 1999).

Each October, the Association holds their annual general meeting, at which time the executive is elected from the dues paying (active) members. The executive consists of the president, 1st vice-president, 2nd vice-president, secretary, and treasurer. To be elected to the executive, a member must be nominated by another member. This nomination must also be seconded. If more than one nominated member decides to accept his/her nomination then the nominees leave the room while the vote is conducted. The nominee with the majority of votes gains the position (observation notes, 1999).

The Association selects the Arrows' General Manager. This person is required to attend Association and OLA/CLA meetings, as well as to seek out and select coaches for the season. The General Manager is an ex-officio member of the executive; he/she does not get to vote as he/she is considered "for lack of a better word, an employee of the Association" (Member C, 1999). The General Manager is given this status so that if he/she is not performing his/her duties, and is subsequently removed, his/her removal will not affect the

executive's operations. The General Manager's major responsibilities to the team also include addressing all disciplinary issues that must be handled beyond the coaching staff.

After the annual general meeting, the Association holds monthly breakfast meetings. These meetings are held from October through March on, or within close proximity to, Six Nations. The Association, unless faced with an emergency issue, does not hold meetings from April through September as this is the playing season. During the season members are busy attending practices and/or games as well as fundraising (Member H, 1999). If any major decisions are to be made, then the executive will either make these, or contact the Association members and ask for their input and vote. It is the executive's responsibility to work with the team, on behalf of the Association, during the playing season¹⁸.

The researcher first witnessed the informal, semi-structured atmosphere of the organization while observing the Association's monthly meetings. The meetings that the researcher attended were scheduled on Sunday mornings at a local restaurant, with breakfast at 9:30a.m. and the meeting commencing around 10:00a.m.. When members entered the room designated for the Arrows, they sat wherever space was available, usually with friends or family. As members entered, they often greeted many of the other members with humour. At approximately 10 a.m. the president brought the meeting to order and the meeting progressed according to the agenda (see Appendix E). Once again, humour was prevalent throughout the entire meeting, creating an informal and enjoyable atmosphere (observation notes, 1999). Member B (1999) described this atmosphere in the following statement. "This way here you can sit down, have breakfast, have a coffee, relax, shoot the bull with your buddy there, then when you start the meeting you follow your agenda and if somebody has

¹⁸ Refer to the Arrow's constitution (Appendix D) for individual executive responsibilities.

got something to say you let them say it. It is like family” (Member B. 1999). When a member who had an item on the agenda was not present, the meeting would continue. If this member arrived later on in the meeting, the Association would return to this agenda item without disruption (observation notes. 1999).

There is an appreciation by Arrows members’ for the volunteer basis of their organization (Member A. H & J. 1999). From both observation and interviews, it was discovered that Arrows’ members are only expected to do what they can within their own capabilities and time. Members recognize that their fellow members have other responsibilities, such as jobs and family, and that they will perform their Arrows duties when possible. If members have taken on particular responsibilities and are unable to perform them, they are expected to inform the Association, and these duties will be passed on to someone who is able to perform them. The humor that is prevalent at meetings and the informal nature of the meetings, within the structure of the rules of order, reinforce the enjoyable social atmosphere of the Arrows meeting.

Central Values

Central values are a base for the (re)construction of organizational practices and the symbolic value attributed to cultural artifacts: they are also the base from which cultural assumptions are reproduced and or challenged. Identifying these values gives the researcher a means of more easily understanding the “day-to-day operating principles by which the members of the culture guide their behavior” (Schein, 1984, p. 15). Table 2 is a compilation of Arrows’ central values and the rules which reflect, and when used, reinforce the existence of these values. These rules and values emerged from the researcher’s analysis of interview, observation and content analysis data. The headings in bold will be considered the Arrows’

central values. The list under each heading consists of the internal and external rules - both informal and formal – that govern the behavior of Arrows members. These central values will be referred to throughout the analysis section. Analysis will include how these values have been (re)constructed internally, as well as how they reflect, or differ from, the values and structures of the Arrows' external contexts.

Table 2: Arrows' Rules and their Relation to Arrows' Central Values

Ambassadorship – values relating to earning and maintaining respect as representatives of numerous social contexts

- Members should behave in a manner that earns respect for the Arrows organization (A-K)¹⁹.
- Members should behave in a manner that earns respect for the Six Nations community (A-K).
- Members should be excellent sportsmen/women in victory and in defeat (A-K).
- Members should behave in a manner that earns respect for the sport of lacrosse (A-C, E-H J-K).
- Members should behave in a manner that earns respect for First Nations communities (A, C, K).
- When competing in CLA competition, members should behave in a manner that earns respect for the OLA (C, G & H).

Sense of Community – values relating to maintaining strong ties and pride in one's community

- Any member of the Six Nations community should have the opportunity to be involved in the operation of the Arrows organization (A-K).
- No one person or party (i.e. family) should financially own or operate the Arrows (A-K).
- Members should behave in a manner that earns respect for the Six Nations community (A-K).
- Members who join the Arrows organization should do so because they want to benefit the organization and the community (A, C & F-J).
- Members should understand the commitment they make to the Six Nations community by being an Arrows member (A, C, E-G & J).
- Players should be outfitted once they make the team to ensure that finances are not an obstacle for participation (A-C, J & K).

Active Membership – values relating to an appreciation for volunteers who contribute time and energy

- Members should get involved and help the organization to the best of their ability (A-C & F-J).
- Members should gain a sense of ownership and pride by contributing their time and energy to the Arrows organization and the community (A, C, F, H, I & J).

Native Heritage – values relating to the maintenance and/or facilitation of Six Nations and First Nations heritage

- The Arrows should facilitate lacrosse within the Six Nations community (A, C-E, G & K)
- The Arrows should support the Six Nations Minor Lacrosse program (A, C, I, & K)

¹⁹ Letters in parentheses indicate the Members who discussed each rule in their interview.

Success – values relating to a winning team and improving the organization

- Members, if possible, should use their experience to benefit the organization (A-K).
- Members should be recognized for their abilities and experience, and how these can benefit the organization (A-C, E, J & K).
- Any money the Association makes should be put back into the organization (A, C, D, F-H, J & K).
- The organization should be open to change for the sake of improving operations (B, G, H, I & K).
- The Arrows' team should be one of the top teams in the league each year (A, D, E & K).

Positive Volunteer Experience – values relating to providing an enjoyable volunteer experience

- If members have ideas or input on operating the organization, they should be comfortable contributing these to the Association (A-K).
- Members should value the input and ideas of other members (A-K).
- Association meetings, while semi-structured and time efficient, should be casual and enjoyable for members (A-D, F & I).
- Members should be able to determine their own level of involvement in Arrows activities (C, I-K).

Roles and Responsibilities – values relating to the individual's scope of involvement

- Members should accept responsibilities only if they have the time to perform the required duties (A-K).
- The team staff should only be responsible for handling team operations (A-K)
- The Association should be responsible for ensuring that the team has what they require to perform (A-K).
- Members should recognize that members are often busy with other responsibilities (i.e., work and family) and will contribute and perform their duties when possible (A, C & F-K).
- Coaches should receive the same treatment as other team members from the Association (A-C, F, J & K).
- If members are unable to perform their duties they should inform the Association so that these duties can be accepted by someone else who can perform them (A, C, E-H & K)
- Members should not interfere with the duties or responsibilities of other members unless asked (A, C & F).

CHAPTER 4: THE INFLUENCE OF ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERS ON ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE

In this chapter the researcher attempted to answer the following question: **How have members of Six Nations Arrows influenced the production, reproduction and transformation of their organizational culture(s)?** Based on the literature review, the researcher hypothesized that **athletes, coaches, and executive members have all been instrumental in the formation, reproduction and transformation of the Arrows' organizational culture.** The researcher also hypothesized that **the Arrows Association members have been the most influential organizational members in the construction, reproduction and transformation of the Arrows organizational culture.** This chapter supports these hypotheses, and thus the findings of researchers such as Gordon (1991), Hofstede et al. (1990), Kent (1994), Schein (1984, 1985), Wallace and Weese (1995) and Weese (1995, 1996).

The Influence of Arrows' Founders on the Arrows' Culture

Researchers have suggested that founders and leaders are key figures in (re)constructing and reinforcing organizational culture (Kent, 1995, Weese, 1995, Schein, 1984, Hofstede et al., 1990). For example, Hofstede et al. (1990) concluded that "founders and key leaders undoubtedly shape organizational cultures, but [] the way these cultures affect ordinary members is through shared practices. Founders' and leaders' values become member's practices" (p. 411).

Organizations are formed around the agency of their founders. Founders construct an organization's initial mission, goals, practices and rules around their values, beliefs and objectives, thus making them the most influential of organizational members in culture

formation (Schein, 1985). Founders are often the first leaders of an organization. Their values and objectives underlie the behaviors around which an organization's culture forms. The outcome(s) of their practices creates a shared experience for organizational members. Practices that are continually successful reinforce existing values and become the basis for an organization's central values. The continued use of these practices, and reinforcement of their underlying values, internally and in external social contexts, embeds these values reinforcing or challenging an organization's cultural assumptions.

An organization's goals define the relationship between the organization and its social contexts (Brinkerhoff & Kunz, 1973). They direct and focus the efforts of agents who share the same goals toward the acquisition of desired resources and outcomes. The initial goals/mission of an organization reflect the negotiated²⁰ values and objectives of its founders. These founders construct and reproduce rules reinforcing practices they perceive will increase the likelihood of achieving organizational goals. The culture and structures that have been (re)constructed in the Arrows organization have been strongly tied to the values and goals of the organization's founders. This finding supports the work of organizational culture researchers such as Schein (1985) who suggested that solutions to problems or novel tasks are based on the values of a few members – often founders, as well as Hofstede et al. (1990) who suggested that members' practices stem from founders' and leaders' values.

Interviewees described four central goals which were defined by the Arrows' Charter Members. These goals reflect what the Charter Members planned to achieve in social contexts such as the Six Nations community and the OLA/CLA. The first goal, which ties

²⁰ As suggested by Schein (1985), these values are not just negotiated by members internally but also within the organization's external environments. - which is the focus of problems 2-4.

most closely to the organization's mission. was to ensure that the organization would remain a Six Nations community operation. The following statement provides two of the organization's other founding goals. "Our ultimate goal was to get a Junior A franchise. That was in our mind from day one and to give something for our young people to look up to" (Member A, 1999). These goals were to obtain a Junior A franchise for the Six Nations community and to facilitate lacrosse within the Six Nations community. The final goal of the Arrows' founders was to "bring a championship and get lacrosse where it belonged - on the reserve" (Member A, 1999). Each of these goals, reflecting the values and objectives of the founding members, provided a basis for members' activities from which the Arrows' culture has developed.

Founding Goal #1: To Ensure that the Organization Remains a Six Nations Community Operation

The mission of the Arrows' founding members was to provide a Junior lacrosse organization for the Six Nations community (Members A, C-F, H & J) - a team with opportunities for the best Junior players and coaches from the community, as well as an Association on which any member of the community could be an active, voting volunteer. Strongly tied to this mission was the goal of ensuring that any private party could not assume ownership and/or operation of the organization; the organization would remain the property of the Six Nations community.

The goal to construct a community organization was quickly achieved by the Arrows' founders, as members of the community volunteered and/or were recruited to run the Association. As well, all funds paid out by individuals to initially finance the team were repaid out of initial fundraising efforts. Members of the community have had the

opportunity to provide input and vote on the Association's activities since the organization's inception. "We drew up the constitution stating that the team could never be owned by any one person, and that is still in effect today. Anybody can become part of it and anyone can run for office on the organization" (Member A, 1999). To maintain their community operation, the Arrows organization has required the investment of personal resources such as time, effort and skills from members of the Six Nations community. These resources are required in many areas such as fundraising, conducting Association and OLA business, game and facility operations and accounting. These resources have generally been invested according to rules which reflect, and reinforce, the Arrows value of active membership.

The constitution has been a valuable material resource used to maintain the Arrows' community operation. Initially constructed by the Association, it has continued to provide the Association with safeguards to ensure that it would be very difficult for any individual or group to take the team away from the community. For example, at one time the Arrows Association had been informed that other members of the community, backed by substantial financial support, were interested in taking over the organization (Members D, F & J, 1999). At the time this became known, this attempt would have been easily possible. These people could have come to the annual general meeting bringing with them many new dues paying supporters. With enough people, they would have been able to elect an executive of their choice to run the Arrows. This executive would have been able to make numerous changes to the organization and its operations. At the next annual general meeting, the Arrows constitution became a resource which long-term members used to protect the culture of their organization. Prior to elections, members of the Association revised the Arrows constitution – which must be done at the annual general meeting – to state that only members who had

been in good standing with the Association for two years were eligible for nomination to the executive. This change meant that the new members, along with their supporters, could not join the Association and immediately take over control. This change to the constitution ensured that the Arrows would continue their community operation (Member F, 1999). It also reinforced the value Arrows members have for the investment of time and effort into the organization, as these are the requirements for good standing.

To continue the achievement of this goal, the organization has also persisted with numerous value-reinforcing practices. These include conducting open meetings, having membership dues as the only condition for inclusion and voting rights, and allowing any members of good standing to run for the executive. Efforts to achieve this goal have reproduced the value of investing personal resources such as time, effort, knowledge and input, as well as the value of material resources such as the Arrows constitution. These resources have been used according to rules which reflect and reproduce the Arrows' sense of community, as well as their value of active membership and well-defined roles and responsibilities.

Founding Goal #2: To Facilitate Lacrosse in the Community

Facilitating lacrosse in the community was a founding goal of the Arrows that has remained prominent in the organization. This goal is defined in the organization's constitution as "encouraging and assisting community youth to participate in the sport of lacrosse" (Constitution of the SNALA, 1997). Interviewees further defined the intentions of this goal as providing "visible community heroes and role models" (Member K, 1999) for the Six Nations people, by providing a showcase for the community's top lacrosse players (Member J, 1999).

One strategy the Arrows have attempted, as a means of encouraging and assisting the community's youth, has been to provide support for the community's minor lacrosse program, teams and athletes. It was the experience of two members who have joined the Association more recently that the Arrows have provided this support throughout their existence. This support has been given in terms of providing equipment for minor lacrosse players, providing uniforms for minor lacrosse members to sell as fundraisers (Member I, 1999), as well as providing a showcase for successful minor teams at Arrows games and meetings (Member K, 1999). The desire and values underlying the Arrows' support for community lacrosse were made evident as Member E (1999) emotionally described his most positive experience as an Arrows member.

We had a practice and everybody was in the dressing room...the bantam team came back from Alberta and they had won the bantam national championship, all the players came out and clapped for the Bantams and that still breaks me up emotionally. It is something that the Arrows gave back and they didn't realize it. It is really emotional for me and my passion for the game. That one time whether they realize it or not they gave something back to the players. The bantam players came in there and saw their heroes standing there clapping for them. I think that was the proudest, even including the Minto Cup championship or any league championship, that was the proudest moment, whether it is deemed the Arrows as an organization or as many members. That was one of the proudest moments of being a part of the Arrows. When I think about it, it still gives me pleasure because these young players, the bantams, come up and they're so happy to see that their heroes are here clapping for them. It was definitely a very good feeling at the time. That is definitely one of the better moments as far as the Arrows for sure.

Arrows members value their opportunity to provide the community's youth with positive experiences in lacrosse (Members A, C, E, G-I & K, 1999).

Another means the Arrows have used to encourage the community's youth in lacrosse is attempting to provide positive role models for the community's children. In this regard, the Arrows have had many objectives. These included the following: attempting to gain the respect and support of the Six Nations community (Members A-K, 1999), to increase

awareness and interest in lacrosse (Members A-K, 1999), to increase participation in minor lacrosse (Members A, E, & F, 1999), and to provide individuals that the community can admire and use as positive examples (Members A-K, 1999). In keeping with their desire to provide visible, young lacrosse role models in the community, the Arrows founders have (re)constructed structures within the organization that facilitated those who have attempted to earn and maintain respect for themselves, the organization and the community. "We wanted something that the reserve could look up to and respect. We always thought that. When we go into an arena, we go in there as a team, not as a bunch of hooligans....we wanted role models for our people" (Member A, 1999). These structures, including rules that reinforce ambassadorship and success, have facilitated those who have sought to develop respected, skilled players and positive role models within the Arrows.

Providing role models in the community, as a means of facilitating lacrosse, was closely tied to the organization's goal to obtain a Junior A franchise. Obtaining a Junior A franchise meant that the Arrows would be able to provide a team for the community's best players; they would no longer have to leave their home community and play for Junior A teams in other communities. Having these players in the community would mean that Six Nations' best players would be visible on a regular basis within the community. The high skill level of the Arrows' players and the community interest in the team would provide visibility for these players. This visibility, stemming from the popularity of lacrosse on Six Nations and the small community²¹ atmosphere of Six Nations, was perceived by interviewees as facilitating those members who wished to provide, or be, role models for the community. With this visibility, they were expected to behave in a manner that positively

²¹ This 'small community' atmosphere is described in Chapter 5 under the description of the Six Nations social context.

represented their affiliations. Thus, rules reflecting ambassadorship have been a basis for the practices of those who have attempted to achieve this goal, as well as a central value that needed to be reinforced through these attempts.

The Arrows as a means of facilitating lacrosse, have reproduced the value of material resources such as skilled players, money, and equipment; as well as interpersonal resources such as respect. Rules governing the use of these resources have reflected and reinforced the Arrows' sense of community and their values of ambassadorship, success and native heritage.

Founding Goal #3: To Obtain a Junior A Franchise

The goal to obtain a Junior A franchise served many purposes for the Arrows Charter Members. One objective, as defined by members, was having a team represent the Six Nations community at the highest level of junior lacrosse. Six Nations would not only be competing with the best Junior players and teams in Canada, they would be the only First Nation community in Canada with a Junior A team. Its importance is evident in the following member's statement. "Whether we have a winning or a losing team here, it is the fact that we have a Junior A franchise here, and we do have the talent on our reserve (Member J, 1999). Another objective of this goal, as was discussed in the last section, was to provide a team at home for the community's best lacrosse players, so that they would not have to go elsewhere to play Junior A.

Six Nations has a well-developed minor lacrosse program. The community's minor teams have won championships in many age divisions. Many of these teams compete at the highest level of their age divisions. Once Six Nations' players reach Junior age they can be drafted by teams from other communities. Until 1990, this was the only way that Six Nations

players were able to compete at the highest level of Junior lacrosse in Canada: however, they would have to leave their friends, family, old team-mates and home community behind, to go and represent another community. This was an issue with some of the founding members. Six Nations was developing excellent lacrosse players in their minor program, but could not provide a place for them to play at the highest level once they reached Junior age. Thus, other communities were benefiting from the skills that Six Nations was developing. To add to this issue, some interviewees had experienced a lack of respect in lacrosse from members of other communities toward Six Nations, because Six Nations' teams had been less successful at elite levels with their best players playing for other communities (Member A, 1999).

To obtain a Junior A franchise, the Arrows set out to earn and maintain the respect of the Six Nations community, as well as the OLA. To earn the respect of the community, the Association had to demonstrate that the Arrows organization was in place to provide for, and positively represent, the community. Gaining this respect has been beneficial for the Arrows, as the community has helped support them financially and through fan support, making them the team with the highest attendance in the OLA (Members A-C, 1999). The past successes of efforts to earn and maintain this respect have reinforced ambassadorship as a central value of the Arrows' culture. They have also reflected and reproduced the Arrows' value for interpersonal resources such as respect.

To earn the respect of the OLA, the team set out to prove that they were financially and competitively able to survive and succeed in the Junior A league. Efforts to earn and maintain this respect have revolved around the active membership of community members, as well as the maintenance of well-defined roles and responsibilities within the organization.

Well-defined roles and responsibilities focus the personal resources that Arrows members invest in a manner that best suits the needs of the organization. This has been achieved through the division of labour and specialization throughout the organization. For example, the Association is responsible for fundraising, which is organized by the Fundraising Chairperson, while the team is responsible for competitive performance, for which the coaching staff is accountable. This has allowed the organization to operate at a more efficient level. The desire for respect from the OLA has reproduced the Arrows' value for interpersonal resources such as respect and the organization's structure²²; material resources such as money and skilled players; as well as the investment of personal resources such as time and effort.

Once the Arrows were granted a Junior A franchise the Association changed their goal of obtaining a Junior A franchise to the following: "to operate a Junior A franchise and continue to operate in an effective manner, to the highest standard of excellence, in the sport of lacrosse" (Constitution of the SNALA, 1997). To the Arrows this has meant remaining in good standing in the OLA, ensuring that sufficient funds are raised to maintain the team, as well as ensuring that the community remains active in the Association. The values underlying these practices are the same as those that the Association reinforced in their attempt to obtain the Junior A franchise. Thus, there has not been a change in the values that shape and are shaped by this goal.

²² The Arrows organizational structure defines the relationships between the different divisions of the Arrows organization and thus the interpersonal resources each person possesses when they assume roles in the organization.

Founding Goal #4: To Bring a National Championship to Six Nations

Winning the National Championship in Junior lacrosse is the goal of all Junior A teams (Member I, 1999). This was one of the Arrows founding goals; it is a goal that they still strive to achieve. To achieve this goal signifies supremacy in lacrosse (Member D, 1999). Yet, to the Arrows it also signifies much more. It signifies the success of a First Nation community, and of an organization that consists mainly of members from this community (Member C, 1999).

In 1992 the Arrows first achieved their goal of winning the Minto Cup. Until 1992, no Junior team from Six Nations had ever won a national championship. This was the situation the Arrows founders set out to change. Member A (1999) described his/her motivation behind this goal.

“Being involved in lacrosse when I was in the states, I used to sit as a fan and hear the names that were being called...and they laughed at Six Nations because Six Nations can't win; you know they can only go so far but they are not good enough. Where's your best player, he is playing over in Toronto. Where is so and so? Things like that you hear them, all those remarks and I just didn't like it. I guess that would be the number one issue; to get Six Nations, my home reserve, where they should be, especially in lacrosse.

Such experiences reinforced community values and served as a motivation to exercise agency in forming a team that could remedy a negatively perceived situation. “ I always felt (when I was young), that Six Nations was dealt a dirty blow when we went to different centres and I wanted to see that remedied. I wanted our team to be respected.....On the whole I wanted to see respect for Six Nations and for lacrosse” (Member A, 1999). It is such experiences and motivations that shape organizational members, and that they bring into an organization. These provide a purpose for behaviour and reinforce the internal rules that shape organizational activities and their expected outcomes.

Winning a national championship provided a unique sense of accomplishment for the Arrows. They are a team with strong community values and support. As well they are the only community operated organization in Junior A. In describing the meaning of the national championship, Member C (1999) used the 1992 Minto Cup championship as an example. "The Minto Cup is symbolic of lacrosse, but I think the source of pride for everybody is that a team from the reserve, basically a local team, almost all Indian kids achieved that and that was a major accomplishment (Member C, 1999). Member C (1999) described the Arrows as consisting of mostly Six Nations athletes, numerous Six Nations volunteers as well as the support of numerous Six Nations community members who recognise the team as their own. To the Arrows founders, and those who have followed in the organization, winning a national championship did not only mean the supremacy of a lacrosse team, but also lacrosse supremacy by a First Nations community (Member C, 1999).

The organization's goal to win a national championship has not changed since their Minto Cup victory in 1992 (Member B-D & G-K, 1999). It is an accomplishment that many of the interviewees said the organization has not been able repeat. At the time of this study, immediately prior to the 1999 season, the team was in preparation for a season in which expectations of another championship were high. During this time the Association had requested that the Coach and General Manger of the 1992 team return to assist this year's coaching staff, thus bringing their experience and expertise from the championship team in 1992.

In striving to achieve this goal the Arrows have reinforced their sense of community, and other central values such as success, and native heritage. They have achieved this through the reproduction of their value for, and use of, material resources such as skilled

players: personal resources such as time, effort and championship experience: as well as interpersonal resources such as the Arrows organizational structure.

Summary

The Arrows organization was formed, and has continued, through the pooling Six Nations community members' personal resources such as time, effort, knowledge and skills. Arrows members, as a collective, have used these personal resources to acquire and develop other resources such as funding and skilled players (material) as well as respect (interpersonal), for the purpose of achieving the organization's four founding goals. The use and investment of these resources by organizational members has reproduced their legitimacy in the Arrows organization. The use of resources according to particular rules that reflect the Arrows central values such as ambassadorship, native heritage, success, active membership and well-defined roles and responsibilities, has reinforced and further embedded these values in the organization's culture. Founders were instrumental in the development of these central values as they defined the organization's founding goals. These goals focused and directed the activity of new and old members according to the rules and values that developed through initial goal-directed practices.

The Influence of Non-Founding Members on the Arrows' Culture

Organizational cultures are not (re)constructed solely by founders. All organizational members are part of this continual process. Founders and authority figures cannot force others to act in a particular manner; however they can (re)construct and attempt to reinforce conditions on behavior that make particular value-reinforcing practices more likely to occur. This is often the purpose of external rules that govern access to resources. As an aspect of individual agency, organizational members, through their actions, have the ability to choose

what resources to use and how to use them - whether they recognize this ability or not (Giddens, 1984). If they behave in accordance with the structures of their context, their actions reproduce the use of these structures, further embedding their legitimacy within social practice. If members, as a matter of choice or routinized behavior, behave in another manner they resist structures and may initiate structural transformation. An excellent example of such interaction between organizational members is provided regarding the interaction between Arrows Association and team members in the construction of the Arrows organizational identity.

Schein (1985) suggested that the elements of culture "define in a basic 'taken for granted' fashion an organization's view of itself and its environment" (p.15). The results of this study strongly support this notion as well as its inverse – an organization's view of itself and its environment also shape cultural elements. Thus, the Arrows' culture shapes, and is shaped by, the formation and maintenance of a desired identity within its social contexts. The Arrows team and team staff have been powerful cultural agents due to their potential to shape the organization's identity, through their social practices.

Members A-C and K (1999) discussed the ability of team members to influence the organization's identity within the community and the organization. "One phenomenon that you are going to find with the Arrows is that the tail wags the dog. I think it is something totally unique to sport - the people on the floor are the ones that shape the image" (Member K, 1999). There are distinct aspects of sport – including lacrosse - which provide members of sport organizations with the opportunity to greatly influence the identity of their organization. Elite sport, such as Junior A lacrosse, has high visibility and mass appeal. While producing their product, doing their jobs and/or out in the general public, athletes and

coaches are public figures. People observe their behaviors and often recognize their team, organizational and/or cultural affiliations. Some people perceive that their practices reflect the values of their affiliated contexts, and thus view them as representatives of their organization, sport and/or home community. As representatives, they have the ability to (re)construct and/or reinforce organizational and cultural identities within their social contexts and within the organization.

(Re)construction of Identity within Social Contexts

Within the Arrows' central values is a strong desire to (re)construct and maintain positive images and cultural identities. Central to this desire is the interpersonal resource of respect (Members A-K, 1999). Respect, and those central values that relate to it, including ambassadorship and native heritage, were instrumental in the founding of the Arrows Association (Member A, 1999; Member G, 1999). These values have been continually reproduced and remain instrumental within the organization's culture. Arrows members expect each other to act in a manner that earns and maintains respect for themselves, their organization, their community, their sport and for other First Nations. They are expected to be role models.

I figure once a person is signed for an Arrow, what he/she does outside of the organization on his own time, and the community realizes that he is one of our players, his conduct outside of the playing floor will always come back to the organization. This is something these kids don't even realize (Member B, 1999).

The Arrows' identity, within different social contexts, is important when Arrows' members in some way perceive that others' perceptions inhibit their ability to act in a manner that reflects and reinforces their cultural values. For example, interviewees often mentioned that the team has occasionally experienced biased refereeing. The interviewees did acknowledge that every team is faced with this issue at some time, but also noted that in

particular cases what they experienced may have been excessive (Member A, C, E-G, J & K; Non-member M, 1999). In discussing this issue, interviewees stated that they have experienced stereotypes, held by members from non-native communities, that native athletes are rule-breaking, overly aggressive players. These stereotypes, and the behavior of those who hold them, have in many ways, such as biased refereeing, inhibited the team from portraying an image and reinforcing an identity that is consistent with their organizational culture. Observers perceive their actions within preconceived, historically defined stereotypes. Team members' behaviors either reinforce or challenge existing stereotypes, and thus become instrumental in identity formation.

There has been considerable turnover in the Arrows team membership over the organization's existence. Players are not only competing with other players for the team's limited spots, but they are also only eligible to play Junior A lacrosse for a limited number of years. As well, numerous members of the community have filled positions on the team staff (Member E, 1999). Thus, there has been the potential each year for the entry of new members on the team and team staff, who have not possessed the same values and knowledge of structures as those of the Arrows' culture. Conversely, there has been very little turnover in the Association's membership over the organization's existence. This has meant that members of the Arrows Association have been the most consistent body of cultural agents in the reconstruction and reinforcement of an identity which reflects the organization's culture. The Association has used rules, in the form of general team standards, and resources such as money to ensure that the players, coaches, and Association members, new and old, build and maintain identities that the Arrows have worked for over their existence. For example, from 1990 until 1998 the Arrows team members were provided with honorariums. In 1999, these

honorariums were no longer provided because the Association did not have the funds available (Member, F. 1999). Honorariums were provided to players as a means of compensation for personal costs such as transportation, and/or missing work because of practice or having to catch an early bus to another city (Member K. 1999). These honorariums were also used as a means of reward and discipline. If players behaved in a disrespectful manner, such as arriving at the arena after consuming alcohol, or failing to attend team functions such as games and practices, they would have money subtracted from their honorarium. In this regard, the Association and team staff used money as a resource, and rules which governed access to it, to reinforce practices which were deemed appropriate identity builders.

The cultural practices and rules of a sport organization regarding members' behaviors often reflect attempts to ensure that their behaviors portray a desired identity for the organization. The desired identity is a reflection of the organization's values and what its members value. The rules and structures that reinforce particular values are instituted and constructed by the Association and the coaching staff as a means of reproducing desired behaviors from one year to the next. The Arrows team and team staff may change drastically from one year to the next. The general rules that the Association sets out and the expectations that they communicate to, and affirm with, the team and team staff serve as a means of reproducing those values and practices which have come to be central to the organization.

(Re)construction of Identity within the Organization

The Arrows' team has the ability to shape the organization's identity in external contexts, but they also have the ability to shape the structures of the organization and beliefs

within the organization of what makes a successful team. In terms of their personality and identity, each of the Arrows teams have been different. Member K (1999) made this point when discussing the identity of the 1999 team. "They'll be themselves. They will be the 1999 Arrows. Every team is different. You can't aspire to be like the '92 Arrows or the '96 Chiefs. You are, because of the guys that come together and what works for you, going to be completely different". While each of the Arrows teams have been different, members suggested that perhaps the most influential team in the organization's history was the 1992 Arrows team. The 1992 Arrows team is the only Six Nations Junior A lacrosse team to win a National championship, yet they were remembered for much more than this by many of the interviewees. This team shaped internal rules regarding the definition of a successful team in the minds of many members. "We had a model now, it was established; what you have to do to be a successful team" (Member K, 1999). When the organization was founded, this model did not exist. While the Arrows, up until 1992, had started to build this model it was not until 1992 that it became fully established. "We didn't have role models when we came up. Like some of the most successful players were past their prime. Gaylord Powless wasn't involved when our guys came through. We hadn't won any major championships here. So basically we were just doing it blindly" (Member K, 1999). The 1992 team was described as a team that had self-discipline (Member G, 1999), personality (Member K, 1999), experience from other communities²³ (Member A, C & K, 1999), great talent (Members A, C, F & K, 1999), good coaching and leadership (Members A, C, E-G & K) and great support from the community and the organization (Members A, C & E-K, 1999). The desire to bring these

²³ Many of these players played Junior A in other communities prior to Six Nations obtaining a Junior A franchise in 1990.

qualities to Arrows teams since 1992 was evident in the Association's desire to bring back the 1992 General Manager and Head Coach to assist the Arrows coaches for the 1999 season.

Changes in the Arrows culture

The Arrows Association has had a sense of consistency within the organization. The Association each year is subject to a small number of members entering or departing the organization: yet many of the same people have been involved on the Association for the organization's twenty-one years of existence. "Basically ever since we have been in existence, it has been the same core of people that have been involved (Member C, 1999). While many of these members are no longer actively involved in efforts such as fundraising, they still interact within the Association, and in the community as Association members. Thus, they are still actively involved, internally and externally, in (re)constructing the Arrows culture which they initially developed. Member J (1999) stated the following:

There is probably maybe half a dozen or so people who have been there for a very long time and sometimes they voice opinions if they think we are heading in a direction that maybe we have been before; but some of the newer members don't know we have been there. They relay experiences and advice to some of the newer members of the organization overall, as to which way they think we should or shouldn't be going.

These members have served as leaders in the organization and are recognized for their past contributions and the knowledge that they have gained from their experiences. Their advice, voting privileges and practices have continually provided them with the ability to influence newer members and to reinforce the Arrows culture. This continued influence is one reason that interviewees suggested that the organization's culture has undergone only a few major changes.

The few cultural changes that the Arrows have experienced include changing the structure of the Association and changing what the Association provides for team members²⁴. Based on interview data it was determined that most of these changes were adaptational responses: they were changes in practices and not in underlying values. These were initiated as responses to changes in the perceived demands of the Arrows' external and internal environments. One such change was experienced when the organization moved from Junior B to Junior A. The perception of differing structures between the two leagues, and a loss in membership, initiated a change in the Arrows that had them decentralize duties and more clearly define the roles and responsibilities of committee members.

Interviewees described the Junior B league as a semi-structured environment in which there was organization, but also "a lack of organization too" (Member C, 1999). Within this environment, the Arrows operated as a committee, with members dedicating much time to fundraising and similar activities. However, many of the Association's major duties, especially those which were political in nature, had been handled by the organization's president since their inception – and thus had not been the focus or concern of other Association members. Members described the Junior A league much differently.

Junior B is fairly organized, you have to do certain things. Junior A is a whole different ball game. It is a whole different level of participation; a whole different level of operation. In Junior B you went and you got people and you sort of run on a shoestring budget all the time you're doing this. Well in Junior A, you can't afford to do that (Member C, 1999).

This perception of the differences in operating a Junior B and a Junior A team were one basis upon which the Association members initiated change.

²⁴ For example the Association no longer provides players with honorariums due to the fact that this could no longer be afforded financially.

The second reason for changing responsibilities within the Association developed when the Arrows joined Junior A. Clifford Whitlow, the Arrows only president to that point, left the Association. Until that time, Clifford had been an extremely active president taking on numerous responsibilities.

We really didn't focus a lot at that time on duties because Clifford was there and he was doing everything. He was going to meetings and all that. But after that what we did was once he was gone we had to disperse the responsibilities to other people... We always had the President and Vice-President but they were really not very active, whereas now they are (Member C, 1999).

The Arrows move to Junior A lacrosse, and the departure of the Association's president, meant that the Arrows chose to operate with a more structured, specialized approach: one which was perceived to be more facilitated and effective within their new environment. Members determined that the Association would be more effective if additional members became involved in a large share of the Association's duties. Spreading responsibilities out among the executive and Association members was thus perceived to be most suitable. Currently within the organization, as defined in the Arrows constitution (Appendix D), each of the executive members, as well as the Bingo, Public Relations and Fundraising Chairpersons, are assigned particular responsibilities.

Conclusion

Directional hypothesis 1, and its supporting literature, stated that all members of the Arrows have influenced the Arrows' culture. This suggests that founding and leading members did not simply create and maintain the Arrows culture on their own. The daily practices of players and coaches have either reinforced or challenged dominant cultural elements, thus reproducing and maintaining them, or providing grounds for transformation.

The culture shaping abilities of both founders and leaders are based on the privileged nature of their positions, and thus the power they possess relative to other organizational members. In the Arrows organization, their behaviors have most often reproduced and reinforced existing structures and cultural elements. The goals that the Arrows founders set, and the values and practices that they initially introduced, formed the Arrows' organizational culture. Leaders and organizational members, within differential power relations, have continued the processes of reproducing and transforming this culture through their daily practices. These findings have supported the work of researchers such as Schein (1984) and Hofstede et al. (1990).

Directional hypothesis 1 was supported. Organizational members from each of the different groups within the Arrows have influenced the organization's culture. The Arrows Association has provided a sense of consistency, attempting to maintain the organization's values. Through their use of rules, rewards, discipline and advice²⁵ they have reflected and reproduced structures that reinforced the Arrows' culture, in their attempts to introduce and reinforce this culture within the ever-changing team.

Cultural practices and values are reflected in, and reflect, members' attempts to construct and reinforce desired internal and external identities. The visibility and mass appeal of elite lacrosse has provided team members with the ability to shape the identity of their sport organization and their community. Thus, it was found that Arrows team members have had the ability to greatly influence what the Arrows perceive about themselves, as well as the cultural practices that have been developed by the Association as a means of developing and maintaining an identity that reinforces existing cultural values. The

Association's use of rules, rewards and discipline reinforce the idea that the team members have the ability to influence culture; team members' practices have been perceived by the Association as influential in the organization's external and internal contexts. It is the players' interaction with, and use or abuse of these rules that reproduces or challenges the Arrows structures and the cultural values from which they are derived.

Members of the Arrows Association constructed the organization and its culture. Many of these members, along with those who joined the organization shortly after its founding, are still a part of the Association. The Association constructs and reinforces rules, they have access to resources, and they have the ability to limit others' access to these resources. These conditions within the Arrows organization have meant that the Association's members have been the most influential cultural agents within the Arrows organization²⁶. This finding supports directional hypothesis 1, as well as the work of numerous organizational researchers such as Schein (1985, 1992), Weese (1998) and Hofstede et al. (1990), who found that organizational founders and leaders have the ability to greatly influence the culture of their organizations.

²⁶ Providing rewards and discipline are both means of limiting access to resources. Providing and accepting advice both reproduce the value of knowledge and experience as resources.

CHAPTER 5: THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL CONTEXTS ON ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE

In this chapter, the researcher attempted to answer three sub-problems related to the Arrows' external social contexts. The first sub-problem was the following: **What has been the role of various social contexts in influencing the Arrows' organizational culture?** The researcher hypothesized that **a variety of social contexts including the Six Nations community(ies), surrounding non-native communities (i.e., Brantford), native defined sporting contexts (i.e., Six Nations sport), and non-native defined sporting contexts (i.e., Ontario Lacrosse Association league play) have been instrumental in the (re)construction of the Arrow's organizational culture.**

The second sub-problem addressed in this chapter was the following: **Which of the Arrows' social contexts have been the most inhibiting of their organizational culture?** The researcher hypothesized that **those contexts possessing non-native defined structures will have been perceived as the most inhibiting of the Arrows culture.**

The third sub-problem addressed in this chapter was the following: **Which of the Arrows' social contexts have been the most facilitating of their organizational culture?** The researcher hypothesized that **those contexts possessing native defined structures will have been perceived as the most facilitating of the Arrows culture.** Support for each hypothesis varied and is discussed in further detail in the chapter's conclusion.

Social Contexts and the Arrows' Organizational Culture

While many organizational members are involved in the construction and reconstruction of organizational cultures, these cultures are not created through free will.

²⁶ The researcher does acknowledge that the information was delimited to the experiences and perceptions of only Association members and that this

“[People] make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past” (Marx, 1959, p. 320). Organizational cultures, their elements, and their ‘creators’ are strongly influenced by structures within a number of coexistent historically constructed social contexts (Nagel, 1994).

Organizations are social systems that exist in larger cultural contexts. They are situated within nations, communities, industries (Gordon, 1991), and racialized spaces (Paraschak, 1996) - each possessing its own distinctive cultures. They “exist in a parent culture, and much of what we find in them is derivative from the assumptions of the parent culture” (Schein, 1984, p. 10). Organizational members, through their organizational activities, draw upon subjective realities consisting of the internal rules, values and practices learned and reinforced in these parent cultures (Nagel, 1994). Such realities frame perceptions of what is important, of what is possible, and of what are perceived to be acceptable/unacceptable, normal/abnormal, effective/ineffective social practices. “Even when individuals increase their ability to be self-defining, they subsequently generate social practices within the boundaries of what they believe to be possible – a context shaped by existing power relations and the naturalized social practices with which they are familiar” (Paraschak, 1997, p. 3). The more an individual interacts in a particular social context, the more potential there is for him/her to possess values, carry out practices and perceive the need for resources in accordance with this context’s culture. The structures and social practices of organizational members’ contexts are instrumental in shaping their internal rules and practical consciousness, and thus their perception of what social practices, values and beliefs should exist within their organization.

Six Nations Arrows members interact in a variety of social contexts including the Six Nations community, the Six Nations sporting context, surrounding communities as well as non-native defined sporting contexts. Within these contexts, members of the Arrows have interacted with structures and cultural artifacts representative of both native and non-native cultures. Through exposure to, and use of, such structures and artifacts, members have internalized values and practices and formed their idea of how things should be done. These values and practices are what they bring with them when they join the Arrows, and they are continually (re)constructed when they are active in the Arrows' social contexts. These experiences shape perceived realities and influence social behavior.

The Six Nations Community

Six Nations is a community in which residents live on land which is separate from non-native communities. A large majority of Six Nations' members share a cultural heritage that differs from that of the surrounding non-native communities. This heritage is one bond that connects the Six Nations people. Living in this separate community has provided the opportunity for members to reproduce their cultural heritage, as well as to maintain and develop structures somewhat different from their surrounding, culturally diverse communities.

There is a sense of connection within the Six Nations community which is evident in the values of its members. One such value is a strong sense of family.

Our community values family. We look after our families. This includes not just immediate family but also extended family such as second cousins. Extended family is very important. Families in our community are very tight and people try to maintain this. And this is recognized even by the fact that we are able to take days off for mourning extended family; to attend funerals for second aunts and cousins. In mainstream communities this is not available. Our Band Council has made it so that we can do this (Non-member L, 1999).

Due to this sense of connection, and the small geographical area of the community, many interviewees described Six Nations as a small community - a community in which "everybody knows everybody" (Members A, B & C, 1999).

Interviewees perceived the culture and structures of their small community as important aspects of their home environment that influence their behaviour. "Everybody knows who the Arrows are, what they stand for, who they are. Most people know on the reserve. In a community this size everybody knows everybody. So you hear so and so is president of the Arrows. Well that's good. So it is an organization that is public" (Member A, 1999). Cultural values of the Six Nations community, such as ambassadorship and sense of community, and the rules which reflect these values, are evident in the Arrows' culture and have been instrumental in members' practices. For example, interacting within the structures of a 'small community' such as Six Nations, Arrows members suggested that they have learned particular practices, according to rules, including what Member B (1999) described as "minding your P's and Q's". In the Six Nations community, not only are community members recognized, but news regarding people's activities spreads quickly. Member B (1999) provided the following example. "This is a community that is not very big. If you go in a ditch out here, and you are living down near Caledonia, within half an hour they're going to know about it".

Community support is of major importance to the Arrows. It was this support, in the form of fans and financial support from local businesses, which was a major part of the organization's application to Junior A (Member A, 1999)²⁷. This support also provides

²⁷ With this support, the Association was able to suggest to the OLA that the Arrows could afford to finance a Junior A team, and that each of the other Junior A teams would benefit from the fan support that the Arrows had earned.

feedback from the community that the Arrows are achieving their goals of providing role models and facilitating lacrosse in the community, as well as being the team that represents the community. Thus, the Arrows have endeavoured to earn and maintain respect, within their community for the organization as well as for lacrosse. To maintain the support of the community it represents, the Arrows have reproduced the structures of the Six Nations community. For example, the Six Nations community is one that values respect as a resource that one must earn. Once earned, respect is rewarded with support (Member, H. 1999). Thus those rules that reinforce ambassadorship and sense of community have been an important means for gaining support.

Members A-F, J and K as well as Non-members L & M (1999) discussed personal experiences in the Six Nations community involving organizations that had lost, or never gained, community support due to the actions of their members. Such experiences reinforce internal rules regarding how respect is gained and lost, and the value that respect has in the Six Nations community in terms of gaining community support. These experiences also reinforce the Arrows cultural assumption that members of an organization reflect the values of that organization within their external contexts.

“If you are going to be a part of this organization, you represent it at all times, not just at a lacrosse game...I am not just saying the Arrows is a full-time job. Being a role model is a full-time job. You are not a role model when you are out carrying a lacrosse stick and then they see you down at the local pub falling off your chair” (Member A, 1999).

Arrows Association members expect each other, and the members of the team, to represent the organization in a respectable manner. External rules, reflecting this value, such as those that prohibit the consumption of alcohol by team members at Arrows’ events, are artifacts which link to this value.

Community Enhancement

As a means of countering North American hegemony, and providing opportunities for oppressed groups to involve themselves in sport, members of historically oppressed groups have opened a new door and found behind it an alternate form of existence – racialized spaces (Paraschak, 1996). Within such space, individuals of oppressed groups have redefined their status and accordingly empowered themselves to create their own opportunities (hooks, 1990). Groups, within these spaces, are able to create and re-create structures that facilitate their own opportunities and agency.

Six Nations is a community that has progressed in many ways due to the efforts of its community members (Non-member L, 1999). It is considered one of the most politically, socially and economically advanced First Nations in Canada. This is not to suggest that members of the Six Nations have eliminated the problems that have been experienced by many First Nations peoples. Six Nations, like other First Nations, is behind non-native communities in the aforementioned areas (Maracle, 1996). Six Nations is also a community that, like other native communities, has been part of the battle to construct positive images of native communities, as well as eliminate to the numerous negative stereotypes and identities associated with their people (Member A, B, C, K & Non-member M, 1999).

From their efforts to build the community and reconstruct native images, Six Nations' members have learned to value those behaviors which are perceived to enhance and advance the community.

A second value of our community is striving to be better. We used to be one of the best First Nations communities in Canada. One of the most progressive. Our community doesn't like to stay in the same place. They value progression. Recreation provides a good example. Only about 10 out of 133 aboriginal communities have a Recreation Department. Recreation is usually one of the first things developed. We also have a Council, Housing and Welfare and Social Services (Non-member L, 1999).

Evident in this statement is the idea that Six Nations was, and continues to be, a developing community. Many of these developments have been provided for the people of the community by the people of the community (Non-member L, 1999). Rules within the community facilitate the actions of agents who invest resources, such as money or time, to enhance and provide for the community. Closely tied to the value for community advancement, are those rules that constitute ambassadorship. The Arrows have reproduced structures internally and externally that coincide with, and stem from, this valuing of the general community. Arrows' members who positively represent the organization within external contexts, thus reinforcing the Arrows' culture, are facilitated by and also reproduce the Six Nations cultural value. The respect that this earns the Arrows from community members enables them to acquire desired resources, such as money from gate receipts, as well as achieve desired goals, such as maintaining a community operated team. The Arrows are volunteers who are recognized for investing valuable resources such as time and effort in maintaining an organization for their community (Non-Members L & M, 1999).

The Arrows' founders formed the organization for the community. The team was expected to represent the community, to be operated by the community, to be owned by the community. Those volunteers who formed the organization, and have continued to run it, have dedicated much time and effort to providing a team for the community's children. They did this, interviewees claimed, as a means of earning respect for the community in one of its traditional sports. As was discussed in Chapters 3 & 4, the ability for the community to operate the organization has been one of the most protected aspects of the organization. Those members who have joined the organization have reproduced this means of operation. This was witnessed at the 1999 annual general meeting. A more recent member of the

organization suggested a change to the constitution which would ensure that only those who had volunteered with the Association for six months prior to the annual general meeting, could vote at elections. The Association supported this change. One intention of this constitutional change, discussed at the meeting, was to ensure that new people could not attend only the annual general meeting and vote in a new executive. This change reinforced time, energy and knowledge of organizational events as valuable resources, and as conditions for inclusion into the electoral voting ranks. This also reinforced the notion that the Arrows will not allow any group to take control of the community's organization without already having shared some history with the Association. Operating an organization in this manner, means that anyone from the community who makes a commitment can play a role in enhancing the community by providing their input into the operation, and contributing to the success of the organization.

The History of Native/Non-Native Relations in North America

Numerous experiences, as members of a First Nation and the Six Nations community, initiated and have maintained the Arrows' desire to protect their community operation. Closely related to the Arrows' goal of maintaining a community-operated organization is the goal of keeping this organization within the community. The values that frame both of these intentions, and the behaviours that reflect and reinforce these, are those which relate to a sense of community and native heritage. These intentions stem from experiences of First Nation's peoples that are made evident by the following statement. "Our people, I don't know about the non-native community, always are a little leery about somebody trying to come in and to dominate and to take over...you know things have happened in history... and

we decided that we are not going to let that happen (Member A, 1999). Member A (1999) also described one example of such an event in the following statement.

“The Canadians came and took [lacrosse] away from the natives, they said that hockey is Canada’s national sport. It isn’t; lacrosse was Canada’s national sport. They took the game. It started centuries before us. They played a game, which became lacrosse, to settle differences...It goes back a long ways” (Member A, 1999).

Euro-Canadians learned the activity of lacrosse from First Nations peoples, and sought to ‘civilise’ the game by formalising rules, and making it a more ‘acceptable sport’, according to the limiting European definition of such terms. In attempting to maintain control of the game, Euro-Canadians excluded First Nation’s peoples from participating in leagues, tournaments and exhibitions. They were attempting to exclude those who founded the game: those who had stake in it well beyond a recreational activity (Vennum, 1994). Such experiences in native communities have been a part of the history of racial relations in North America (Paraschak, 1997). Member A (1999) suggested that the community structures and values that were constructed and reproduced through such experiences have played an important role in the Arrows attempts to maintain their organization as a community operation. The Arrows’ constitution, the lack of private financial ownership and the support of the community have facilitated Arrows members in achieving this goal and in reinforcing their sense of community. These activities have ensured “that we could make sure we had a handle on what things were happening so that somebody couldn’t come in with the team and all of a sudden take it away from us (Member A, 1999).

The Six Nations Sporting Context

There is a strong sense of community within the Six Nations sporting context similar to that of the general community (Member H, 1999). This value is apparent in many of the community members’ initiatives in the area of sport and recreation, and is also apparent in

the perceived conditions that the community members place on their support for the community's sport organizations.

Community Initiatives in Sport and Recreation

Volunteers from the Six Nations community have developed minor sport programs such as figure skating, softball, lacrosse and hockey. Recreational programs in the community include broomball, basketball, badminton and volleyball. Members of the community started and have maintained many of these programs for community participants (Non-member L, 1999). There is a Parks and Recreation Department on the reserve, but limited resources, have restricted the amount of involvement that its members can have in providing programs for the community. This Department opened in 1983. Many of the community's larger programs began before this time. These programs were started by the community without the guidance of this department. In general, Parks and Recreation still relies on members of the community to initiate and maintain sport programs. This department helps community members form an executive, set up schedules and rules, and books the facility for their leagues. Providing sport for the community has been a way of life on the Six Nations reserve. Such examples of active membership, and the investment of personal resources and material resources, are occurrences that community members have experienced around them in the Six Nations sporting context (Non-member L, 1999).

Constructing the Six Nations arena is another example of how community members have shown initiative in sport. Six Nations has an indoor arena in Oshweken that the community uses for hockey, figure skating and lacrosse. The arena was built in 1973. Prior to this time, Six Nations' sports teams made use of arenas in Hagersville, Brantford and Waterford (Non-member L, 1999).

“Back when they built the arena in 1973, it was a group of concerned parents that got together and did it. They were the ones that recognized the need for a facility in our community so that we did not have to go off the reserve to find a facility. It was the community that did the bulk of the fundraising for the arena and they made it happen (Non-member L, 1999).

The construction of the Oshweken arena meant that Six Nations community members had provided another resource for their community, and that they would not have to rely on or travel to other communities for a facility. It is another experience within the Six Nations sporting context that has reinforced the values of active membership and sense of community.

Active members within Six Nations are those who use resources to provide for the community, whether it is in terms of time, money, energy, and/or services. Individuals who use these resources to contribute positively to the community are valued for enhancing and/or helping to develop the community. Active members in the Arrows organization are those who positively contribute resources to the Arrows organization, as well as to the community, through their Arrows involvement.

People on the reserve see that they are an organization that is striving to better the community through sport.... Some of the organizations around send out a negative perception. So, we were hoping that the Arrows had a positive perception. Anytime the Arrows hold a function it is not going to be an old fly-by-night operation; it is not going to be something that hurts the community (Member A, 1999).

When asked what advice interviewees would have for new members, Members A to K (1999) said to get involved in the organization. “We wanted somebody that when they became part of the organization, to be a part of it not just to say they were there. We wanted them to take part in everything that went on” (Member H, 1999). Structures reflecting and reinforcing active membership, within the Arrows, coincide with that value within the Six Nations sporting context as well as the Six Nations general community. The agency of

Arrows members is facilitated in each of these contexts when they are perceived by other members of these contexts as attempting to advance or enhance the Six Nations community through their Arrows involvement.

The Significance of Lacrosse

Historically, lacrosse has been an important part of native cultures. It is an activity/sport that is an integral part of native heritage (Salter, 1995; Venum, 1994; Members A to K, 1999). In the words of one Arrows' Association member, lacrosse on Six Nations is like "basketball to Chicago. When a kid is old enough to stand he/she has a lacrosse stick in his/her hand on the reserve" (Member B, 1999). Lacrosse's history dates back long before it became a governed/organized indoor sport. Its early history was constructed by First Nation communities; its more recent history has been formed primarily by non-native leagues and sport governing bodies.

Lacrosse has been important to the Six Nations community; it is the only native sport practiced on a mass participation level by members of the community. All of the other mass participation sports within the Six Nations community are sports with non-native heritage.

"Six Nations is different from other First Nations in the fact that we don't know all of our traditional games. Our culture, that way, is sort of dying; there are more games than lacrosse and snowsnake and powwow. Those types of games that were once in our community have now died off. We are not playing those things... If you compare us to another First Nation, say the Northern First Nations, they have more traditional games happening in their communities... But you could also turn it around and say that here at Six Nations we are one of the few First Nations who are playing lacrosse... So here we are playing a traditional game and some of the other First Nations aren't (Non-member L, 1999).

As the only mass participation sport of native heritage on Six Nations, lacrosse, and the Six Nations lacrosse programs have been community rallying points. Supporting lacrosse in the

community is a means of maintaining native heritage: a heritage that the Arrows' founders have valued and wanted to facilitate through their Arrows involvement.

Often the development of non-native heritage sports in First Nation communities has had much to do with the location of the communities (Paraschak, 1997). Non-member L (1999) supported this idea in the following statement.

We are similar if you compare us to mainstream society. We are very much influenced by mainstream sports. The media has a lot to do with that, because a kid can go and turn on the television and see Gretzky play hockey... We are no different from mainstream mom and dad who has their kid enrolled in a minor hockey program. They want their kid to grow up and be an NHL hockey star. That's Canadian culture. We are not any different, that is something we want to happen here too. I think being so close to our surrounding communities, we are not isolated. We are 20 minutes from Brantford, 30 minutes to Hamilton, 60 to Toronto, 60 to London and Niagara Falls. We are so close to these communities that it is easy for us to adapt and get involved in those mainstream sports. Our hockey and lacrosse and softball, skating club, they participate in the neighboring communities. We're in the leagues we play hockey in Delhi, Hagersville, Waterford and we have players on teams in Brantford. We have lacrosse players in the pro league in Rochester, Buffalo and Toronto. It is very easy. I find the mainstream sports wanted in our community in that sense; we are really not that different from mainstream society.

The Six Nations sporting context has been greatly influenced by surrounding, non-native communities, media and leagues. Many of the sports in the community are non-native. This is one reason lacrosse has received so much support in the Six Nations community. The community value for native heritage that has resulted in this support, exists in the Arrows organization. It was the motivation for one of the organization's founding goals – facilitating lacrosse in the community. This goal has remained, as the Arrows have continued practices, and reproduced structures, that provide lacrosse role models in the community, as well as support for the Six Nations minor lacrosse programs and children. It is also evident in the Arrows members' desire to be the best at an activity that has held so much spiritual meaning, and practical value for First Nations peoples. The popularity of lacrosse, in the Six Nations

sporting context, has facilitated the Arrows' culture. Community members are supporting the team that they perceive is using resources for the facilitation of their cultural heritage.

Support for Community Lacrosse Teams

Lacrosse is well supported in the Six Nations community. However, this support is not absolute. Interviewees have experienced what they perceived to be 'conditions' on Six Nations members' support for community lacrosse. Members C, G & E and Non-member M (1999) all discussed the same example when speaking about the community's support of the Arrows. Each member suggested that the community is not as supportive of lacrosse teams that have a number of players from communities other than Six Nations. "The [another community team] through the last few years have had so many non-natives, our people didn't want to go see non-natives play. They wanted to see our own boys play. So they never really developed a following" (Member G, 1999). It has been the experience of these members that the community has been less supportive of teams with many non-natives, and more supportive of teams, like the Arrows, who have a large majority of their players from the Six Nations community. The Arrows have had players from other communities that fit in very well with the Arrows team (Member A, C, E, G, H & K, 1999). Although at any time a large majority²⁸ of the team has been from Six Nations.

Skilled players are a valuable resource in elite sport. How the Arrows have managed this resource reflects and reproduces structures within the Six Nations sporting context. In the OLA, teams can acquire players by obtaining them from their home community, and drafting and/or trading for players from other communities. The number of players a team can obtain from other communities is limited, which makes drafts and trades a valuable

²⁸ Member C (1999) estimated that approximately 90%-95% of the team is from Six Nations each year.

means of acquiring valuable resources (Member K, 1999). Six Nations has a well-developed minor lacrosse program with numerous athletes. This has meant that within the community there have been numerous lacrosse players. Many of these players are highly skilled. The values and structures that maintain lacrosse as a valuable part of Six Nations' native heritage have facilitated the Arrows. It has meant that they often do not have to look to other communities for top-level lacrosse players. "We don't have to go out and shop around too far to have a contending team. We have got home-grown talent" (Member B, 1999).

The Arrows have the choice each year to attempt to better their team by obtaining players from outside their community. However, Members A-C & E suggest that they rarely exercise this option. Member E (1999) stated that in his/her experience the Association is generally not as interested as other teams in drafting or trading for players from other communities, even when these options are readily available and would possibly improve the quality of the team. Member C (1999) suggested that this is a choice exercised by the Association and the team staff, due to the quality of the players in the community, the desire to improve players from the community as opposed to bringing in other players, and the desire to maintain the community focus of the team. Each of these reasons reflect and reproduce both the Arrows and the Six Nations community values.

Members stated that the community has been extremely supportive of the Arrows, especially in terms of fan support. (Members A-K, 1999). One of the top reasons they felt this support was present was because the team and organization were basically all from the community. "The community has always supported the Arrows because I think the Arrows represent the community" (Member C, 1999). Member C (1999) suggested that the make up of the Arrows team was a matter of choice. One reason for exercising this choice is that the

community has top lacrosse players. The second reason was that team attempts to represent the community.

For sure the Arrows are recognized as the team that represents the community. [Team A] isn't, our [Team B] sort of. [Team C] and [other teams] that play. I think the community rallied around them when they were successful. The community also recognized that they brought in a lot of non-Indians, non-community guys to play. Basically it was always connotated that they bought [their success]. Whereas the Arrows, again because we have been here for so long and how we operate, we are recognized as the team in the community. We have very, very loyal fan support that comes out and joins us. If you equate any team to the community, it's the Arrows. You ask anybody they will follow the Arrows.

By representing the community, as well as developing resources within it, the Arrows have both reflected and reproduced the rules and values of the Six Nations sporting context. This practice has facilitated their ability to gain the support they desire from community members.

Ownership

While the community's minor sports programs were formed and operated by community members, the community's elite lacrosse organizations have mostly been private endeavours - often owned and/or operated by families from the community (Members A & G, 1999). This has meant that small groups of people have been in control of organizations that wear the community name and that represent the community. Interviewees suggested that in their experience there had been problems with these organizations and with the manner in which they were operated. Problems experienced included constructing a team mainly of non-Six Nations athletes (Member G, 1999); personality conflicts between the owners and the community and/or sport governing bodies (Member C, 1999); as well as family problems which left the community without a team for their children (Member A, 1999). It was these experiences, members suggested, that formed the desire to create a team operated by the

community that would represent the community, in an attempt to eliminate the perceived drawbacks that had existed with privately owned teams.

I think that is a great way to have it down on the reserve. If you have one owner, they can be a dictator, they can always say I am forking over all the money, we're going to do it this way, or my little cousin is playing here and I want him to play regardless of whether he could make it or not. That stuff like that does not go in my books. This way here the community owns it, and everybody knows it. Everybody gets a fair chance, it doesn't matter who you are, or where you come from (Member B, 1999).

When the Arrows initially formed in the late 1970's/early 1980's, community support was provided in the form of volunteers willing to provide time, energy and financial support for fundraising efforts. As was made evident by Member A (1999), support for the Arrows came slowly because "nobody realized what we were doing. They thought oh, here comes a group trying to take over. When they found out it wasn't just myself and a couple of chosen friends, that we opened it up to the whole area, then they got behind it and followed it from then on" (Member A, 1999). This initial lack of support was perceived to be based on the misperception of the community that select community members were operating another privately owned, 'community' sport organization. Based on such experiences in the community with past organizations and their desire to remedy past inadequacies, the Arrows' founders formed the organization around the value of a sense of community. Reproducing this value through their efforts has continued to gain the support from community members for the Arrows.

Non-native, Surrounding Communities

Interviewees described two different types of experiences within their surrounding communities that had influenced the Arrows' culture. These experiences were linked to racial relations and culture heritage. Both types of experiences stem from structures, reflective of dominant non-native cultures, which form and are shaped by perceptions of

native identities within non-native communities. Those experiences relating to cultural heritage reinforced the Arrows value for native heritage, and were often discussed as facilitating Arrows members' agency. Experiences relating to racial relations often related to negative stereotypes of native identities, and were perceived to impact upon members differently. These experiences, while usually negative, often facilitated efforts to reinforce a sense of community in the Arrows: in other cases, they were perceived to inhibit the Arrows members' agency.

Cultural heritage

Part of the Arrows' application for Junior A status was the suggestion that their presence in the league would benefit all Junior A teams. This benefit would be financial, the Arrows suggested, in that members of all communities would come out and watch lacrosse when their home team was playing against a native lacrosse team (Member A, 1999). The Arrows proved they were correct. The Arrows at home and on the road have had the highest attendance of any team in the OLA (Member A, B, C, 1999).

When we go into other centres, their biggest pay nights are when we are in town. We have followers from our reserve, other reserves from as far away as Tuscorora, Syracuse and Rochester and non-native people like to see us play. They want to see if their team can beat the natives. They recognise that natives started the game, and expect us to be the best at it (Member B, 1999).

Some members of non-native communities recognise and positively reinforce the native heritage of lacrosse and the Arrows' connection with this heritage. In these environments, members of non-native communities are recognising and facilitating one of the important aspects of the Arrows identity – their cultural heritage. “Non-native people really like to see the Indians in there playing. First of all, with us anyway, we usually have a good team. We are a fast exciting team, and there are things we do that some players would never do”

(Member B, 1999). Arrows' members value lacrosse and the culture of their community and attempt to positively represent their culture and their sport. Thus, they have perceived that they are facilitated in non-native social contexts where other members respect these values, and respect the Arrows members' attempts to reinforce these values.

Recognition, in non-native communities, as First Nations community members and as descendants of those who invented lacrosse, has been perceived by Arrows members as reinforcement for their ambassadorship value. "[The Arrows] become ambassadors, dignitaries for this sport. Far beyond the boundaries of the reserve (Member K, 1999). Arrows members have perceived that some members of non-native communities view them as representatives of their culture and their sport. This has provided them with the opportunity, and facilitated their attempts to (re)construct positive images of First Nations cultures, peoples and heritage. Other First Nation communities have also reinforced the Arrows values constituting native heritage and ambassadorship. "In British Columbia [where the Arrows have twice competed for the Minto Cup], the native people out there love the Arrows. All the fans out there had their Arrows shirts and hats on. We got the support. It was just like being at home. They had the big drums out" (Member G, 1999). Members of other First Nation communities identify with and support the Arrows. Such experiences reflect and reinforce the Arrows desire to positively represent First Nations communities and cultures and the values that underlie such practices.

The History of Native/Non-Native Relations in North America

North American social institutions are dominated by structures that represent and maintain the dominance of non-native cultures. Groups continually reinforce and challenge socially constructed structures as they construct mutual understandings within these

institutions. The struggle to incorporate cultural values and practices from a native culture into North American institutions, can be quite an exhaustive task (Paraschak, 1996; Salter, 1995).

Euro-Americans have historically (re)created images and rules within non-native communities that reinforce differential power relations through the use of negative images of members of First Nations communities (Salter, 1995). The extent to which the images and structures that maintain differential power relations in North America have influenced the Arrows has been perceived differently by different members.

The Arrows aspire to be a team that is respected for their sportsmanship and for being an organization whose number one concern is playing lacrosse. They have worked to earn and maintain positive identities for their organization, for lacrosse and for First Nation peoples. However, structures within non-native communities have been perceived as inhibiting this aspect of the Arrows culture. A privileged, non-native majority has historically constructed North American racial relations and the images that maintain and are representative of these relations. Many of these images have been perceived by Arrows members as inhibiting their ability to reproduce the structures that reinforce their organizational culture. "We have really had to fight for being recognized as a normal playing team. We always had the fans classing us as being wild and vicious and all this....that was one thing I found, that the other teams are always trying to make us live this impression they have of us" (Member G, 1999). Members B, D and G and Non-member M (1999) described this aspect of non-native communities as having little influence, for themselves, as constant exposure to it has meant that many members of Six Nations learn to ignore it.

Being native you hear that all your life... It just goes in one ear and out the other. ... Actually to tell you the truth most of these guys that come up are Junior age level,

they've had that racial stuff going on since they were little guys playing peewee hockey or atom hockey. So by the time they get up where we are, it is in their system...unless you get a very, very touchy guy it will bother him. The rest it won't bother. Water off a ducks back; they just keep going (Member B, 1999).

For this member the constant interaction with negative stereotypes has desensitized him/her.

For this member and others, this desensitization has become part of regular sport involvement in non-native communities. Thus, tolerance and the ability to maintain focus on the task at hand have been valuable personal resources used, by this member and others, in non-native communities. They are resources that the Arrows Association attempts to construct and reinforce in Arrows players (Members A, C, G & K, 1999). "You still get a lot of that racial stuff. We wanted to put that aside and forget about that, because you get that wherever you go" (Member A, 1999). However, Member B (1999), in the above quote, also stated that there are those who are inhibited by the actions of those who hold such stereotypes; there are those who have not been able to deal with racial remarks and behaviors from members of other communities. In this regard, the use of such stereotypes by members of other communities becomes an inhibitor of the Arrows' ability to maintain their culture.

This was evident in the following discussion.

I guess it is racist. They expect our boys to fight and play dirty and stuff like that and that is not the case. It is just a game. They sometimes, like a couple of years ago and it was just some kid that was a smart ass, and another boy actually mooned somebody....Her grandson came down and told him that he should not do that and the boy took a swing at him, and he swung back and it was just a big brawl. They came and sat where we were sitting and you know they were looking for trouble just because of who was there....sometimes I think it affects the boys, it is like a tension that they can feel sometimes (Member I, 1999).

Members suggested that such occurrences can distract team members and inhibit their ability to play the sport. This, specifically, has been the case when other teams have used racial slurs as an attempt to gain a competitive advantage over the Arrows players. "Sometimes it

makes them chippier and sometimes it make them get stupid penalties... They know it is eventually going to make you mad and that it will throw you off your game (Non-member M. 1999). In such situations, retaliation not only gives the other team a competitive advantage. it also reflects on the Arrows organization, the Six Nations community, as well as First Nations peoples; to retaliate is to challenge the values and structures of the Arrows culture. Thus, Arrows Association members, through the use of disciplinary action, such as suspensions (Member A. 1999), have attempted to deter team members from retaliating. Such disciplinary action reproduces the structures of the Arrows culture and reinforces their ambassadorship values.

Non-Native Defined Sporting Contexts

Style of Play

Lacrosse has a long history which has been interwoven with native cultures and identities. Thus, changes that take the game further away from its original form, come with much displeasure to some – in particular, to some members of native communities (Salter, 1995; Member K, 1999). When it was founded lacrosse was a different activity; one that served many purposes such as healing the sick or ensuring good crops (Venum, 1994). First Nations` peoples have experienced many changes to the activity they founded. Changes have included the formalization and standardization of rules, as well as bringing the game into indoor arenas (box lacrosse), which has resulted in a new playing style. When lacrosse originated, the playing area extended to fit the number of players involved, which could total in the hundreds. One tale tells of a player who, near the end of a game, disappeared into the woods. When he finally emerged from the woods he jumped out by the opposing team`s net and scored the game winning goal (Venum, 1994).

The Arrows are the only Junior A lacrosse team in Canada operated on a First Nation's reserve. All other OLA Junior A teams are based in non-native centres, such as Whitby, Peterborough and St. Catherines. The Arrows have valued their native heritage, as is evident in their efforts to facilitate lacrosse in the Six Nations community, as well as in interviewees comments regarding the importance of lacrosse. For example, Member C (1999) stated the following. "I think it is the thing that we hang our hat on. I think sport is very important to the community. Lacrosse is very important to the community".

There has been some displeasure within the Six Nations community, regarding the style of play that the Arrows have adopted, and thus the style of lacrosse potentially facilitated and reinforced on the reserve (Member K, 1999). These changes have also come with what many traditionalists have considered a controversial change in values. The Arrows strive to be a championship team in the OLA and the CLA. To achieve this goal the Arrows have adopted a style of play that Member K (1999) described as being different from what many of the other teams from the Six Nations community have played. Adopting this style has facilitated the Arrows in striving for competitive success in the OLA. The style used by previous Six Nations teams was run and gun, which Member K (1999) described as the style representative of native lacrosse. Run and gun is a very fast style of play, where athletes run up and down the floor trying to keep play moving quickly. Member K (1999) stated that "there was the resistance of a lot of people on the reserve wanting to play the old style of the game. Run and Gun. Less strategy, one pace. Just go, go, go". Member H (1999) described a team in the OLA that had previously won Minto Cup championships and was considered a strong team. "They could be a run and gun team, they could be a transition team. They could drop the ball, be slow, and play for the one intentional shot in 30 seconds.

You learn from these teams and you take everything they use against you". The Arrows have learned such styles of play and have been quite successful with their use.

The style of play in the OLA and CLA has become very technical. Coaches and teams focus on constructing both offence and defence, and incorporating different styles and speeds of play. To compete in this league, teams learn these styles, how to apply them, as well as how to adjust to them as they unfold on the floor. It was the experience of Member K (1999) that "we are finding out that conditions and teaching the dynamic of team sport become pivotal. It is not the fact that you came from Six Nations, and you inherited the game and your ancestor developed the game (Member K, 1999). This statement and similar statements made by Members B & E (1999) describe the shift in assumptions that has taken place within the Six Nations sporting context as a result of competing in leagues outside of Six Nations. When asked to discuss the significance of the difference in styles of play, members stated that adopting the more technical playing style of the OLA had not changed their value of native heritage. Instead, it changed their assumptions as to what makes a successful lacrosse team. This resulted from a change of practices, which reproduced the more technical style of the OLA. Using this style of play has facilitated the Arrows in reinforcing their value of success in lacrosse, and was not perceived to inhibit or facilitate Arrows members in reinforcing their native heritage values. While the style of play itself was not described as inhibiting Arrows members in reproducing their value for native heritage, many members did describe it as inhibiting in that the Six Nations community does not have many members with the technical knowledge and experience to coach the Arrows.

Coaching

Coaches, much like the Arrows Association members, are volunteers. Often these volunteers have been parents of players and/or interested members of the Six Nations community. Over the Arrows existence, the team has had many coaches. Finding coaches from the Six Nations community has been an obstacle for the Arrows since their inception (Member A-K, 1999). This obstacle has become more difficult to overcome, since coaching a Junior A team has required more technical abilities.

The more technical style of OLA lacrosse has meant that OLA teams require coaches with technical knowledge, skills and experience¹. Coaches need to know how to assemble and disassemble offence, defence and special teams, they need to understand their players on a more personal level, and they need to know how to instill self-discipline within their players and teach their athletes to be flexible and adapt in order to meet or exceed the demands of an ever-changing playing environment (Member K, 1999). It has been the experience of interviewees that Six Nations has had very few coaches from their own community with these qualifications, or developing these qualifications. As well, those that are qualified, in some cases, have not had the time to make a coaching commitment to the Arrows. Thus, the more technical playing style of the Junior A league, and the need for coaches with the required technical resources have been perceived by Arrows members as inhibiting their ability to further develop their players and improve the competitive quality of their team; it has made it more difficult for them to find coaches from the Six Nations community.

¹ Knowledge, skills and experience were each described by Members E and K (1999) as valuable coaching resources.

The Wooden Lacrosse Stick

To many athletes, plastic, steel and aluminum interchangeable lacrosse sticks, much like the titanium metal golf club, are symbols of ingenuity, technology and advanced athletic equipment that contributes to a more advanced game. Others may argue that they are the tools of an era in which athletes rely less on skill and talent, and more on equipment manufacturing to improve their performances. The specific arguments of this philosophical debate, while important, are not totally relevant to this thesis. What is relevant is the possibility that athletic equipment can be a cultural artifact possessing opposing symbolic value within different cultural groups.

To 'non-traditionalists' the 'new' lacrosse stick is a tool that allows quicker game play and the ability to replace shafts quickly and easily. For lacrosse traditionalists and members of native communities, these sticks hold a variety of meanings. The first symbolic meaning is similar to the aforementioned. However, within these communities these 'new' sticks are symbolic of how lacrosse is further changing from its roots in native culture. The wooden lacrosse stick is a symbol of a tradition of great native workmanship. Since lacrosse began members of First Nations constructed wooden lacrosse sticks with pride and individual attention. Thus, the wooden lacrosse stick is a symbol of pride and native ancestry (Member E, 1999). When an athlete first got a new wooden stick it would take him/her weeks, sometimes months, to break in this stick to their personal preferences. Once broken in, each stick would have different qualities shaped by its owner. Thus, the wooden lacrosse stick is also a symbol of an athlete who takes the time to shape his/her tool, not have it molded for him/her by a manufacturer (Member E, 1999). In each case the symbolic value of the wooden lacrosse stick relates to the tradition of a game that has deep roots in the past, when

it was not a sport, but rather an aspect of everyday life serving survival purposes; it relates to native heritage.

The reality of new lacrosse sticks is that they do make the game quicker and skills somewhat easier. They are lighter than wood sticks, more flexible and take much less time to customize. The fact that the shafts are easily interchangeable also means that they can be more affordable (Member E, 1999). Many sports have moved to lighter, more durable materials. In many cases it is almost impossible to compete with older, less technologically based tools. This has also been the case in lacrosse. Many players have switched to plastic sticks to increase their speed and skills. In the last few years, many Arrows players have been using new sticks. Member E (1999) suggested that one reason for this is that recent Arrows players have grown up in an environment in which technological advances in athletic equipment are occurring quickly, and being marketed extensively. These developments, their mass exposure, and the influence of sport governing bodies, who in some leagues have banned wooden sticks, have formed the structures of sporting contexts for younger Arrows players and continually have reinforced the felt 'need' to use such equipment. Members E & K (1999) perceived the reinforcement of the use of new lacrosse sticks, within the OLA, CLA and professional leagues, as inhibiting the Arrows reproduction of native heritage values.

Financing an OLA/CLA organization

Sport governing bodies can be powerful groups relative to their member organizations. They often impose conditions on the resources required by their members, as a means of increasing the likelihood that these members will act in a manner that reinforces the governing body's objectives and values (Kikulis, Slack & Hinings, 1995). The external

rules that they create shape the practices of organizational members, providing both limitations and opportunities and imposing their internal rules. To not comply with the requirements of these bodies, and thus reinforce their values and objectives, can mean exclusion. For example, Sport Canada stopped funding the Northern Games (a native-defined sport context) because it no longer fell within their mandate, or their definition of sport (Paraschak, 1997). Such exclusionary practices can threaten the existence of member organizations.

In applying for an OLA Junior A franchise, an organization must prove that they have the ability to finance a Junior A team, thus reproducing the significance of money as a valuable resource. Without the ability to prove financial independence, an organization/community will not be granted a Junior A team. Thus, organizations are subject to the structures of the Junior A league as a condition for inclusion. Once active in the Junior A league, organizations are subject to rules which reinforce the significance of money as a valuable resource.

To some organizations, making money is the ultimate goal, and thus money is the ultimate resource. Products are produced within, and distributed by, these organizations as a means of making money. Different organizations use money as a means to achieve other ultimate goals. The latter designation would describe the Arrows. The Arrows use money as a means of fielding and dressing the best possible Junior A team the Six Nations community can offer (Members A C & J, 1999). They do this for the community. In this regard, money is perceived as a valuable resource, which the Association utilizes as a means of achieving other goals. Several aspects of the Arrows' culture have reinforced structures in the Arrows somewhat different from that of the other OLA organizations.

The reality of business in the OLA is that all member organizations need to pay bills, purchase goods and in some cases purchase labor, such as coaches. At OLA meetings it is evident that having adequate funding is a major obstacle for a majority of the Junior A teams (Member B, 1999). This has been somewhat less of a concern for the Arrows, as compared to other Junior A teams, due to the organization's structure and cultural values. Lack of financial ownership was one reason, interviewees suggested, that money has been less important to the Arrows as opposed to other organizations. Arrows members are not working on behalf of a financial owner. Thus, they do not require money from any particular individual, or party, to operate. Interviewees suggested that this has also meant that they do not need to meet anyone else's expectations for revenue (Members C & H, 1999). All money that the Arrows generate is spent on the organization. Thus, no one makes money off the team, and a deficit at the end of the year can carry over without it financially harming any person. Each of these aspects of the Arrows culture have facilitated the organization's members in the continued achievement of their community goals. For example, due to the active membership of the Arrows members in fundraising and volunteering the Arrows have not needed to turn to methods of financing their team that they perceive as jeopardizing, or transforming, their goals and values. Many teams in sport turn to corporate sponsorship as a means of increasing revenues or obtaining necessary operating dollars. This is an option the Arrows have chosen not to exercise, other than program sponsors, as they perceive that it conflicts with their values and intentions. The organization has not had a major sponsor because members have perceived that with the investment of money comes the desire to control (Members B & C, 1999). The current Association, similar to the founders, want control of the Arrows to be maintained by the Six Nations community. The Arrows ability to

generate necessary funds, within their current organizational and ownership structures, has facilitated the continued achievement of their goal to maintain a community operation.

While somewhat inhibited by the structures of the OLA, they perceive that they are not as inhibited as the other Junior A teams who are privately owned.

Canadian Lacrosse Association regulations have been perceived to inhibit the Arrows ability to obtain operating dollars, as well as their ability to conduct particular practices in accordance with their sense of community. An excellent example was what the Arrows and the Six Nations community were potentially faced with in 1999. In 1999, the Arrows had a strong team, which was expected to make a repeat appearance at the national championship. Since the championship would be in the East this year, the Arrows would be the hosts, if they won the provincial championship. The CLA informed the Arrows, prior to the season, that if they were the hosts, the series would have to be held in Brantford or Hamilton, as the Oshweken arena was not large enough to seat everyone. This would mean that the CLA would be taking away from the Six Nations community what they had worked very hard to achieve. This would counter the values of the Arrows organization. Moving the series to a neighboring community would mean that the CLA, who takes a very large percentage of gate receipts, would make more money off of the series. Thus, they would be putting considerable value on a resource that has held a different sense of importance to the Arrows, and placing very little value on a resource (community support) and an opportunity (enhancing the community) that hold considerable value for the Arrows.

If anything rallies around the Arrows it is going to be that sense of community. Because all the money goes to the CLA from the national championship and you have snatched it from your community. You have forced your community to support your team all these years through this game and years since the Minto Cup. You're saying it doesn't mean anything, we are going to take this tournament away from you if you win. That's

wrong. I am sorry. The people who should come first should be the community. (Member K, 1999).

This CLA decision was perceived to inhibit the Arrows culture in two ways. First, it would undermine the Arrows sense of community, and their desire to provide an excellent opportunity for community members. Member B (1999) discussed this aspect of the decision. “We would have a Minto Cup here. The revenue would be fantastic for all our craftspeople. They would make a killing on that down here. The reserve can make off the Arrows”. The second aspect relates to the Arrows ability to generate necessary funds to play in the national championship. A major portion of gate receipts, and revenue from the national championship, go to the CLA. This occurs while the teams that are playing in the championship go further into debt.

“This is where the upper echelons of the sport have to wake up. To the victor go the spoils. Let’s create some spoils. There is nothing but debt to the people who win the Minto Cup and the Mann Cup. You go into debt to get out of your season and then you are expected to go into debt for more (Member K, 1999).

The Arrows have been successful fundraisers, and they are perhaps less concerned than other OLA teams about raising funds. However, this CLA decision, using CLA structures, does make staying out of debt more difficult for Association members.

Conclusions

The contexts in which Arrows members interact possess structures reflecting and reproducing historically (re)constructed cultures. These structures have consisted of rules which influence perceptions about how particular resources are to be accessed and used. Prior to their Arrows involvement, members learned values and practices, and developed objectives, through their interaction within different social contexts. Together, as Arrows’

members, they negotiated internally and within these external contexts the goals, values and practices that have (re)constructed the Arrows' organizational culture.

Hypothesis 2a) was supported. Each of the four contexts studied influenced the formation, reproduction and transformation of the Arrows' culture. Interviewees discussed structures within each of the contexts that they perceived influenced the Arrows formation and their continued practices and the values that frame these practices.

The influence that social contexts have on an organization's culture is complex. Some of the structures Arrows members discussed were perceived as inhibiting, others were perceived as facilitating, and others were perceived as not having any influence on the ability of Arrows members to achieve their goals and reinforce their organizational culture. External structures that were perceived as facilitating, for example the conditions that Six Nations community members place on their support for lacrosse, were often those that reflected and reinforced values similar to those of the Arrows culture. Those structures that were inhibiting, once adopted, for example the technical style of play in the OLA, facilitated the Arrows in achieving particular goals, like winning a national championship. Other inhibiting structures that were not adopted, for example negative stereotypes, either continued to inhibit Arrows members in their activities, or were tolerated as part of the context of a particular environment and thus ignored.

Hypothesis 2B) an C) were not totally supported or refuted. Examples provided in this chapter have described the Arrows culture relative to the structures and cultures of their external contexts. Experiences within these contexts challenge and reinforce the Arrows values. The Arrows culture, and the perceived ability to achieve particular goals, are a frame of reference from which external structures and cultures are perceived. During analysis it

became evident that there were numerous structures and practices within each of the four contexts that members perceived to influence their agency. Within each of the contexts there were both facilitating and inhibiting structures. For example, the structures within the Six Nations contexts which reflect and reinforce active membership were perceived to facilitate Arrows members. However, structures within the Six Nations contexts that have maintained a more traditional style of lacrosse were perceived by some as inhibiting the Arrows, due to their inability, in some years to find coaches from the community with technical coaching experience. As well, in a couple of instances such as the use of negative stereotypes, different members perceived similar structures differently. Thus, to describe an entire context as generally facilitating or generally inhibiting, in the case of this analysis, would be a limiting generalization.

CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY, CONTRIBUTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Summary

The theoretical problem that the researcher set out to answer was the following: what has been the historical development of the Arrows' organizational culture? Through attempting to address the sub-problems and directional hypothesis, the researcher has developed the following response.

The objectives and underlying values of Arrows founders shaped the Arrows organization's initial goals and structures. These values and objectives were developed from experiences through interaction with structures in different cultural contexts. As organizational members experienced success both internally and in external social contexts, those practices that reinforced values and achieved desired goals formed and reinforced the Arrows central values. These central values have been instrumental in the continued reproduction and transformation of the Arrows' structures, cultural artifacts, values and assumptions. They have also been instrumental in the perception of Arrows' member concerning the external structures that facilitate and/or inhibit their agency.

The Arrows Association has had the most permanent influence on the Arrows organizational culture. They have attempted, through the use of rules and governing access to resources, to construct and reinforce the Arrows cultural values in members of the organization and team. However, the Arrows team and team staff have also been influential in cultural (re)construction. Their use or challenge of the Arrows' rules and resources either reinforces or challenges the Arrows' culture. The nature of their sport provides them with opportunities to (re)construct the Arrows identity internally and within their external contexts; they have the ability to reproduce or challenge internal and external structures and

thus reinforce or challenge the Arrows culture. Thus, all members of the organization have historically influenced the formation of the Arrows' culture; they have done this through interacting with the structures and using the practices continually learned and developed in the organization's social contexts.

Implications

Arrows members reinforce and/or attempt to reconstruct their cultural values through the use of structures. This is done both through the internal interaction of members, as well as through the interaction of members within external social contexts. Thus, culture is not only (re)constructed from within; it is influenced by external relationships and cultures. This holds two implications for sport managers. The first implication is that sport managers have the ability to construct structures within an organization. However, these structures are not value free, and thus may inhibit other organizational members who possess different values. Due to their powerful position, managers have the ability to construct, along with others, an internal environment that facilitates their employee's efforts to achieve particular goals. The second implication is that sport managers are influenced by and construct structures relative to the structures of the organization's external contexts. Managers need to look externally and examine the values and structures of the contexts in which organizational members are active and attempt to determine how these structures may facilitate or inhibit members' agency. Such analysis may enable managers to provide a more facilitating work environment for their employees.

Contributions

Racial Relations Research

This thesis contributes to racial relations research by reinforcing and expanding upon existing research. Members of the Arrows described aspects of their community, sporting and otherwise, that have been described by other researchers. For example, this thesis supports the work of Paraschak (1997) who suggested that northern native communities have been more successful than southern native communities at reproducing traditional native sporting practices. It also supports the work of Vertinsky, Bath & Naidu (1996) who suggested that structures within mainstream communities often inhibit the agency of individuals from non-Euro-American communities in conducting practices according to their own cultural values. This support strengthens the credibility of such research.

This thesis expands on racial relations research through the exploration and description of structures and culture within the Six Nations sporting and general community. It expands on the work of Paraschak (1990) and Henhawk (1993), who both explored and described the Six Nation sporting context, by analyzing the influence of structures within the Six Nations community and how they are perceived by members of the community. This is achieved through the description of a sport organization, and its culture and practices, that is situated within this community. It also expands on the research of Malloy et al. (1993), who studied the administration of sport from a Canadian Indian perspective, by furthering research in culturally distinct organizations.

Sport Management Research

This thesis has made a contribution to sport management in a couple of different manners. The first contribution is through the analysis of a somewhat unique organization. The Arrows organization was founded on, and continues to reinforce, the experiences and values of a First Nations community. At the time this study was completed, the researcher could not find any other sport management research that explored or described such an organization. Exploring the values of the Arrows, and their community, have provided the opportunity to better understand cultural values that have rarely been explored in sport management.

A second contribution to sport management comes from the fact that the Arrows are a community operated organization. The Arrows participate at one of the highest levels of lacrosse available in Canada. Their culture is constructed by volunteers in an organization that lacks private, financial ownership, and is structured around many of the values of a distinct cultural group. This is a unique combination of characteristics for an elite sport organization. The opportunity to explore such an organization is an excellent one, in that many of the organizations studied in sport management have been either sport governing bodies or professional sport organizations. The values and operations of such an organization, especially one as successful as the Arrows, provides an excellent learning experience, relatively unavailable in existing sport management literature.

The final contribution this thesis makes to sport management is the attempt by the author to (re)incorporate existing sport management research with theory from sociology and anthropology; the fields from which management research developed. By doing so, the author attempted to add another element to existing sport management research, as well as

to provide a base from which these attempts can continue. Power relations and social structures are vital to the actions of individuals within their organization and external social contexts, and should be examined further.

Recommendations for Further Research

A number of potential research questions arise from the results of this exploratory study. The following questions are those that the researcher has taken interest in as a result of this thesis.

Organizational effectiveness

- 1) Is the ability of founders, managers and leaders to construct, reproduce and transform structures in a manner that facilitates their employees' agency an important measure of organizational effectiveness?

There have been numerous measures of organizational effectiveness applied in the study of sport organizations. An additional measure might be one that examines the perceptions of employees regarding the extent to which they perceive that internal and external structures facilitate their ability to achieve particular goals. If this is an important measure of organizational effectiveness then managers, leaders and founders have to be more aware of the structures and culture of their organization, as well as be more aware of their ability to (re)construct such structures and cultures.

Organizational Culture

- 2) Is there a theoretical conception of culture which is more dynamic and less deterministic than Schein's (1984) which would allow sport management researchers to incorporate social theory that is more conducive with the dynamic, conceptions of culture used in anthropology and sociology?

Schein's (1984) conception of culture focuses on the 'unconscious' assumptions of organizational members which motivate particular behaviors. Agency, as an aspect of the duality of structure, suggests that there is not a deterministic causality to members' behaviors. Members have the ability to choose their actions, within what they perceive is possible. They do not always act based on assumptions of which they are unaware. Also, as was noted by Hatch (1993), Schein's conception of culture is more focussed on levels of culture and less focussed on the processes by which these levels are reinforced and/or challenged, and thus reconstructed. In this regard, it is a less dynamic view of culture than what would be found using duality of structure.

3) How do members of an organization transform their culture?

Organizational cultures are maintained daily through the continuance of 'normalized' social practices. Agents who conduct these practices regularly reproduce existing structures and thus reinforce existing culture. Cultural transformation occurs considerably less often, and is a much more complex process than cultural reproduction. In examining the process of cultural transformation, one may explore the conditions within an organization and its external environments that enabled cultural changes to occur. Analysis may include an examination of the agents involved, of changing structures and values, of motives for change and of resistance to change.

4) What organizational values do members perceive to be more or less important in their different social contexts?

The findings from this thesis suggest that there are different influences on, and perceptions held by, organizational members regarding the structures and cultures of their internal and external contexts. This finding reinforces the possibility that there is a

fluidity of values across these contexts. To further this research, one might examine the perceptions of organizational members, through interviews and observation, regarding the dominance, and (re)construction of central values within their different contexts, as well as examine how different values may be more dominant from one context to another.

Leadership

- 5) How can members of a sport organization, such as founders, managers and leaders, create an organizational environment that is more facilitating for their employees?

Founders, managers and leaders often possess power positions in organizations. They often have the ability to (re)construct rules and limit, or provide access to, valued resources. To further explore the nature of leadership one might analyze the steps leaders, founders and managers can/have take/taken to (re)construct cultures and structures that enable members to perform their duties more efficiently and effectively.

Racial Relations

- 6) What have been the experiences of members of a sport organization situated within a racial community and/or made up of mainly members from a racial community, in regards to their ability to reinforce resistant cultures and structures within their social contexts?

Interviewees suggested that they perceived that they were inhibited, in some cases, by dominant non-native structures within non-native communities. These structures constrained their perceived ability to conduct social practices that would reinforce the cultural values of their organization. A more in depth examination of such experiences, including resisting structures, successful transformations and the meaning given to such experiences by members would be valuable in expanding on this thesis.

Appendix A: Interview Guide

TEAM INVOLVEMENT:

How long have you been involved with the Arrows?

What positions have you held with the organization?

What were/are your responsibilities?

Culture and Identity: what aspects of these have changed or remained the same over the club's existence.

1. Who are the Arrows?
2. Why was the team formed?
3. What do the Arrows value?
4. What is the source of these values?
5. Why is the team publicly owned?
6. What does it mean to you to be a member of the Arrows?
7. Why did you join the organization in the first place?
8. What are the goals of the Arrows?
9. Did these goals change once the team moved from Junior B to Junior A?
10. What did this change mean to the Arrows. Six Nations (SN)?
11. Why is winning a Minto Cup so important to the organization?
12. What have the Arrows not achieved?
13. What was captured within the constitution?
14. What changes has the constitution gone through?

How have these
changed/remained



Team dynamics

1. Is there much of a line between the general membership and the executive?
2. What are the responsibilities of players, coaches, executive and members?
3. What responsibility do the members and executive have to the team?
4. How would you describe the relationship between the members and the team?
5. Do they have the same goals?
6. Can players be members?
7. How influential have the players, coaches, members been in shaping the culture of the Arrows?
8. Why are their times when members fill positions by acclamation? or no one fills a seat?
9. Who creates team rules?
10. What is expected of players, coaches, members executive?
11. Who sets these out?
12. Can you describe some disputes that have occurred within the Arrows?
13. How were these resolved?
14. The differences between Presidents and their influence?

15. Why was one president elected while out of the country?
16. Has anyone ever stood out as having a different way of doing things? What was their influence?
17. Are players still provided with honorariums?

How communities have influenced the Arrows' identity and culture?

1. What major obstacles have the organization had to overcome?
 2. What do the Arrows mean to Six Nations?
 3. What does lacrosse mean to Six Nations?
 4. In what ways does the community support the organization?
 5. In what ways has it been difficult to operate or has the community been less supportive?
 6. What impact has the team had on the community?
 7. What kinds of things has the team done within the community?
-
1. How do other teams view the Arrows?
 2. How do you view other teams?
 3. Do the Arrows value the same things as other organizations within the OLA?
 4. What difficulties have been encountered in the OLA, CLA?
 5. Have you ever experienced any racial issues as a member of the Arrows?
 6. How are such issues usually dealt with?
 7. How do you advise players to deal with such issues?

Personal influence

1. Most favorable experiences/ least favorable?
2. Have you always lived in the SN community?
3. What different places have you attended school or worked?
4. What personal experiences from these places influence your involvement with the Arrows?
5. What sport organizations have you been involved with as a player, coach, administrator?
6. What personal experiences from these places influence your involvement with the Arrows?
7. What other personal experiences have influenced your involvement with the Arrows?
8. What skills have you found essential to being a member of the Arrows?
9. What skills have you learned being involved with the Arrows?
10. What advice would you give a new member?
11. What does it mean to you that many of your family are involved as members of the organization?

Appendix B: Six Nations Arrows Charter Members

Betty Jonathan
Clifford Whitlow
Debbie Whitlow
Joyce Davey
Stephen Bomberry

Appendix C: The Six Nations Arrows Logo



Appendix D: Constitution of the Six Nations Arrows Lacrosse Association

THE NAME OF THE ORGANIZATION IS:

Six Nations Arrows Lacrosse Association

**THE PURPOSE OF THE SIX NATIONS ARROWS
LACROSSE ASSOCIATION IS:**

To promote and encourage the community
to become involved in the sport of
lacrosse.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES:

1. To encourage and assist community youth to participate in the sport of lacrosse.
2. To operate a "Jr. A" Franchise and continue to operate in an effective manner, to the highest standard of excellence, in the sport of lacrosse.

GENERAL MEMBERSHIP:

A general membership shall be anyone who has paid their membership dues and is of the legal age of 18 years.

FISCAL YEAR:

The fiscal year of the Six Nations Arrows Lacrosse Association will be September 1 - August 31.

QUORUM:

A quorum for General meetings shall be a minimum of five (5) members.

A quorum for the Board of Directors/Executive Committee shall be 50% plus one.

MEETINGS:

1. General meetings shall be held bi-monthly at a time and place as designated by the Board of Directors of the S.N.A.L.A.
2. Board of Directors meetings shall be held monthly at a time and place as designated by the Board of Directors of the S.N.A.L.A.
3. Annual meetings shall be held in the month of October at a time and place as designated by the Board of Directors of the S.N.A.L.A.

VOTING:

At general meetings: all paid members are entitled to one vote.

Voting will be done by a show of hands by all those eligible to vote.

Dues must be paid prior to the beginning of the meeting to be eligible to vote.

WAYS TO REMOVE A MEMBER:

By a 2/3 majority vote by all dues paying members.

REASONS FOR REMOVAL OF A MEMBER:

1. Incompetence (mentally).
2. Non payment of dues.
3. Abstaining from all activities of the Association.

CHARTER MEMBERSHIP:

Are the founding members of the Six Nations Arrows Lacrosse Association.

The following is a list of Founding Members:

- (1) Betty Jonathan
- (2) Clifford Whitlow
- (3) Debbie Whitlow
- (4) Joyce Davey
- (5) Stephen Bomberry

HONOURARY MEMBERS:

Honorary members are appointed at the discretion of the S.N.A.L.A.

Honorary members have no voting privileges and derive no benefits unless it is agreed upon at a general meeting.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS:

All positions are elected at the Annual General Meeting.

All positions are held for a 1 year term, with the exception of the President.

The President is elected for a 2 year term.

STRUCTURE OF THE ASSOCIATION

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS SHALL CONSIST OF:

- President
- 1st Vice President
- 2nd Vice President
- Secretary
- Treasurer
- Public Relations Chairperson
- Fundraising Chairperson

Duties of the DIRECTORS is to carry out affairs as directed by the membership.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE SHALL CONSIST OF:

- President
- 1st Vice President
- 2nd Vice President
- Treasurer
- General Manager-Ex-Officio (non voting)

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE have the power to act on behalf of the Board of -Directors.

THE TEAM STRUCTURE SHALL CONSIST OF:

- Coaching Staff
- Trainer (Certified)
- General Manager
 - (May appoint a team manager)
- Players
- Timers Bench - Minor Officials

DUTIES OF THE OFFICERS

PRESIDENT

- Chairs all meetings
- Official spokesperson for the S.N.A.L.A.
- Has signing authority
- Has tie breaker vote only
- Reports to the Board of Directors at regular meetings
- Co-ordinates the affairs of the S.N.A.L.A.
- Delegates authority to the Association
- Performs other duties from time to time deemed necessary by the Board
- Shall be O.L.A. contact person
- *must be a member of the Association no less than 2 consecutive years from Annual General Meeting
- Has the authority to make changes with the team structure as delegated by the Association. (Membership) and/or Executive Committee

1ST VICE PRESIDENT

- Performs all duties of the President in his/her absence
- Chairs all meetings in the President's absence
- Performs other duties from time to time deemed necessary by the Board
- Has signing authority

2ND VICE PRESIDENT

- Performs all duties of the President or 1st Vice President in his/her absence
- Chairs all meetings in the President's or 1st Vice President's absence
- Performs other duties from time to time deemed necessary by the Board
- Has signing authority

SECRETARY

- Records and keeps up to date minutes
- Give proper notice to Members of meetings
- Handles all incoming and outgoing correspondence
- May be signing authority if deemed necessary
- Make written reports of Board of Director's meetings to be distributed to all members
- Performs other duties from time to time deemed necessary by the Board

TREASURER

- Handles all financial matters dealing with the Association
- Receives and disperses all funds of the Association under the direction of the Executive Committee
- Keeps accurate and up to date records
- Give a financial report at all meetings
- Signing authority for all financial matters
- Give a detailed and itemized report for the preceding year at the Annual General Meeting
- Performs other duties from time to time deemed necessary by the Board, under Board of Directors/Executive Committee
- Has signing authority

GENERAL MANAGER

- Handles all business of the Six Nations Arrows Jr. "A" Lacrosse Team under the direction of the Board of Directors/Executive Committee
- O.L.A. contact person
- Liaison between the team and the Board of Directors/Executive Committee
- Make sure staff is at games (timekeeper, scorer, security, etc.)
- In charge of games
- Delegated other duties from time to time deemed necessary by the Board
- Signs rental agreements for league and exhibition games

PUBLIC RELATIONS CHAIRPERSON

- Takes care of publicity and promotion (programs and advertising)
- Drafts press releases
- Must notify the newspaper and radio of games and game results
- Performs other duties from time to time as deemed necessary by the Board

FUNDRAISING CHAIRPERSON

- Looks after all fundraising events
- He/she may recruit volunteers to assist in the fundraising events
- ****under the direction of the Board of Directors/Executive Committee**
- **Accountable to the Treasurer on all money matters**
- Performs other duties from time to time as deemed necessary by the Board

TEAM STRUCTURE DUTIES

COACH

- Sets up practice schedule
- Involved in all aspects of signing or releasing players along with the Team Manager and General Manager
- Co-ordinates and implements the coaching staff
- Designated proper dress code
- Disciplines players
- Keeps lines of communication open between players and player personnel
- Sets rules and guidelines for the players and adheres to them
- Must be able to take direction from the Board and Management
- Performs other duties from time to time as deemed necessary by the General Manager

TRAINER

- Take direction from Team Management
- Performs other duties from time to time as deemed necessary by the General Manager

EQUIPMENT MANAGER

- In charge of all equipment for the team
- Makes sure equipment is at all games
- Keeps accurate record of all equipment
- Reports to Team Manager of equipment needing to be repaired or replaced
- Orders balls for games
- Keeps sweaters clean
- Make sure there are towels at games
- Performs other duties from time to time as deemed necessary by the General Manager

RULES AND REGULATIONS

1. **There will be no changes made, under any circumstances, unless it is at the Annual General Meeting.**

Appendix E: Six Nations Arrows Lacrosse Association
Agenda for October 16th, 1999

SIX NATIONS ARROWS
JR. "A" LACROSSE ASSOCIATION

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

OPEN MEETING

1. APPROVAL OF AGENDA
2. BUSINESS FORM PREVIOUS MINUTES
3. APPROVAL OF PREVIOUS MINUTES
4. REPORTS:
 - (a) President – Jack Hill
 - (b) Treasurer – Ginger P. Smith
 - (c) General Manager – Cap Bomberry
 - (d) Bingo Chairperson – Sherri Staats
5. NEW MEMBERSHIP
6. ELECTIONS
 - (a) President
 - (b) 1st Vice President
 - (c) 2nd Vice President
 - (d) Treasurer
 - (e) Secretary
7. APPOINTMENT OF BINGO CHAIRPERSON
8. CONSTITUTION CHANGES
9. NEW BUSINESS/ANNOUNCEMENTS
 - (a)
 - (b)
10. ADJOURNMENT
11. SET DATE/PLACE/TIME: NEXT ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

REFERENCES

Barley, S. R. (1983). Semiotics and the study of occupational and organizational cultures. Administrative Science Quarterly, 28, 393-413.

Berg, B. L. (1998). Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences (3rd ed.). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Beyer, J. M., & Trice, H. M. (1987). How an organization's rites reveal its culture. Organizational Dynamics 15 (4), 5-24.

Brinkerhoff, Merlin, M. B., & Kunz, P. R. (1973). Complex Organizations and their Environments. Dubuque, IO: WM. C. Brown Company Publishers

Cohen, I. J. (1989). Structuration Theory: Anthony Giddens and the Constitution of Social Life. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.

Constitution of the Six Nations Arrows Lacrosse Association (revised 1997).

Giddens, A. (1984). The Constitution of Society. Berkley, CA: University of California Press

Gordon, G. G. (1991). Industry determinants of organizational culture. Academy of Management Review 16, 396-415.

Hatch, M. J. (1993). The dynamics of organizational culture. Academy of management review 18(4), 657-693.

Henhawk, C. (1993). Recreation Development in First Nation Communities: A Six Nations perspective. Journal of Applied Recreation Research, 18 (2). 18-26

Hofstede, G., Neuijen, B., Daval Ohayv, D. & Sanders, G. (1990). Measuring organizational cultures: A qualitative and quantitative study across twenty cases. Administrative Science Quarterly, 35, 286-316

hooks, b. (1990). Choosing the margin as a space of radical openness. Yearning: Race, Gender and Cultural Politics. Boston: South End Press, 145-154

Kent, A. (1994). Organizational Effectiveness, Executive Leadership and Organizational Culture : A study of selected provincial sport organizations (Masters thesis). Windsor, ON: University of Windsor

Kirby S., & McKenna, K. (1989). Experience, Research, Social Change: Methods from the margin. Toronto, ON: Garamond Press.

Kikulis, L. & Slack, T. (1995). Toward an understanding of the role of agency and choice in the changing structure of Canada's National Sport Organizations. Journal of Sport Management 9 (2), 135-152.

Malloy, D. C., Nilson, R. N., & Yoshioka, C. (1993). The impact of culture upon the administrative process in sport and recreation: A Canadian Indian perspective. Journal of Applied Recreation Research, 18, (2), p. 115-130.

Maracle, B. (1996). Back on the Rez: Finding the way home. New York, NY: Viking Press

Marx, K. (1959). The eighteenth brumaire of Louis Bonaparte. in Feur, S. L. (ed.). Marx & Engels: Basic writings on politics and philosophy. Garden City, NY: Double Day & Company Inc.

Metcalf, A. (1996). Structure & Agency: The search for a way to explain the changes from pre-industrial to industrial sport. in Pfister, G., Niewerth, T. & Steins G. Games of the World: Between tradition and modernity (Proceedings of the 2nd International Society for the History of Physical Education and Sport Congress).

Nagel, J. (1994). Constructing ethnicity: Creating and recreating ethnic identity and culture. Social Problems, 41, (1), p. 152-169.

Paraschak, V. (1990). Organized sport for native females on the Six Nations Reserve, Ontario from 1968-1980: A comparison of dominant and emergent social systems. Canadian Journal of the History of Sport, 21, (2), 70-77

Paraschak, V. (1996). Racialized spaces: Cultural regulation, aboriginal agency and powwows. Avante, 2 (1), 7-18.

Paraschak, V. (1997). Variations in race relations: Sporting events for native peoples in Canada. Sociology of Sport Journal, 14 (2), 1-21.

Ponic, P. (1994). Herstory: The Structuring of the Fitness and Amateur Sport Branch's Womens' Program: 1974-1988, Unpublished MHK thesis, the University of Windsor.

Salter, M. (1995). Baggage to lacrosse: A case study in acculturation. Canadian Journal of the History of Sport, 26, 49-60.

Schein, E. (1984). Coming to a new awareness of organizational culture. Sloan Management Review 25, 3-16.

Schein, E. (1985). Organizational Culture and Leadership. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers

Sheridan, J. E. (1992). Organizational culture and employee retention. Academy of Management Journal, 35 (5), p. 1036-1056.

Vennum, T. (1994). American Indian Lacrosse: Little brother of war. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press

Wallace, M. & Weese, W. J. (1995). Leadership, organizational culture, and job satisfaction in Canadian YMCA organizations. Journal of Sport Management, 9, p. 182-193.

Weese, W. J. (1995). Leadership and organizational culture: An investigation of Big Ten and Mid-American conference campus recreation administrators. Journal of Sport Management, 9, p. 119-134.

Weese, W. J. (1996). Do leadership and organizational culture really matter. Journal of Sport Management, 10, (2), p. 119-134.

Weese, W. J. (1998). The Fives "C's" of Successful Leadership: A sport executive's guide. (unpublished draft), p. 288-326.

VITA AUCTORIS

Name : James Michael Allen
Place of Birth : Hamilton, Ontario, Canada
Date of Birth : 28 November 1974
Education : Brantford Collegiate Institute & Vocational School
Brantford, Ontario
1988-1993

University of Windsor
Windsor, Ontario
1993-1997 B.H.K.

University of Windsor
Windsor, Ontario
1997-1999 M.H.K.