The 'Varsity Player': The Interplay of Culture, Control and Resistance around the Consumption of Alcohol at a New Zealand University Sports Club

By

Todd Christopher Bryant

A thesis submitted to the Victoria University of Wellington in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Commerce in Management

Victoria University of Wellington

2017

ABSTRACT

The consumption of alcohol has a strong association with sport. Its' appeal is based on a belief that consuming alcohol can prove the commitment of an individual to their team, bring about team cohesion, and provide a rite of passage through which an individual can be accepted. However, sports' relationship with alcohol is problematic, with research identifying a number of detrimental physiological, psychological, and sociological effects this relationship can have on both individuals and society. This thesis explores these dynamics through a case study analysis of a university sports club. It draws on Barker's (1993) concept of normative control to examine the connections between the use of alcohol and the development and control of the club's culture. Using data collected from semi structured interviews with club members, findings are presented that illustrate how alcohol consumption is used as a cultural practice to educate, reinforce, and discipline club members to conform to a desired identity, known as the 'varsity player'. The application of normative control is a novel contribution to the sport and alcohol literature. The thesis also seeks to contribute to the literature on normative control by examining the way in which club members resisted aspects of the club's cultural practices around alcohol and facilitated change.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisor Dr. Todd Bridgman. Todd thank you for your continued support, guidance, and encouragement throughout my Master thesis. I am extremely grateful to have had the opportunity to work alongside not only an expert in the field of management but also a wonderful person who is highly respected by all. You have been a fantastic mentor, and without you this thesis wouldn't have been possible.

To my parents, Mum and Dad you guys are amazing. Your invaluable support and love goes without saying. I cannot express how grateful I am for all that you have done for me and the many opportunities you have provided me over the years. I am so privileged to have your continued devotion, love, and encouragement in all facets of my life. You guys are the best.

Lastly, the University Sports Club and respective members. Thank you for providing me with this research opportunity. You have all allowed me to gain great insight into a highly debated topic which can at times be difficult – thank you. I wish the Club all the best for the future.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Sport has been an important part of my life ever since I was a young kid. Whether it was kicking a football for the first time, catching a hard leather cricket ball, or cheering for the mighty All Blacks at a packed out stadium, sport has forever dominated my existence. Growing up living and breathing sport has not only surrounded me with many opportunities in the physical and social aspects of my life, it has also exposed me to the ever-growing phenomena of sport.

Although there are different components to sport per se, what is of interest to me is sport's association with alcohol. Today within contemporary society, sport and alcohol continue to develop a strong relationship, which has resulted in a number of concerns being raised. It was not until I reached the age of 18 that I experienced this relationship for myself, and became aware of such concerns. Prior to this, my naive perception of sport was that it existed independently and was a celebration of everything healthy. This first exposure to the sport and alcohol enigma occurred within my first year at University in 2010.

I had just made the Men's University first team and was informed that I had to attend an initiation evening in celebration. I did not think much of it at the time due to my naivety and complacent attitude – after all, I was a first year in the Men's first team, life could not get much better. However, little to my knowledge was the uphill battle I was about to endure, in order to officially become part of the club – my right of passage. Termed 'Fresher Initiation', I was required to dress up as a female prostitute, drink copious amounts of alcohol until I threw up (over and over), run naked through the streets, become educated with club traditions and rituals, but most importantly, survive what I can remember as a life changing encounter. Although this was an experience I will never forget, it is one that I hope to never participate in again. From this point on, I was introduced to perhaps the most prevailing substance behind sport today; 'alcohol'.

Despite many positive experiences through sport's connection to alcohol, I have also found myself at times a victim of the negative path led by this association. From these experiences and understandings, I have developed a passion to investigate the phenomenon of sport, and more specifically, its connection to

alcohol. Furthermore, as a sports fanatic, a member of many different sports clubs, and a student engaged in examining sport, I feel a sense of duty to develop a greater understanding of this pressing issue we see today.

The issues surrounding alcohol's association with sport are the foundation of this research thesis. Therefore, before reviewing the literature in Chapter Two, it is important to firstly contextualise these issues between alcohol and society, in particular those within the New Zealand sporting context. In addition, I will provide an overview as to why this research is significant, namely its contributions to both the management and alcohol in sport literature. This leads into my research question and the respective aims that guide my analysis.

RATIONALE: WHY IS THIS RESEARCH SIGNIFICANT?

The sporting subcultural practice of alcohol consumption has been largely taken for granted in New Zealand, and consequently, has been relatively unacknowledged through literature (Collins, 2002; Hutchins, 2009; Kahu-Kauika, 2011). Conversely, many elite athletes involved in New Zealand sport have been linked to incidents where the consumption of alcohol has played a part in their deviant behavior, such as drink driving, violence, or sexual abuse. Given the celebrity status that many athletes in New Zealand have the media often publicize such incidents. For example, Sharon Lundy (2011) discusses how a number of sportsmen have found themselves in the headlines for reasons not associated with their physical prowess. She highlights their off-the-ball antics in her article 'Year in review; serious off field offenders'. One example Lundy uses is former All Black rugby player Zach Guilford, who allegedly punched three strangers after running into a bar naked, and earlier that day, harassed a female tri-athlete whilst she was running. Black, Lawson, and Fleishman (1999) however highlight that although elite athletes form part of the 'alcohol in sport problem' amateur athletes or sporting participants is where the problem lies.

To draw on this issue further, O'Brien and Kypri (2008) highlight that there is a greater rate of injury and negative performance outcomes in athletes who drink. An example which captures these concerns and consequently emphasises the importance of developing a greater understanding of the issue is Paul's (2013)

article 'Rugby booze rituals shock for coaches', which highlights that binge drinking as punishment was once a part of team life for New Zealand's top rugby players. Paul (2013) discusses how Steve Hansen, the current All Blacks coach, has changed this culture, suggesting that "there was a concentrated effort to make changes and although the changes were not immediately met with on-field success, it was widely thought to have sparked a revolution throughout the New Zealand professional game" (p.2). This reflects the fact that although there is an awareness around the drinking culture in New Zealand sport, the problem is still evident. By carrying out a case study analysis within a New Zealand sporting organisation, I will be able to further highlight the elements surrounding this issue, in turn allowing me to provide additional understanding to this complex dynamic.

To tease out and understand these issues, I will use three main organisational concepts; normative control, organisational culture, and organisational resistance. To date, scholars have used a number of concepts to explore and understand the alcohol and sport phenomenon, including: the sports ethic (Hughes and Coakley, 1992), deviance and over conformity (Messner, 1990; Pringle and Hickley, 2010; Nixon, 1993, 1994), masculinity (Baumann,1992; Black, Lawson, and Fleishman, 1999; Bryant, 2013; Crawford, 2004; Gretzky & Reilly, 1990; Groves, Griggs & Leflay, 2012; Kay, 2003; Kahu-Kauika, 2011; Oliver, 1990; Nuwer, 1990; Waldron, Lynn, & Krane, 2011; Wenner, 1991; Wenner & Jackson, 2009; Young, 1993, 1998), and peer pressure (Knee and Neighbors, 2002). My reasoning behind using a different theoretical base to analyse the alcohol and sport relationship is twofold. The concepts of normative control, organisational culture, and organisational resistance have never been used in partnership with each other, nor have they been used together within a sporting context. The application of these three concepts not only aims to provide a novel contribution to the sport and alcohol literature, but also aims to gain new insight and provide future research recommendations around the alcohol and sport interaction.

RESEARCH QUESTION

In order to investigate this research topic and address the literature gap, I have designed and carried out an empirical case study analysis of a University Sports

Club. In doing so, examining the connections between the use of alcohol and the development and control of the club's culture. As a result, I arrived at the research question:

How are drinking practices within New Zealand sporting subcultures produced and reproduced through the enactments of culture, normative systems of control, and resistance?

Falling under this research question are three key aims/objectives that guided my empirical analysis:

1. *How does normative control within the University Sports Club exist, operate, and produce the Club's culture and member identity?*

2. *What, why, and how is alcohol such a prevailing substance that continues to be a part of sport?*

3. *What, if any, lengths are the University Sports Club going through to address the alcohol and sports issue?*

THESIS STRUCTURE

This research thesis is structured accordingly. The first section (Chapter Two) reviews existing academic literature. Beginning with an analysis of the alcohol and sport literature, before leading into introducing the three main concepts of normative control, organisational culture, and organisational resistance. The second section (Chapter Three) outlines the design of my empirical enquiry in order to answer my research question. I have adopted a critical constructivist ontology which subsequently led into a qualitative, semi structured interview base methodology for collecting data. The third section (Chapter Four) of this thesis presents the findings that emerged from my data analysis, while the final section (Chapter Five) discusses these findings in relation to the literature, outlines my contributions, and presents suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews the literature that forms the theoretical foundation to this thesis and is consequently divided into four sections. Firstly, I look at the literature around sport and alcohol in order to determine why this relationship is an issue, and how it has already been studied. Secondly, I introduce the concept of normative control using Barker's (1993) understanding in order to position where I aim to make my contributions. Thirdly, through the use of Schein's (1985) framework of organisational culture I form a foundation from which normative control can be understood and applied. Lastly, I provide an understanding of how organisational resistance plays a role within organisations, specifically under normative control.

THE SPORT AND ALCOHOL RELATIONSHIP

Sport is a form and practice of culture that communicates particular meanings, values and ideologies (Adams, Anderson and McCormack, 2010; Carron, Colman, Wheeler and Stevens, 2002; Clayton and Harris, 2008; Groves, Griggs and Leflay, 2012; Hoover, 1999; Johnson, 2009; Kirby and Wintrup, 2002; Sweet, 1999; Whitson, 1990). Donnelly (1985) suggests that what differentiates sport subcultures is the fact that athletes develop and share different value systems, meanings and beliefs, and use equipment, language, style, and symbols that are distinctive to their subculture. It is within this association that one is exposed to differing cultural practices which provides an environment and process of identity construction and confirmation. The prevailing cultural practice, and focus of this research, that is becoming an increasing issue around the world and in New Zealand is the consumption of alcohol (Black, Lawson and Fisherman, 1999; O'Brien and Kypri, 2007; Stainback, 1997).

Collins and Vamplew (2002) suggest that the association between sport and alcohol is not a new phenomenon with connections forming as early as the sixteenth century. The consumption of alcohol, whether it was at the pub, alehouse or club rooms, became a central site for the development of sport as it was a common environment for watching sporting events which attracted large crowds (Collins and Vamplew, 2002; Wenner and Jackson, 2009). This association grew which resulted in the consumption of alcohol to increase, stimulating a relationship between sport and beer which appealed to men. It is argued that this historic link has potentially led to the

development of the alcohol culture within sport clubs that we see today (Mallan, 2006). A study conducted by Mallan (2006) which looks at drinking behaviour of sport clubs highlights an example of the position alcohol holds in sport. Findings indicated that three quarters of members viewed drinking as an important part of being a member. Further, literature suggests that consumption of alcohol can prove the commitment of an individual to their team, bring about team cohesion, and provide a rite of passage through which an individual can be accepted (Clayton and Harris, 2008).

According to Wenner and Jackson (2009) the connection between sport, beer, and men is theorised as the 'Holy Trinity' which explains how sport and beer connect together and serve to mark a masculine rite of passage. Wenner and Jackson's (2009) idea suggests that sport, as a signifier of masculinity which celebrates strength and competitiveness, is similar to beer drinking and its ability to protect masculinity through the amount of consumption. For example, during rookie initiations one can prove their masculinity by consuming large quantities of alcohol and being able to 'hold liquor' (Wilsnack and Wilsnack, 1979). The ability and toughness to drink a lot is equivalent to pushing through pain and showing toughness in sport. Thus, it can be suggested that the consumption of alcohol is used as a tool to solidify masculine practices (Crawford, 2004; Wenner, 1991).

Literature suggests that alcohol contributes to the social aspects of sport. However, although alcohol may hold its many different functions, there is evidence to suggest that there are also deeper issues surrounding its use. For example, public health concerns that can result from the consumption of alcohol, extending across psychological, physiological, and sociological. For example, Cardiovascular disease (Klatsky, 1996), Dementia (El-Sayed, Ali and Ali, 2005), and domestic violence (Field, Caetano, and Nelson, 2004). Stainback (2007) captures this by suggesting that the alcohol and sports relationship becomes problematic when individuals begin to over consume. Thus, highlighting that although alcohol may serve many positive social components to sport, it also raises a number of issues on both individuals and society. It is therefore very important to understand the relevant social dynamics which are the catalysts for athletes engaging in practices surrounding the consumption of alcohol.

NORMATIVE CONTROL

Having discussed the literature surrounding alcohol and sport in order to form a contextualised foundation and rationale to this research, further illustrating my personal experiences and passions for investigating this highly debated topic - I now turn to consider how I intend to make my own contribution to the academic field. Scholars have used a number of concepts to explore and understand the alcohol and sport phenomenon as discussed above. In order to understand this issue further and draw my own conclusions I am introducing the concept of 'normative control' to explore alcohol practices within sport.

The literature on normative control has predominately been used in analysing corporate cultures (for example, Walker and Bridgman (2013)), however has seldom been used in order to understand the underlying cultural processes that drive and facilitate individual and organisational behaviours in sport (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002). Therefore in this review of normative control I will firstly begin by outlining the different forms of organisational control which allowed me to arrive at the concept of normative control. Following this I will begin a deeper analysis of normative control by using the work of Barker (1993). Lastly, I will shed some light on the various critiques researchers have formed on the concept. Thus, leading into the next section where I will use other organisational concepts to build on this theory – that being, organisational culture and organisational resistance.

ORGANISATIONAL CONTROL

Theories of organisational control investigate the process though which a group attempts to impact the behaviour of another within a collective organisation (Gossett, 2012). Organisational control is a communicative activity that involves both verbal and physical actions designed to overcome resistance and gain authority over others (Gossett, 2012). Barker (1993) captures these ideas by suggesting that organisational control has been a central concept within organisational theory and is perhaps the key issue that impacts our experiences of organisational life.

Edwards (1981) has defined three broad strategies that capture control as it has evolved into practice. Edwards (1981) suggests that organisations can exercise simple control, technological control, and bureaucratic control. 'Simple control' is the direct,

authoritarian, and personal control of workers by an organisation. 'Technological control' illustrates how control emerges from the physical technology of an organisation, for example, in the assembly line of a manufacturing factory. Lastly, 'bureaucratic control' captures how control emerges from within hierarchical system where there is a set of rational rules that reward conformity and punish nonconformity. A pivotal aspect of Edward's (1981) conceptualisation is that each strategy represents an adaption to the forms of control that preceded the latter with the idea of countering the disadvantages of the previous form.

Contemporary writers have produced literature announcing the "coming demise of bureaucracy and hierarchy" (Kanter, 1989, p. 351) and discuss the rise of a post-bureaucratic age where control emerges from the concertive, value-based actions of organisational members (Soeters, 1986; Ogilvy, 1990). Tompkins and Cheney (1985) highlight further that authors have offered numerous variations on the post-bureaucratic organisation, which have consequently built on Edwards' strategies.

Tompkins and Cheney (1985) contributed a fourth category of control to Edwards's model: concertive (normative) Control. Concertive control was depicted as being less obtrusive and more normative (Gossett, 2006). Barker's (1993) case study at 'ISE Communications' provides an account of the Tompkins and Cheney's (1985) theory, illustrating how workers in a self-managing teams create a shared set of values. As a result, those values becoming manifested into norms and rules. This form of normative control in Barker's (1993) study represented a key shift in the foundation of control from management to the workers themselves, who collaborate to develop the means of their own control (Barker, 1993).

Fleming and Stablein (1999) suggest that normative control has formed as a result of the powerful oppressive bureaucratic system, which Weber (1958) refers to as the "iron cage" of control (p. 180-181). Weber (1978) suggests that we have become so enmeshed in creating and following a rule-based hierarchy that the bureaucracy has become a powerful form of domination. As a result, many organisations have shifted by exercising control through 'normative' power structures to escape Weber's (1978) metaphoric "iron cage", and as a result shift away from bureaucratic disadvantages. The key question that remains is whether or not 'normative' systems offer a form of

control that transcends bureaucratic control. Barker's (1993) research 'Tightening the 'Iron Cage': Concertive Control in Self-Managing teams' marks the first substantial study in the field of how self-managing teams construct forms of control. Therefore, Barker's (1993) research forms the foundation from which this thesis aims to use normative control to build an understanding of the underlying issue of alcohol and sport.

NORMATIVE CONTROL: A FOURTH STRATEGY

There are a number of different definitions of normative control. In order for the reader to understand my understanding of this concept I will use the following definition:

> "Normative control is the attempt to elicit and direct the required efforts of members by controlling the underlying experiences, thoughts, and feelings that guide their actions." (Kunda 1992, p.11).

This unobtrusive and powerful form of control has formed to control the cognitive premises underlying an individual's actions (Larson and Tompkins, 2005). That is, normative control relies on organisational techniques (i.e. team based management) in order to develop feelings of ownership and empowerment (Gossett, 2012). Furthermore, members are encouraged to not only take responsibility for their actions to align with an organisations beliefs but to also take responsibility for the actions of their peers. As a result, under normative control members are actively taking on the role as a supervisor as well as a subordinate (Barker, 1993).

These ideas are captured through Barker's (1993) research which categorises normative control into three phases. The following sections will draw on Barker's (1993) these phases along with additional literature to capture the concept of normative control and its application to this thesis. In doing so, Barker's (1993) work provides an understanding of how the normative control concept will be used in this study.
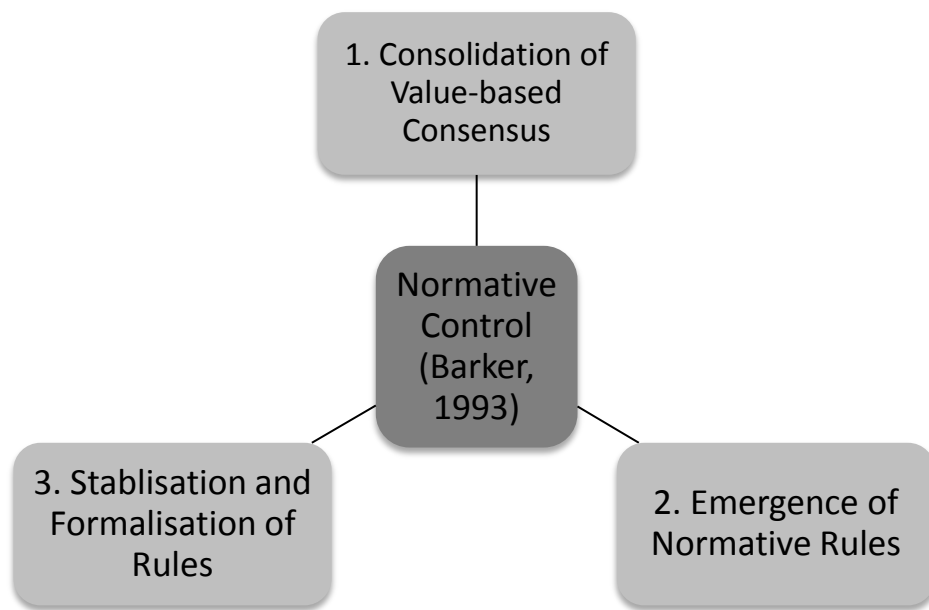
Figure 1: Barker's (1993) three phases to normative control.

Empowerment: Consolidation of a Value-based Consensuses

Barker (1993) contends the first phase of Normative Control to be 'Consolidation of Value-based Consensus'. Highlighting that from his research at ISE Communications "over time the team's value-based interactions became a social force that controlled their actions" (Barker, 1993, 420). Barker's (1993) understanding of the first phase can be captured through the idea of empowerment (Craig, 1994; Deetz, 1994). As illustrated in Barker's (1993) study when workers collaborate to create an agreed set of rules a sense of empowerment can emerge either as a collective or individual. It is suggested that empowerment is both a perception and a process (Chiles and Zorn, 1995;Albrecht, 1998). Chiles and Zorn (1995) argue that empowerment as a perception "is the symbolic construction of one's personal state as characterised by competence, or the skill and ability to act effectively, and control, or the opportunity and authority to act" (p. 2). Further, Albrecht (1988) contends that empowerment as a process is a belief where an organisations desired ends is influences by people and events.

An example of empowerment can be seen in Barker's (1993) research at ISE Communications through "workers as a collective crafting a vision statement that articulated a set of core values and goals, which employees were to use to guide their daily actions" (Barker, 1993, p.420). Generating a vision statement which all employees

are required to buy into created a normative organisation that centred all workers under a collective system of shared values. A section of ISE vision statement detailed the key values that the team of workers would deliberate from during the consolidation phase, Barker (1993, p. 420):

> *"We will be an organisation where each of us is a self-manager who will:*
> *Initiate action, commit to, and act responsibly in achieving objectives*
> *Be responsible for ISE's performance*
> *Be responsible for the quality of individual and team output*
> *Invite team members to contribute based on experience, knowledge and ability"*

The above example provides an understanding of how the workers at ISE Communications provided an opportunity for employees to empower themselves through making their own decisions and determining their own course of action to reach an individual and collective value-based consensus of the organisation.

Identification: Emergence of Normative Rules

Barker's (1993) second phase of normative control, 'emergence of normative rules', illustrates how members "turned their value-based consensus into normative rules that the new people could readily understand and to which they could subject themselves" (p. 424). You either obeyed the rules that team welcomed you as a member or you broke them and risked punishment" (Barker, 1993, 424). That is, value-based assumptions became objective and rationalised rules.

This notion of identification and consequently the emergence of normative rules is captured through Barker's (1993) research at ISE Communications where after a downsizing ISE Communications started hiring again. As a result, new teams needed to be formed within the organisation. Barker (1993) concluded that existing and more experienced members turned the already established value-based consensus into normative rules. New people struggled to understand these rules however it was required they conformed. There as a switch from talking about "meeting" team values to "obeying" them.

Discipline: Stabilization and formalisation of rules

Barker's (1993) final stage of normative control is classified as 'stabilization and formalisation of rules'. Barker (1993) argues that "norms became formal rules with penalties… it had the elements of rationalised control without the hierarchical elements… people monitored each other's actions" (p.429). Barker's (1993) final phase resulted in the conclusion that normative control may be much stronger than the bureaucratic system. Here, although the concept of identification is clearly linked to normative control systems, it's also important to consider within these systems the disciplinary techniques. Barker's (1993) study captures this importance as he concluded that control becomes tightened due to the formalisation and enforcement of rules through surveillance and punishment.

Barker's three phases of normative control recognised and concluded with the tightening of the 'iron cage'. As seen in Barker's (1993) findings due to the strong connections individuals develop to an organisation through normative control a loss of autonomy is possible, resulting in individuals feeling more controlled than ever. However, Ray (1986) builds on this by suggesting that this has the potential to then lead into routes of resistance as individuals/employees want to escape from this metaphoric 'iron cage'. This research thesis aims to gain a greater understanding of these forms of possible resistance which Barker's (1993) research fails to deliberate on. This raises questions around the manipulation normative control can produce. For example, in relation to this research thesis, making individuals consume large amounts of alcohol which could be detrimental to their health – all for the purpose of fitting in or to gain a rite of passage. Before I begin to discuss the literature on 'organisational resistance' I find it beneficial to draw on the concept of 'organisational culture'. In doing so, I will further position where the central concept of 'normative control' sits within this research thesis, and how I am to build on this understanding.

ORGANISATIONAL CULTURE

As previously discussed, Barker (1993) highlights the importance of creating a value-based consensus among workers/employees in order to generate buy in, resulting in the exercise of control. A value-based consensus is made up of various organisational practices which become the way of organisational life (Welch and Welch, 2006). As

Barker (1993) states, "value-based interactions became a social force that controlled their actions" (p. 420) and "the norms became formal rules with penalties" (p. 429). It is therefore important to understand this idea of a value-based consensus that exists under the confines of normative control. In doing so, the concept of organisational culture provides a framework through which this understanding can be developed.

To further shed light on this relationship between culture and normative control Welch and Welch (2006) suggest that 'cultural control' and 'normative control' are different labels under the same assumption of organisational control. This is supported by Alvesson (1995) who highlights that shared values and beliefs are associated with organisational culture which are the key ingredients of normative control. I therefore find it important to focus this section of my conceptual framework upon culture and how this can be managed through the use of normative control. In doing so, Schein's (1985) three levels of culture will form the foundation from which I will used Slack and Parent's (2006) many manifestations of culture to discuss the cultural practices of the key issue this thesis is examining – alcohol consumption.

ORGANISATIONAL CULTURE: A DEFINITION

Culture is frequently related to the idea that certain items within groups have shared meaning between participants and these meanings are cultivated over time through constant interaction (Schein, 1992). These items are related to observable behavioural regularities such as language, customs, traditions and rituals (Schein, 1992). When these traditional assumptions regarding culture are applied to an organisational context, the concept of organisational culture emerges. Organisational culture encompasses a number of apparatus through which defines an organisation, such as shared stories, ceremonies, language, values, beliefs, or even the physical setting of a particular organisation (Byers, Parent and Slack, 2012). Schein (1992) states more explicitly that organisational culture is a "pattern of basic assumptions; invented, discovered or developed by a given group as it learns to cope with problems of external adaption and internal integration…taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think and feel in relation to those problems" (p. 117). Therefore, the concept of organisation culture provides a theoretical framework which enables

greater understanding of how taken for granted ideas are produced and reproduced within organisation's and how these influence employee/worker/member behaviour.

SCHEIN'S (1985) MODEL OF CULTURE

As organisational culture is premised upon values, beliefs and accepted patterns of meaning it is often hard to identify (Slack and Parent, 2006). As a result, researchers have tended to focus upon the many manifestations of an organisation's culture (Slack and Parent, 2006). Schein's (1985) well known model of culture captures these manifestations as he identifies three levels of culture within an organisation, see 'Figure two' below. These are illustrated across different levels however all influence each other (Schein, 1992). The first level (most visible) is classified as 'artefacts and creations. Following this is the second and third level (harder to observe) consisting of 'values' and 'basic assumptions'.
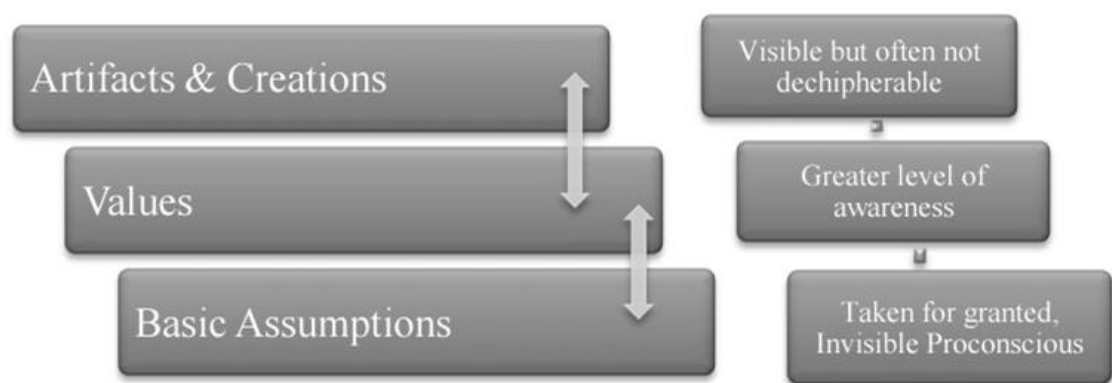
Figure 2: Schein's (1985) model of organisational culture.

Artefacts and Creations

Artefacts and creations are comprised of three different levels. (1) Physical manifestations such as logos and dress; (2) behavioural manifestations extending to ceremonies and rituals to rewards and punishments; lastly (3) verbal manifestations which include historic stories, jargon, and/or songs (Hatch and Cunliffe, 1997). It is important to note that cultural manifestations do not just spontaneously appear; rather they are developed over time through the process of human interaction (Slack and Parent, 2006).

Values

Values within an organisation include social principles and guidelines (Schein, 1985). Some examples of values include freedom, loyalty or friendship therefore representing what is important to an organisation (Alvesson, 1995).

Basic Assumptions

Basic assumptions represent the final level within an organisations culture and according to Schein (1985) the most deeply rooted. Alvesson (1995) suggests that basic assumptions are taken for granted and are actually core values that members/employees see as truth. Therefore, it is suggested that basic assumptions represent an organisation itself and how it is defined.

FOUNDERS, LEADERS, AND THE SOCIALISATION PROCESS

Schein's (1992) levels of organisational culture and Slack represent the process in which an organisation's culture revels itself to observation. However, these cultural elements do not just spontaneously appear; rather they are created and developed over time through a complex process of human interaction.

The creation of an organisation's culture is highly influenced by the organisation's founders (Hoye, Smith, Nicholson, Stewart, and Westerbeek, 2009). This is significant because organisational founders are usually able to generate excitement and enthusiasm about the fundamental values and purpose of the organisation (Slack and Parent, 2006). Additionally, strong cultures are often created by a devotion to tradition and developing a sense of history, thus, founder's ideas are traditionally privileged within the organisation (Hoye, Smith, Nicholson, Stewart, and Westerbeek, 2009). Therefore, founders are placed in a powerful position when creating an organisation's culture and their influence is likely to continue for a very long time (Slack and Parent, 2006).

While the influence of the founders can have a significant impact on an organisation's culture their influence would not be endured if it was not supported by influential people and leaders within an organisation (Scott, 1997). Leaders that are capable of inspiring members to overlook their own self-interests for the benefit of the organisation are more likely to be successful in creating or reinforcing a strong culture (Scott, 1997). Furthermore, leaders that host critical culture buildings activities are

often more successful in generating support from members for the cultural characteristics of the organisation they wish to promote (Scott, 1997).

Leadership links directly to the socialisation process as the ability of the leadership group to successfully impose their own values and assumptions on the majority results in them becoming taken for granted (Schein, 1992). Socialisation is a constant process in which an individual obtains a sense of identity, learns the norms, values and appropriate behaviour for their social circumstance through human interaction (Coakley, Hallinan, Jackson, and Mewett, 2009).

Schein (1992) claims there are five major activities which enable an organisation to manage and reinforce its culture successfully. All of these activities are directly related to concepts of leadership and socialisation discussed above. Firstly, what leaders pay attention to, measure and attempt to control (Schein, 1992). Secondly, how leaders react to critical incidents and organisational crises (Schein 1992). Thirdly, the role modelling, teaching and coaching done by leaders are highly influential. The criteria for allocation of rewards and status are another important cultural reinforcer. Lastly, Schein (1992) claims that the criteria for recruitment, selection, promotion, retirement and excommunication influence how an organisation's culture is managed.

Schein's (1992) three phases to organisational culture captures the framework through which I aim to use to explore the concept of normative control at the University Sports Club. Schein (1992), Alvesson (1995) and Slack and Parent's (2006) ideas draw deeper conclusions to what Barker's (1993) value based consensus is made up of. Further, the importance of founders, leaders and the socialisation process represents important elements of organisational culture which in turn effects Barker's (1993) value based consensus of normative control. Apply these ideas to the University Sports Club's culture around the consumption of alcohol could provide useful in understanding the contested relationship between alcohol and sport.

ORGANISATIONAL RESISTANCE

Having reviewed the literature of normative control and organisational culture I now turn to look at the final concept that underpins my research; organisational resistance. Organisational scholars have shown interest in different systems of organisational

control, workplace resistance, and in particular to the metaphor of control which refers to the process of tightening the 'iron cage' (Thomas and Davies, 2005). In the case of sport, it is common to have strong cultures that have been established by historical traditions, however some cultural characteristics like excessive drinking may fall outside the management approach that needs to be carried out in the best interests of an organisation (Hoye, Smith, Nicholson, Stewart, & Westerbeek, 2009).

I have already highlighted that the literature on normative control could be strengthened by looking at how resistance operates simultaneously with control. Therefore in the following review I will look at the literature around resistance to normative control. In doing so I will discuss how I will use of Mumby's (2005) dialectical model to form my own contribution to the literature.

RESISTANCE: CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE

The academic field of management studies suggests an implicit binary opposition that "privileges either organisational control processes or employee resistance to such mechanisms of control" (Mumby, 2005, p. 20). Studies that have solely focused on organisational control processes have drawn conclusion that worker resistance is ineffective in transforming power relations (Buraway, 1979; Willis, 1997). In contrast, studies that support organisational resistance stipulate that such practices are authentic, successful and remain untouched by organisational control efforts (Bell and Forbes, 1994; Scott, 1990, Kondo, 1990; Garrety and Down, n.d.).

Mumby (2005) highlights that both these arguments are problematic. Instead, suggests adopting a more dialectical approach to studying control and resistance. As a result looking at how control and resistance can operate simultaneously to produce a mutual outcome. Thus, the focus of critical research should be nether on "the bow (an ostensible act of obeisance to power) nor the fart (a covert act of resistance to power) but rather on the ways in which these intersect in the moment to moment to produce complex and often contradictory dynamics of control and resistance" (Mumby, 2005, p. 21). Prasad and Prasad (1998) capture this philosophy by suggesting:

> *"resistance is best understood as a socially constructed category*
> *emerging out of the multiple interpretations of both workplace actors*

and academic researchers. Therefore, it is important to avoid essentialising routine resistance and treating it as an established set of actions or behaviours" (p. 251)

Mumby's (1998) and Prasad and Prasad's (1998) understanding of the control-resistance dynamic provides a framework which this thesis aims to adopt. As Barker's (1993) findings indicate, resistance does not exist under normative control, as a result this research will use Mumby's (1998) and Prasad and Prasad's (1998) understandings to look at resistance as they suggest that control and resistance can successfully foster together within an organisation.

RESISTANCE TO NORMATIVE CONTROL: MUMBY'S (2005) DIALECTIC APPROACH

As highlighted empirical studies looking at normative control have shown how interests of the dominant group are strengthened and resistance is non-existent. Barker's (1993, 2004) work is no exception to this understanding as it demonstrates that a normative system of control actually tightens the "iron cage" and that control is stronger than bureaucracy. In order to investigate this gap in literature, I will use the work of Mumby (2005), in particular his framework of the dialectical model in order to view control and resistance as two co-existent concepts which both have influence within an organisation. Mumby's (2005) dialectic approach highlights that resistance can be understood as an individual or collective practice/action in an effort to shape social structures that are mutually beneficial. In other words, a dialectical analysis explores the ongoing tensions and contradictions that constitute the process by which organisational actors attempt to shape workplace practices (Mumby, 2005). Therefore, using this approach to look at resistance within normative structures of control I will begin to tease out both elements of control that are effective in fostering a positive team environment, implications that threaten forms of resistance to this environment, and the binary of these concepts as they produce a functional organisation.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

The following chapter discusses the methodological approach this research takes, including the research framework, data gathering and data analysis procedures adopted to answer the research question. Beginning with outlining the research framework by specifically identifying the ontological and epistemological paradigmatic position this research possess under a 'critical constructivist' paradigm. Consequently arriving at a qualitative framework using abductive reasoning and a single case study approach. Following, this chapter provides a historical contextualised analysis of the University Sports Club under investigation in order to establish an understanding and background of the organisation and its members. Next, this chapter reviews the qualitative method of semi-structured interviews as a data gathering tool. Lastly, this chapter discusses the process of King's (2012) template analysis as it is applied to thematically analyse the collected data.

RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

This research thesis adopts a critical constructivist paradigmatic approach to carry out the research process. Critical constructivism involves the merging of constructivist and critical realism (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Research from a critical constructivism stance involves the construction of knowledge within ones mind which is influenced by society around them (Tobin, 1993; Tobin and Tippins, 1993; Geeland, 1996). Research is therefore built when personal experience interacts with academic or lived knowledge. It is thus suggested that a key skill set of a critical constructivist researcher involves articulating the combination of personal experience and knowledge (Littlejohn and Foss, 2009). To elaborate on this point further, I find it important to acknowledge my position as the researcher, more specifically what Adler and Adler (1987) refer to as 'active membership'. Adler and Adler (1987) contend that with active membership researchers adopt active roles, for example, participating in social activities of the group under investigation. As a result, a researcher generally assumes a functional role within their setting, that is, neither solely research or socially based. Active-member-researchers, therefore, relate to members of the setting in a qualitatively different way than do researchers in peripheral membership roles. Instead of merely sharing the status of insiders, they interact as colleagues – co-participants in a joint endeavour. As

a previous member of the organisation this research uses for the basis of data collection I was able to utilise my active membership position to understand participant's perspectives and lived experiences, thus drawing myself closer to the subjects. As a result I was able to draw on my own experiences when collecting and analysing the research data. This can be seen through my analysis in the findings and discussion chapters as I use my previous experiences to build on the data gathered and conclusions made.

ONTOLOGICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL POSITIONS

Operating under the critical constructivist framework it is my view that one's ontological assumptions are highly subjective and a personal set of beliefs. Guba & Lincoln (1994) support this claim by suggesting a critical constructivist ontology suggests that social realities are subjective and dependant on a number of factors, such as an individual or groups existing cultural/historical understanding and values. It is from this view that I position this research thesis in order to understand the perspectives of the participants and the conclusions I draw from these perspectives whilst taking into account the subjectivity and bias of such understandings.

Epistemology aims to help provide logical reasoning behind deciding what forms of knowledge are valid or relevant to the certain context (Maynard, 1994). This research adopts a critical constructivist epistemological approach. Critical constructivists place significance on participant's opinions and experiences, as well as their historical and cultural location (Creswell, 2005). These conceptions therefore form my justification for adopting an ontological and epistemological stance under the critical constructivist framework as it will allow me to gain a greater understanding of the subjective negotiations of the alcohol and sport issue whilst utilising my active membership within the University Sports Club.

ABDUCTIVE REASONING: ON THE INDUCTIVE AND DEDUCTIVE CONTINUUM

In a research sense, reasoning, can be classified as either inductive and/or deductive (Galotti, 1989). Deductive reasoning occurs when a researcher works from the more general information to the more specific (Galotti, 1989). Tolich and Davidson (1999) refer to this "process as the 'top-down' approach because the researcher starts at the top with a very broad spectrum of information and they work their way down to a

specific conclusion" (p. 19). Inductive reasoning works the opposite way, moving from specific observations to broader generalisations and theories (Galotti, 1989). Therefore this approach is sometimes called the 'bottom up' approach.

This research thesis's scope falls in the middle of the continuum of deductive and inductive reasoning. Therefore, this research thesis will use both forms of reasoning in order to answer the research question. Alvesson and Skoldberg (2009) describes this as 'abductive reasoning', in which a "single case is interpreted from a hypothetic overarching pattern, which, if it were true, explains the case in question" (p. 4). Alvesson and Skoldberg (2009) describe abductive reasoning as a "hermeneutic process during which the researcher, as it were, eats into empirical matter with the help of theoretical pre-conceptions, and also keeps developing and elaborating the theory" (p. 5-6). In the case of this research I am using three concepts to analyse the alcohol and sport relationship, namely, normative control, organisational culture, and organisational resistance which haven't typically been used in this field before, at least in association with each other. Therefore, by using an abductive approach I am able to use already established understandings to comprehend this relationship, but more specifically build on these theories by generating my own conceptions.

QUALITATIVE FRAMEWORK

Based on the research framework discussed this thesis adopts a qualitative approach. The decision to adopt a qualitative approach is based on the ontological and epistemological positions under the critical constructivist paradigm. Further in order to introduce new concepts to the alcohol and sport literature an exploratory element is required. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) state:

> *"The word qualitative implies an emphasis on the qualities of entities and on processes and meanings that are not experimentally examined or measured (if measured at all) in terms of quantity, amount, intensity, or frequency. Qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry. Such researchers emphasise the value-laden nature of inquiry. They seek*

answers to questions that stress how social experience is created and given meaning" (p. 10).

Denzin and Lincoln's (2005) depiction drew key reference was to 'how' social reality is constructed. Further, that qualitative research methods are well suited to investigate complex and socially constructed phenomena. As a result I believe that a qualitative approach will provide a valid framework to which I aim to answer my research question. Adding to this, Denzin and Lincoln's (2005) reference to the researcher's importance during a qualitative inquiry further justifies my decision. Further, the framework of qualitative research includes a number of varying methods and practices (Nelson, Treichler, and Grossberg, 1992). For the purposes of this research, a single case study approach and semi-structured interviews were used as data collection tools.

SINGLE CASE STUDY APPROACH

Having established my research framework in which to approach this thesis, it is important to discuss my decision to investigate a single sporting organisation. While a large number of sporting organisations would provide opportunities to contrast and compare my findings, a 'single case study' approach was more appealing for a number of reasons which I will outline below. However, before discussing the deliberations behind this decision I will firstly capture what a 'single case study' is:

> *'...an empirical inquiry, that; investigates, a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident' (Yin, 2009, p. 18).*

Pettigrew (1973) and Yin (2009) suggest, case studies aim to study phenomena in their contexts. This made a case study design suited to my particular topic, as the context (the organisation and its identity) was of as much interest as the phenomena under study (alcohol use). The overarching aim of the study was to understand the link between context and phenomena, and I believe a case study approach provides a means to do so.

Other contributing factors to my decision to use a single case study approach were predominately down to timeframe and the contested nature of the study. The main contributing factor that led me to adopt a single case study approach was gaining access to an organisation. The topic of alcohol consumption acts as a sensitive subject to both the organisation and the individual. A limited timeframe and resources at my disposal were also a contributing factor to the single case study approach. In terms of data collection, transcription, and analysis, interviews from a single organisation seemed more realistic under the time constraints of a Master's thesis. Not to mention negotiating agreements with multiple organisations, gaining ethical approval, and carrying out data collection would have proved difficult and raised questions of its importance to the overall research aims.

THE SPORTING ORGANISATION AND PARTICIPANTS

As discussed above with my justifications of a single case study approach, investigating the issues around alcohol and sport is a sensitive topic. Consequently finding an organisation to agree to conduct this research could have raised many concerns for the completion of this research. However, I was fortunate enough to be granted access to a University Sports Club in New Zealand. Due to ethical concerns the University Sports Club will remain anonymous. However, in order to create some context and to outline the organisation and the subsequent participants for this study I will provide an overview of the organisation which will remain within the boundaries of ethical constraints due to potential alienation of the various cultural practices I will discuss later in this thesis. As a result I will not name the organisation, its members, the sporting code, or the place of origin.

The University Sports Club investigated for this study is a non-profit organisation whose purpose is to provide for the requirements of sports players within the sporting code in the University populated area. It seeks to promote, deliver and educate a unique sporting experience, consistent with leading New Zealand and International standards. The club is made up of approximately 120 members consisting of six teams (four male and two female). The club is managed by a voluntary committee of University students (who also play for the club) consisting of nine members.

The University Sports Club has a rich culture that has been developed and sustained over its long history. There are many practices within the culture which are vital to the survival, growth, adaptation, and internal integration of the Club. The University Sports Club is renowned for their supreme spirit on and off the pitch – known as 'Varsity Players'. The University Sports Club is not only a sports club but an association that prides itself on an exceptional level of performance, they are known for their tomfoolery and antics away from the pitch. Member turnover is large due to the length of University degrees, therefore it is important for the culture to be passed down year by year. This is achieved through a collective 'old boy' group who teach 'freshers' the traditions, values, beliefs, and rites of the organisation through numerous socialisation processes.

For the purposes of this research fifteen members of this club were selected to participate in semi-structured interviews. These members were selected internally by the organisation after I approached them with the opportunity to carry out this research. In order to maintain confidentiality and abide by the ethical considerations of this research I will refer to each member's name who were interviewed using numbers (i.e. Participant One).

As per standard practice, ethical approval was sought via the Victoria University of Wellington ethics committee, and granted successfully in September 2014.

DATA COLLECTION: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

As previously stated, this research uses a qualitative research framework and subsequently employed semi-structured interviews as a data collection tool. A research interview is defined as a two person conversation initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research-relevant information, and focused specified research objectives (Cannell and Kahn, 1957). Interviews are particularly insightful as they "illuminate perspective" (Sparkes and Templin, 1992, p. 121), allowing the researcher to listen to the subjective experiences and perceptions of their participant-respondent (Puig and Morell, 1996: Stevenson, 1999). Interviews can collect data concerned with concepts that are difficult to measure, and tend to explore questions of 'why' and 'how' rather than the 'how many' and 'when' (Gratton and

Jones, 2004). As a result a greater depth of information can be gathered by an interview, thus enhancing the richness of the data from an often smaller sample group.

Interaction through interviews can be directed in three basic ways which determines how the interview is approached; (1) informal conversation, (2) interview guide approach, and (3) standardised open ended (Patton, 2002). The method used in the current research thesis is that of the 'semi-structured interview guide' approach. In this case, relevant issues to be discussed were identified prior to the interview, but the precise wording of the questions were not determined. However, as the researcher I was able to adopt a flexible approach to data collection as I could alter the sequence of questions and probe for more information with additional questions when needed (Gratton and Jones, 2004). The use of open questioning proved crucial to the depth of information that I gathered. The flexibility in this approach enabled me to question more in depth when needed, and to take routes in the questioning that may have not appeared important when developing the schedule.

The interview process for this study consisted of fifteen semi-structured interviews in total, this included; – 7 old boys, 7 freshers, and 1 coach. Only fifteen interviews were conducted due to time constraints, access to organisational members, and ethical concerns.

Interview guide questions were formulated based on the literature review and my previous personal experiences within the sporting subculture. Furthermore, after each interview, the guide was re-developed in areas which required modifications or when new findings were discovered. Each interview ran for approximately 30 minutes. The interview process was entirely voluntary, and at any time the participants were able to withdraw from the process. All data was audio recorded and transcribed with participant permission.

DATA ANALYSIS: KING'S TEMPLATE ANALYSIS

To analyse the interview data that was collected, I chose to utilise thematic analysis, which Boyatzis (1998) defines as:

> *'Thematic analysis is a process for encoding qualitative information. The*
> *encoding requires a specific 'code'. This may be a list of themes; a complex*

model with themes, indicators, and qualifications that are causally related;
or something in between these two forms' (p. 7).

Thematic analysis can be understood as a process of identifying themes in a set of data. A theme being a common pattern that appears across the data set. For the current research thesis I chose to use an adaption of 'King's Template Analysis' in order to carry out my thematic data analysis process.

The decision to use this approach was based on two factors. Firstly, King's Template Analysis allows the reduction of a large amount of unstructured text (interview transcripts) into that which is relevant and manageable in for the evaluation. Secondly, it is a flexible technique and good for seeking to understand human/social interactions. King's Template Analysis consists of six key processes that need to be carried out in order to tease out relevant themes (King, 2012). These are captured in 'Table one' below:

Table 1*: King's Template Analysis defined by six key stages (King, 2012).*

Kings Six Stages	Explanation
Create initial template	Defining priori themes
Transcribing	Transcribe interviews and read through them thoroughly to familiarise oneself with the data collected
Initial coding of data	Identifying parts of transcripts that are relevant to the research question – relevant themes attach to priori themes, new themes create insertion
Grouping	Grouping themes to a smaller number of codes
Deletion	Deletion of themes if they are not relevant

Revise	Revision of finalised themes ready for analysis and discussion

In order to capture the data analysis process I carried out for this research thesis I will discuss each stage in detail.

Creation of initial template

The creation of the initial template played an essential part in the interview process itself. This template guided the questions asked during the interviews of each participant. Through the use of the relevant literature I developed priori themes which captured my research topic wholly. After surveying a wide range of literature I established four main priori themes: (1) organisational culture, (2) control (3) resistance, and (4) the sport and alcohol relationship. These four themes formed the basis of my semi-structured interview guide and the foundations of my thematic analysis.

Transcribing of interviews and familiarisation

Interviews were firstly digitally transcribed word for word, this provided an effective way of reading over all the interview data. Following transcription, I read over each transcript to form initial ideas and categorisation possibilities, thus arriving at King's (2012) next step.

Carry out initial coding of data

The initial coding process provided a detailed analysis of the interview transcripts. Here I identified 'key themes' that I saw as most prominent across all the interviews.

Group themes to a smaller number of codes

In order to maximise the data's contribution I found it important to group themes into distinct categories. Here, I categorised each cluster of themes into overarching categories. For example, the theme of 'Initiation/hazing' was moved to sit under the larger overarching theme of 'subcultural practices'. This process allowed me to depict a clearer picture through which I could form my findings and discussion sections through which I make my conclusions and contributions.

Deletion if not relevant

Not all themes provided relevance in order to answer the research question, as they were either not a major part of the research focus or fell outside of the scope of this research – for example, masculinity. As a result, these themes were subsequently deleted or moved to reside under more specific themes if they proved useful in explaining the data set.

Revise

King's (2012) final step of revising the thematic process consisted of looking at the literature that formed the foundation of this research, revisiting the research questions and aims of this research, and finally looking where contributions can be made in order to move into the analysis and discussion sections.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

The broad conclusion that I established from the empirical data is that the University Sports Club operates under a normative system of control. Here, members are required to follow the many subcultural practices, in particular, the consumption of alcohol, if they want to become and remain associated with the Club. However, due to the negative attention alcohol and sport receive within contemporary society, it was also noted that within the University Sports Club there are modes of resistance surfacing in an effort to change the Club's culture and subsequent public perception. As a result, the University Sports Club is beginning to navigate through these challenges to its culture, whilst working hard to retain its traditions, members, and continuity. Thus, building on the literature on normative control, the University Sports Club demonstrate how they are able to traverse through the strong cultural elements of normative control and resistance, and as a result, become a more professional organisation while maintaining many of their traditional elements. Having said this, the prevalence of alcohol consumption still remains heavily engrained in the Club's culture.

Following the data analysis process, a number of themes became apparent through my collected qualitative data which lead me to the conclusions made above. In order to illustrate these themes, I present them in this findings chapter under three main headings; cultural practices, unconscious power structures, and resistance and change. Under each of these headings there are a number of sub themes deliberated on which, in turn, will form the basis of my discussion – see 'table two' below.

Table 2*: Key themes and sub-themes formed from the qualitative data collection and analysis.*

Key themes	Sub-theme
Cultural Practices	Member recruitment
	Ceremonies and rites
	Ritualised rules and customs
	Symbols
	'Varsity Player'
Normative Control	Empowerment
	Identification
	Discipline
	Resistance
Resistance and change	External Pressures
	Internal Resistance
	The Rite of passage

THE UNIVERSITY SPORTS CLUB: CULTURAL PRACTICES

In this first section, I find it important to present the descriptive findings of the study in order to provide a context through which the University Sports Club can be understood. In doing so, I will outline and describe the many cultural practices that make up the University Sports Club. Deliberating on these cultural practices establishes a platform through which normative control can be analysed and understood. There are many cultural practices within the University Sports Club that became apparent through the interviewing process, with these defining the Club and its members as 'Varsity Players'. Schein's (1985; 1992) conceptualisation of organisational culture as

discussed in the literature review provided a foundation through which I was able to tease out the many manifestations of the University Sport Club's culture. In doing so, I have identified five key practices that I found most prevailing to the University Sports Club's culture, which are; member recruitment, ceremonies and rites, ritualised rules and customs, symbols, and the 'Varsity Player'.

MEMBER RECRUITMENT

In order for the University Sport Club's subcultural practices to emerge historically and continue to be used within contemporary society, the recruitment of members is important. Schein (1985) suggests that the recruitment process of new members into a subculture can prove vital to the survival of cultural traditions, values, beliefs, and rites within an organisation. This is particularly true for a university-based sports Club where there is a high turnover of relatively temporary members – simply by virtue of the fact that they typically study for three years and then depart. With respect to recruitment, during trials at the University Sports Club which are run by 'old boys' (existing members), there is a selection criteria that is not just based on pure sporting skill. Rather, selectors look for both the physical and social capabilities of players. That is, recruitment is based on a number of different characteristics which was expressed by the interviewees.

> *P4. "The criteria to be a Varsity member is that you not only have to be a good player"*

> *P 15. "Passion, pride, and tomfoolery are attributes we look for"*

In some ways, comments like these reveal that the Club becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy as it selects people that are 'like existing members', and who are likely to conform to the existing Club codes. Although this process of member recruitment proves important for the maintenance of the Club's culture, one could also argue that this type of selection criteria is very subjective and serves the status quo, while potentially marginalising some very good athletes.

It can also be argued that by selecting likeminded members, Club traditions are less likely to be questioned or changed. However, interviewees did not view their member recruitment process in this light at all.

P2. "If the varsity culture isn't for you then you shouldn't trial at all. There are plenty of other Club's around"

P7. "Everyone knows that the University Sports Club has a reputation, only those who think they have what it takes to be one of us should trial"

Member recruitment holds a strong influence over the University Sports Club. Most importantly, members feel that this process is necessary.

CEREMONIES AND RITES

At the University Sports Club, the freshman initiation serves as a ceremony which signifies the initiates' transition from social outsider to insider. As research suggests, initiation ceremonies provide an opportunity for 'freshers' to prove a commitment to their team, bring about team cohesion, and provide a rite of passage (Carron et al., 2002; Johnson, 2011). Although at the University Sports Club initiation ceremonies align with these elements, their importance extends further. This importance stems from the fact that the Club needs initiation ceremonies to ensure their historically rich culture is passed down year by year and remains operational in a contemporary context.

'Appendix three' provides a detailed description of a typical University Sports Club initiation ceremony. It is important to note here that this data was depicted through the semi-structured interviews, as well as my own account of when I was a member of the Club. Drawing on this data, it appears that there are many activities that occur at the annual initiation ceremony that prove vital to maintaining the Club's traditions. From this, I have drawn out two key themes that represent what the initiation ceremonies entail, and that are specific to this research.

The first of these themes is the 'consumption of alcohol'. It is no secret that the consumption of alcohol is a priority at initiation ceremonies, and a large amount of research supports this (Adams et al., 2010; Carron et al., 2002; Clayton and Harris, 2008; Clayton, 2012; Fields, Kirby & Wintrup, 2002; Sweet, 1999; Van Raalte et al., 2009; Waldron et al., 2011; Whitson, 1990). At the University Sports Club's initiation ceremonies this is no different. The prevailing theme throughout the night involves events in the form of drinking games, which require the consumption of alcohol.

Interviewees highlighted that through the consumption of alcohol, freshers were able to:

P10. "Break shyness, reach out and make meaningful relationships within teams".

Supporting this, the initiation ceremonies provide the opportunity, through the use of alcohol, to help new members fit into the culture that exists at the Club.

P7. "Through the consumption of alcohol, freshers are provided with an opportunity to show their commitment to the team, and the culture they want to be a part of"

Having identified alcohol's presence at the University Sports Club, in particular at initiation ceremonies, it remains important to understand its purpose and function at the Club. As a result, I enquired by asking *"Why do you think alcohol is important to the University Sports Club"?*

P6. "It helps with team building, kind of brings everyone together and removes that awkwardness"

P13. "Our whole culture is built on top of the consumption of alcohol. It's how new members become part of the Club. We use alcohol to educate our rules and traditions at the initiation ceremonies"

It seems that members understand and accept that alcohol is the key ingredient in the University Sports Club's culture. This could be due to them not knowing any different, highlighting a major issue within itself, or that they simply enjoy associating themselves with such deviant behaviour.

The second major theme that became apparent across the Club's initiation ceremonies was the *education of Club rules and customs*. Scattered throughout the initiation ceremony, freshers were exposed to numerous rules and traditions valued at the Club, with knowledge of these required in order to gain a rite of passage. These included the learning of the 'Varsity song', 'where you from' rhymes, and both the formal and drinking rules. Here it is important to note that the learning of these rules and customs was more often than not done the hard way – that is, through trial and error.

P2. "Failure to abide by the Club rules and customs leads to punishment"

To gain a true perspective and appreciation of the initiation process, it is important to hear the voices of those who have endured it. All interviewees besides one (the Club Coach) have endured this process, and the following comment captures each interviewee's perspective following the completion of an initiation.

P5. "I felt accepted and I felt that I knew everyone a lot more. I wasn't as nervous around people and felt like I could be myself. I really felt a part of the Club"

RITUALISED RULES AND CUSTOMS

Associated with any subculture is a set of ritualised rules and customs which are expected modes of behaviour. At the University Sports Club, there are various Club rules and customs embedded within the culture that differentiate Club members from outsiders. For the purpose of this discussion, I will identify the Club's ritualised rules and customs in two categories; 'formal' rules and customs, and 'drinking' rules and customs.

'Formal' Rules and Customs

There are many formal rules and customs within the University Sports Club, which include; old man suits, left hand shake, two dollar items, varsity challenge shirt, and the mentor system. These formal rules and customs shape what encompasses a 'Varsity Player', which is defined as:

P2. "A unique member of a special Club who represents what it is and what it means to be a part of the University Sports Club subculture"

The rule and custom of the 'old man suit' requires every member of the Club to wear an old man suit to games and Club events, known as the Club uniform.

P 5. "An old man suit consists of a blazer, shirt, pants, tie, vest, and some form of footwear."

The purpose of this Club uniform is that it creates an identifiable group where everyone looks the same. Members within the Club suggest that:

> *P3. "It's a tradition, after the freshers have been initiated, they wear old man suits, old man jacket, trousers, slippers, shirt and tie. Dress up like your grandfather would, you wear this to every game or varsity events"*

The following comment reinforces how members feel about this cultural tradition, suggesting that they have pride in the old man suit, and that it makes them feel like they belong.

> *P8. "It's great, Club members on the side line wearing their old man suits really defines to everyone who we are. An all as one sort of thing"*

Closely related to this tradition is the rule and custom of the 'left hand shake'. Within society, the general consensus and socially accepted way to shake someone's hand is using ones 'right' hand. However, at the University Sports Club there is a rule which:

> *P 12. "Commands every member to use their 'left' hand. Separating and making members unique from outsiders"*

Another rule and custom at the University Sports Club is owning a '$2 item'.

> *P 11. "Each member within the Club is required to have on them at all times a $2 item. A $2 item can be anything in any shape or form, as long as it costs $2, and that it is not used for its purpose. Examples of $2 items range from hair combs to a loose condom. The purpose behind this Club rule is to create differentiation from other Clubs, and similarity among Club members. Creating a sense of belonging, and attachment to the culture you could say"*

When asking Club members what these items meant, I got the following response:

> *P1. "I was given my $2 item by my mentor (old boy), it's a symbol of our relationship...it identifies me and is yet another tradition which separates ourselves from other Clubs"*

This comment reinforces the uniqueness of this tradition. Despite being a rather abstract idea, it creates unity and identification.

'Drinking' Rules and Customs

In addition to the formal rules and customs, there are many robust and strict drinking rules and customs at the University Sports Club. The consumption of alcohol is apparent across all aspects of the Club, therefore it makes sense it having numerous drinking rules and customs to enforce this consumption. These basic rules include; drinking only with your left hand, 'tapping out' a vessel on any surface twice when it is finished, and 'where you from' rhymes. The *left hand rule* is outlined as follows:

> *P 8. "Anything consumed must be done with the left hand or both hands on a vessel. If anything is consumed with the right hand it is determined 'buffaloed'. The offending member must finish what they are consuming as quickly as possible"*

Tapping out your vessel rule is outlined as follows:

> *P 12. "Once a Club member has an empty vessel, the vessel must be tapped either on one's head or a surface before being laid to rest. Failure to do so requires the consumer to fill their vessel and consume as quickly as possible, regardless of size"*

Lastly, the *where you from rule* is outlined as follows;

> *P 10. "Anytime a Club member is asked by another Club member or associated person 'Where are you from?' they must consume whatever vessel they have and following this, before any other speech, will inform the questioner of their place of origin in some form of rhyme"*

An example of player's rhymes is noted below:

> *P5. "I'm from Tauranga city where they still call me (participant 5) oh what a pity, but my real name is (participant 5) and I am the naked shitter, the day I score you will read about it on Twitter, varsity blood runs through my veins, for I am not a quitter, varsity for life".*

Such rules and customs are unique to the University Sports Club, and the experience that is shared among its members is strong, with every member encouraging and enforcing these rules and customs. Conformity to these rules brings with it the rite of passage to become an accepted member of the subculture.

In line with the Club's rules and customs around the consumption of alcohol, I proceeded to ask interviewees how the University Sports Club supports the alcohol and sport relationship within New Zealand. The responses highlighted that the Club is a leader and encourager in regards to drinking.

> P10. *"We are encouraged to drink at the University Sports Club"*

> P3. *"I feel like our whole culture is formed around the idea of drinking. We do all our team bonding under the influence of alcohol, and our rules and traditions are based around alcohol too"*

These comments highlight the issues that are existent within sport in New Zealand and further, that individuals do not view alcohol's relationship with sport as problematic. It is evident that the University Sports Club seems to be encouraging these ideas. This is also reinforced by individuals wanting to join the Club purely due to its reputation around alcohol.

> P8. *"The University Sports Club is the Club people join if they want to embrace both the social and competitive side of sport"*

> P10. *"The Club was known for its members being big drinkers, so I thought why not join this Club?"*

Promoting a culture around the consumption of alcohol, one would think that this could come with certain consequences for those who may not always want to join in. However when asking interviewees about the pressures around having to drink this was not the case.

> P5. *"I love to drink alcohol so I don't really look at it like this. But if you aren't a big drinker then I probably wouldn't come here and play"*

> P9. *"If I don't want to drink one weekend then I probably wouldn't show up to the after match drinks as I would just be hounded to drink. So I guess there is a pressure, but everyone knows this is the case when they join"*

SYMBOLS

One significant symbol of the University Sports Club is the 'Varsity song'.

> *P1. "The song is sung as a victory chant bringing members together to celebrate a winning success, also expressing the legacy and history of the Club."*

The song goes as follows:

> *P14. "The varsity boys are coming, the varsity boys are here*
>
> *With three or four French letters and a flagon of good beer*
>
> *We've got a reputation for seducing little boys, for raping old aged pensioners and stealing children's toys*
>
> *We're the perverts of the nation, we're the bums you'll never see*
>
> *We'll win this game for varsity*
>
> *Varsity Varsity, Varsity – oi oi oi"*

The song is used to convey certain characteristics which the participants within the University Sports Club have come to value and wish to express publically through this powerful symbol. This is reinforced by the following comment:

> *P9. "It's a victory song, we sing it if we win or at Club events when drunk... It's pretty much just a celebration, a stomping of authority when we win, letting the other team know in the changing sheds that we are varsity, we are proud to be winners and proud to be varsity members"*

Songs and ritualised singing are fundamental to the process of individual/group/team identification, as Bauman (1992) suggests they differentiate between insider and outsider.

CONCLUSION: A 'VARSITY PLAYER'

The overarching purpose of the many cultural practices within the University Sports Club's subculture is the construction of an individual's identity to form what is termed a 'Varsity Player'.

When asking interviewees what they thought made up a 'Varsity Player' I received the following responses:

P1. "Someone who has pride and passion for being a member of the Club"

P14. "I guess all the cultural practices like the drinking rules, old man suit, and our song make us who we really are. A Varsity Player is therefore someone who encompasses all this and helps to pass, educate, and reinforce these traditions to others"

It is clear that one does not simply become a Varsity Player, there are a number of processes and rules through which one must abide to in order to fulfil this identity. The above discussions of the various subcultural practices reinforce this along with the following comment:

P6. "With such a high turnover of students due to the length of University degrees, we have players coming and going all the time, so it vital to have our culture and form a Varsity Player identity, otherwise we would just have no chemistry"

It is clear that the University Sport Club has a large range of subcultural practices. Although it is a requirement to conform to these practices in order to be accepted as a member, many don't see this as problematic. When asking members of the Club how they felt about these subcultural practices the general consensus is that they are enjoyed and encouraged as it differentiates the Club and its member's. The following comment supports this:

P5. "It's all just a part of the Club culture, separating us from the rest… everything about varsity is sort of just us against the rest of the world, it's how we survive"

In contrast, there were some expressions of concern around the cultural practices that are carried out, I will deliberate on these when discussing the specific findings on resistance.

Having an established culture and a collective group of individuals who represent what it means to be a 'Varsity Player' has its many purposes. For the scope of this research however, I find it important to look at how the culture at the University Sports Club

influences and dictates forms of control and power within the organisation/Club. The next section of this findings chapter highlights this process.

NORMATIVE CONTROL: THE UNCONSCIOUS POWER STRUCTURE

In order to gain an understanding of how participants viewed the power structures within the University Sports Club I simply asked them, *"How do you believe the power structures within the Club exist?"* Many of the interviewees had to think about this question.

> *P 7. "I have never really looked at the Club in terms of how power structures work, it sort of just works you know".*

> *P 10. "I guess we all have some degree of power within the Club. It just depends on how this power is used".*

> *P4. "I don't feel that there are any apparent power structures, there are a number of different elements that make up how control is exercised"*

At this point, I knew that I would need to dig deeper into their understanding of how control exists. In doing so, I asked each participant to think back to the beginning of when joining the Club, in doing so I wanted them to explain the transition from an outsider to insider. Many of the participants described this process by beginning with the annual initiation ceremony they were required to attend, gaining their 'rite of passage'.

> *P1. "It isn't until you have surpassed the initiation evening that you are truly a member of the Club. So I guess until this point you have no power, your actions are purely dictated by current members".*

The process through which normative control is enacted upon members at the University Sports Club can be illustrated through the annual initiation ceremony that is held each year at the Club to induct new members. This ceremony consists of an evening of various events where new members (freshers) undergo a number of tasks – see Appendix three. In order to illustrate this process, I will draw on Barker's (1993) three phases of Normative Control.

EMPOWERMENT: CONSOLIDATION AND VALUE CONSENSUS

"Over time the team's value-based interactions became a social force that controlled their actions" (Barker, 1993, p. 420).

Based on my analysis, it became clear that interviewees felt that control is somewhat distributed evenly among all members of the University Sports Club. Further, that control is based on a valued-consensus which is reinforced by the many cultural practices that make up the Club's culture. Using Barker's (1993) first phase of normative control, that is, consolidation and valued consensus, I can begin to illustrate exactly how the University Sports Club and its members view and act within a normative control structure.

Although there are elements of peer pressure within the Club's cultural practices, individuals see this as part of what it takes to be a Varsity Player. Each member experiences aspects of peer pressure as they buy into the culture, but this acts as a rite of passage through which one needs to prove to existing members that they are worthy of selection. It can therefore be suggested, that there is a hierarchy within the Club that becomes less accountable as new members are inducted and take on the 'Varsity Player' identity.

> *P2. "Once I had gained my right of passage into the Club after the initiation evening I felt that power was enforced by everyone. In order to be accepted into the Club we have to demonstrate that we understand, respect, and follow the Club's culture, therefore everyone is operating under the same consensus"*

> *P7. "I have been in the Club for three years and I still get freshers telling me 'where you from'". There is no hierarchy in the Club. Maybe at first when you are an outsider, but once you have passed your initiation night everyone becomes equal and 'Varsity Players'. It is up to everyone, regardless of old or new to maintain and reinforce this identity as a 'Varsity Player'".*

Members are confident that there is a horizontal control structure within the Club. Although there is an initial hierarchy, it is suggested by 'participant seven' that this vanishes as soon as one adopts the identity of a 'Varsity Player'. Consequently, control

is equally dispersed among members, with all members becoming responsible for maintaining this newly sort or existing identity, further, what Barker (1993) terms a value-based consensus. This idea is captured by the following statement:

P9. "The culture of the Club represents who has the power I think. The rules are traditions dictate what you can and cannot do. It is just up to everyone to make sure these rules and traditions are reinforced"

It is clear that the University Sports Club has a strong foundation of cultural practices forming what Barker (1993) terms a 'value-based consensus' through which each member is required to conform to in order to be given a rite of passage. As a result, the Club's value-based interactions became a social force that controls their actions (Barker, 1993).

IDENTIFICATION: EMERGENCE OF NORMATIVE RULES

"The experienced members turned their value consensus into normative rules that the new people could readily understand and to which they could subject themselves. You either obeyed the rules that team welcomed you as a member or you broke them and risked punishment" (Barker, 1993, p. 424).

There is clear value-based consensus through which members are required to subject themselves to in order to become members of the Club. Engaging in Barker's (1993) first phase to normative control. Following this, it became evident there was a system for punishment and reward in order to reinforce the 'Varsity Player' identity and the Club's customs and rules around it. Interviewees often spoke about punishment and reward as a key component of their culture. Highlighting that such systems make sure members abide to the rules and traditions that represent the University Sports Club's culture, and the individual 'Varsity Player' identity.

P3. "Control is enforced by everyone. You could say everyone is disciplined in some manner when they act outside of what it is to be a 'Varsity Player'. For example, if I was to drink with my right hand I would be punished by having to drink the rest of my beer, and having to fill it up again".

> *P1. "Those who conform and follow the Club's culture are rewarded, and those who don't are punished"*

I asked members to describe some scenarios through which this punishment and reward system is enforced.

> *P5. "I turned up to the first game of the season not wearing my old man suit. Everyone starting haggling me asking why I was not wearing it…I totally forgot. As a result, I was told to take off all my clothes are streak across the game that was being played before ours. Everyone laughed at me… it was cold. I can definitely now say that I always remember to wear my old man suit".*

> *P7. "At the end of every season at the annual prize giving ceremony there is an award called 'fresher of the year'. This award is presented to a member who was new to the Club that year and pretty much embraced all what it meant to be a 'Varsity Player'. I was fortunate enough to win the award in my first year. It was humbling and made me feel like I was really a part of something. Although some of our rules are outrageous, I think that it makes us who we are"*

A system of reward and punishment is vital to maintain the University Sports Club's culture. When members stray outside of the normal way of behaving it is important to acknowledge this, if this is ignored members will lose respect for the rules and ultimately these rules will be lost.

> *P4. "There are members who live and breathe what it is to be a Varsity player, and then there are members who aide to the rules to a point at which allows them to get by and remain at the Club. The important thing is that they are followed so they are kept alive"*

Again, the importance of the Club's culture is vital for its survival. So much so that members who fail to conform to the value-based consensus are asked to leave the Club. An extreme cause of action but this highlights the degree through which the culture plays a vital role in the Club's existence as discussed previously.

DISCIPLINE: STABILIZATION AND FORMALIZATION OF THE RULES

"The norms became formal rules with penalties… it had the elements of rationalized control without the hierarchical elements… people monitored each other's actions. It appears that Normative may be much stronger than the bureaucratic system" (Barker, 1993, p. 429).

The University Sports Club has a strong established culture where a value-based consensus is reinforced through a system of punishment and reward. Although members view this as an important system for the survival of the Club, it may also constrain the very purpose of what a sports Club is ultimately aiming to achieve – that is, winning sporting matches in a professional manner. The University Sports Club has a formal base through which the established value-based consensus is a requirement of membership. Although members see this as the norm, a perspective which Barker (1993) highlights is that normative control can be much stronger than a bureaucratic system of control and individuals can feel constrained. Interviewees touched on the idea that they felt like that are under constant surveillance whist around members of the Club.

> *P11. "When I'm at after match drinks I feel like I'm being watched. If I accidently drink with my wrong hand, then I'll get caught and told off. I guess this is just so we all remain aligned with the rules and traditions"*

> *P 7. "At first I felt like I was under constant surveillance. But now I have been at the Club for 3 years I know how I need to act, I do it unconsciously"*

Members acknowledge that they feel like they are being surveyed however agree that this is part of the culture, and if one wants to be a part of this then they must accept a degree of surveillance. As 'participant seven' highlighted it may only be an initial period that one feels that they are being watched. In order to tease out what this idea of surveillance means, I discussed with the interviewees how this is a phase of what researcher's term normative control, where rules are formalised and enforced upon individuals accordingly. I then asked interviewees how they felt about control through surveillance.

P14. "When we buy into the Club and become a member, we are sacrificing the right to have an issues with this idea of surveillance. We are all victims and enforcers of it. It is how our Club works and how we maintain our culture".

Members recognised the importance of this surveillance as suggested by the above statement – they accept the formalisation of rules and traditions. Further, when asking interviewees about how they felt about this form of control (normative control) they all agreed with it.

P 11. "I think it's needed. I never look at this as if I am being controlled, more about conforming to what the Club means; it's how we become successful on and off the pitch"

P 4. "The only negative I can think of is that some people leave the Club after their first year as they find it too much. Personally I feel like that maybe this is not the Club for those people. We have such a strong culture here, I don't see it being negative if you are willing to accept and embrace it".

Many of the cultural practices at the University Sports Club raise questions of cultural safety and human decency. For example, such as the 'over consumption' of alcohol. Literature suggests that this is becoming problematic in sport as discussed in Chapter Three (Black, Lawson, and Fleishman, 1999; Obrein et al, 2007; Stainback, 1997; The World Health Organisation, 2007). With these actions comes resistance from internal members of the Club, but also external parties who influence those members within. As I have outlined thus far, there is a strong culture at the University Sports Club bound by a number of rules and traditions. Typically, one does not stray from these set rules otherwise punishment is enforced on them. Members accept this and encourage such formations. However, in contrast to Barker's (1993) understanding of normative control where members felt that normative control systems tighten the iron cage, members at the University Sports Club noted that although control is tight and formalised there is room for one's voice to be heard.

This is perhaps an adaption to Barker's (1993) understanding of normative control as he was pessimistic about the possibility of resistance. In order to tease out these forms of resistance I will do so under the next key theme 'resistance and change'.

RESISTANCE AND CHANGE

The findings from this research illustrate that normative control at the University Sports Club is well established. This is evident as members conform to a value-based consensus of what it means to be a 'Varsity Player' and this is reinforced through surveillance and discipline. However, as literature suggests although normative systems of control are effective in fostering a team culture within an organisation, members often feel peer pressure to conform, and as a result feel under constant surveillance (Ezzamel & Willmott, 1998). This is demonstrated at the University Sports Club as interviewees commented:

> *P1. "There are times I feel like I am being watched, it's almost like you have*
> *to be looking over your shoulder at times. I do get scared that I may forget*
> *the rules and be punished as a consequence"*

> *P9. "Peer pressure is a pretty key part of our culture. It is how we reinforce*
> *all of our traditions on newbies"*

As a result, members began to ask questions of the culture at the University Sports Club and form resistance to organisational norms. The findings from this research at the University Sports Club illustrates the binary of resistance and control. Findings suggested that forms of resistance were generated in two forms; (1) external pressures for cultural change and subsequently, (2) internal resistance from members. I will discuss both these in their various forms, following I will discuss how members raise and deal with the challenges surrounding these external pressures both through resistance and change.

EXTERNAL PRESSURES FOR CULTURAL CHANGE

The many subcultural practices that are carried out at the University Sports Club are continuously critiqued and challenged by external groups such as the University. Thus suggesting that the subcultural practices could be under threat, which will not only bring with it consequences to the members at the Club, but also the Club's future

maintenance of its rich culture. These challenges from external groups represent the origin of resistance that internal members then bring upon the Club. Before discussing resistance from members themselves I find it important to outline the catalyst of such resistance, that is, from external sources.

University Policy and the Media

The New Zealand media and the University which the Club represents have raised many concerns over the cultural practices that are carried out, in particular, the practices of initiations and the large consumption of alcohol (as discussed previously). These concerns stem from issues around health and safety of the members.

> *P7. "The University are continuously discussing and changing rules around student drinking which directly affects us"*

> *P9. "There is always stuff in the news around drinking behaviour of students and sports teams. There is such a stigma around what we do here"*

The increased exposure and rules around student initiations and alcohol consumption present a major threat to the University Sports Club's subculture. As previously stated, the traditional fresher initiation ceremonies serve as a means for the subculture to reinforce certain shared values and signify a rite of passage for members. Therefore, these regulations could erode the University Sports Club's culture and eradicate the historical traditions which currently exist.

> *P10. "If the University actually enforced this rule on us then I am not sure what we will do. Our culture could potentially be under threat"*

> *P11. "We need to make some changes in order to get around some of these rules. We already have some practices in place to do this"*

Due to the 'code of silence' that surrounds the University Sports Club's initiations and other traditions, the University and the media are unaware of many of the practices that are carried out. Currently, the University Sports Club has had no issues with the student code of conduct, however it is only a matter of time until the University steps in, or for an initiation ceremony to get out of hand.

The culture which is produced at the University Sports Club is viewed by many members as important for its survival as noted in the following comment:

> *P13. "The big thing about our Club is that the way we get through is by our bond and unity, and I don't think you can get that without the drinking culture, initiations, the varsity ticker and the subculture that we have. Not only are we fighting on the field we are fighting off the field. It us against the rest".*

This comment suggests that there is outside critique of the Club's practices, as a result members within the Club are beginning to question how things are done. Some suggest that although the drinking culture flirts with being unacceptable, members of the Club believe it is also recognised by the Club and managed appropriately. However, others highlight that drinking is the only way members know how to create team cohesion.

Employed Coach

Coupled with the many pressures from the University and media is the University Sports Club Coach. The Coach is a paid external member whose duty is to purely educate and pass on knowledge to players. Acting against what is expected of him, the paid professional Coach at the University Sports Club has attempted to take action towards many of the Club traditions. Joining the Club six years ago he continues to battle to adapt some of the traditions which exist in the subculture. Specifically, he has been trying to change; the control structure within the Club, initiation ceremonies, and the varsity song. All for the purpose of bringing the Club into a more professional light. This is reinforced by the Coach stating:

> *Coach. "It's time to change , once you leave University, you will go out and see the world and look back and see it's wrong"*

This comment presents the Coach's stance towards the Club's culture. Although there is a challenge to the culture by the Coach he contends that he is doing it in the best interests of the Club. The paid Coach is a highly respected professional who has had many years' experience across the sporting sector. It could be argued that this could

be just the injection the Club needs to change its historical traditions that are becoming problematic.

As an external member coming into the Club to Coach the Men's first team, a Coach demands a certain level of respect and authority. As the Coach doesn't have the opportunity to undergo any of the rite of passage practices he sacrifices his ability to identify as a true member of the Club, that is, a 'Varsity Player'.

> *Coach. "They players have this idea of no hierarchy within the Club. They are all equal among themselves and all hold a degree of power. This made it extremely hard for me to do what I needed to do. It almost felt like me against the rest when I wanted something to be done or something to change"*

An example of how the Men's Coach challenged the culture can be seen through his actions to change the nature around the Men's first team selection. There is this unspoken tradition that exist at the University Sports Club that you have to earn your spot in the Men's first team.

> *P3. "It is very rare for a new member of the Club to feature in the Men's first team"*

The paid Coach challenged this system in the Club, where he commented:

> *Coach. "They had this idea of basically the 'old boys' had to play and they had the right to play, the way that they play as well was more or less all over the place, no organisation. I think they were surprised when I dropped the 'old boys' from the first team, there was no professional Coach before I came so the hierarchy was based from 'old boys' down. It's natural that they have more power as they know more about the Club. But I changed this, I was here to Coach sports and choose the best players, not those with social status"*

This challenge to the selection structure was enforced by the Coach and today there are both Freshers and Old boys in the Men's first team. This adaption provided an opportunity for the Coach to position himself somewhere in the power structures at

the Club as he dictated a change to the cultural norms. To what degree the Coach holds power is still yet to be determined:

> Coach. *"I am constantly trying to establish myself in a position of power, but the culture at the Club makes this a constant challenge"*

This challenge to the hierarchy has seen changes, today there is a well-established system where only 'off the field' practices have embedded in them the social structures that come with such a cultural driven Club. As a result, this structure reflects better on the Club and its players. It has been a successful challenge by the paid Coach, contributing to the professional image the Club is trying to develop.

Another contested area from the Coach has been the traditional initiation ceremonies. The 'code of silence' that surrounds the traditional initiation ceremonies has resulted in the paid Coach not knowing much about the initiation/hazing process. However, the Coach has expressed his challenge to this tradition when asked whether he agreed with initiations:

> Coach. *"Not really, I've been for a few minutes, it's all about drinking, young fellows need it, but what I don't agree with is peer pressure, this idea of you need to drink, do this".*

I then began to probe by suggesting that *"although you don't agree with it because of the peer pressure element, but as a Coach do you ignore it, or just accept that people do it?"* I got the following response:

> Coach. *"I don't ignore it, it is part of the culture and Club, as long as they come to training and do their job it is okay by me. Initiations are a rite of passage to fit into the Club, we need this, but the way it is done I don't like"*

Therefore, suggesting that the paid Coach is aware of the stigma that surrounds initiations but he doesn't do anything about it. This leaves us with the question as to why both the University and the Coach have failed to influence a change in this contested issue. The underlying factor is the code of silence surrounding initiations. However, the lack of action from the paid Coach could be the result of him being worried about losing his paid position. Reinforcing that the power within the University

Sports Club lies with its members. In order for change to be facilitated it needs to come from them.

Another and regular challenge to the Club's culture can be seen through the Coach's efforts to change the words to the 'varsity song'. The paid Coach expressed his aversion to the song suggesting:

> *Coach. "The song is so disrespectful, saying they are 'going to seduce young boys', it's unacceptable. When I talk to other people they can't believe we are still singing it. We are representing the University, the people who are leading in the future, it's so disrespectful, you guys are all so naïve, so young, never got out of New Zealand, don't know what struggle is, so many paedophiles around, 'seduce little boys', and you are in such a beautiful country and you sing that".*

This statement illustrates the strong perspective that the Coach has for the song. Consequently, the Coach created new lyrics to the original song and required each member to learn the new words; "seducing little boys" changed to "**reducing men to boys**", and "raping old ages pensioners" changed to "**helping old age pensioners**". However many people resisted these changes and continued to sing the original song. This resistance was expressed by the actions of members within Club, for example, during initiation ceremonies the old version was taught to the 'freshers' rather than the new one. It is evident that this approach was largely unsuccessful due to the lack of acceptance from members of the Club.

The resistance shown to change the traditional song illustrates the power of the subculture, demonstrating that it helps legitimise what we know is wrong. Although members of the Club has very little justification for the song, being young and naïve members don't understand what it symbolises. Members have been socialised to believe in the 'Varsity song', changing it goes against what they know and believe in. Conversely, with such a high turnover at the Club it should be easy to change this tradition. The Coach has already shown how easy it is to keep the song by simply changing the offensive language used. Again, in order for change to occur it needs to be facilitated from the members themselves. All of these external pressures can be

captured through the idea of resistance. Although not all of them are directly forced upon the University Sports Club they produce talking points and a basis for internal resistance to surface.

RESISTANCE FROM INTERNAL MEMBERS: THE CULTURE IS SHIFTING

Internal resistance is viewed from two perspectives at the University Sports Club. Firstly, by directly disobeying a Club tradition through non-compliance. Generally there is little resistance to traditional practices by members as in order to gain membership one needs to follow the rite of passage. However, the resistance that is received comes in the form of not following the drinking rules and/or disrespecting what is means to be a 'Varsity Player'. Some examples were expressed during the interviews I conducted:

> *P13. "Some people have played for the Club in their first year who didn't drink so they left. If you don't drink Varsity is probably not the best Club for you"*

> *P7. "'Matty' and 'Chambo' resisted a lot. 'Chambo' doesn't really resist but he forgets the rules so he gets punished, for example if he didn't tap out a drink he would have to do it again. He deals with the consequences. But 'Matty' for example, he gets given verbal abuse for resisting as it is deliberate, he doesn't listen to the anyone at all"*

These examples illustrate that the little resistance that is seen quickly gets shut down. Firstly, by punishment in the form of drinking. Secondly, by verbal abuse and bullying. And thirdly, members can get kicked out of the Club or voluntarily decide to leave.

> *P8. "Most people learn pretty quickly that you can't just disobey the rules"*

> *P13. "At the beginning of the season when we have a lot of new members there are a lot of examples of resistance but this is quickly stopped"*

The subculture at the University Sports Club requires members to conform in order for the culture to remain and stay strong. The fact that there is little resistance in this form from members reinforces this, and any resistance that does exist is quickly eradicated.

The second form of resistance comes in a more direct and stronger manner. As a result, it is more effective and resonates with members as of importance. Much of these forms stem from the external pressures forced upon the University Sports Club as discussed previously.

> *P5. "Many people have a lot to say about our Club and what we get up to. We do listen and take on board the stuff we think is important"*

> *P12. "We have healthy discussions with each other about some of the bigger issues. We all have pride in the Club and obviously want to make sure we remain functional"*

These forms of resistance that surfaced in my findings challenge the current cultural norms but are arguably important in order for the Club to maintain its existence in a professional sporting environment.

Challenge to the Rite of Passage

As I have previously discussed the annual initiation ceremony is a vital part of the University Sports Club's culture. It acts as a means to pass on and educate new members of the Club's rules and traditions to form what is referred to as 'Varsity Players'. Due to the continuous debates from external parties as discussed, there has been an apparent shift in guidelines around these annual ceremonies.

> *P9. "The initiation ceremonies aren't what they used to be. Things have definitely changed. New members have slowly resisted some of the elements of what it is you do at these ceremonies. Obviously it comes from a concern over safety so we cannot really argue with this"*

> *P2. "In order to make sure our initiation ceremonies remain a part of our culture we have had to make changes"*

In order to gain a greater understanding of such forms of resistance and subsequent changes I asked interviewees to elaborate further.

> *P9. "Well this year there were players who came to the Club that apparently don't drink. In the past, I guess these players would not have been selected or potentially asked to leave. But everyone agrees that this isn't the*

approach that is needed in order to remain a competitive and respected Club. As a result, at the initiation ceremony they drunk milk instead of alcohol"

P2. "There is now a rule that before every initiation ceremony new members are assigned an old boy as their mentor. This is known as the 'fresher mentor system'. This means that freshers have someone looking out for them during their induction just in case something goes wrong. In the past this would have been viewed as soft or against the whole rite of passage process but today it is an accepted and known rule"

Again, in order to dig a little deeper to find the origin and how these forms of resistance surfaced I asked other interviewees about these specific examples.

P11. "The whole milk on initiation night happened somewhat unexpectedly. A new member turned up to the initiation ceremony like everybody else but proceeded to suggest that he does not drink for personal reasons. I remember everyone being shocked. We could not exactly tell him to leave like normal as we were trying to change our reputation. We thought that milk would be a good substitute for beer as it is not exactly the easiest thing to drink lots of.

P14. "The fresher mentor system happened this year at beginning of the initiation ceremony. A group of freshers' sort of spoke out of turn saying something like 'what If I get really drunk and I get in trouble when I return to my hostel'. We all thought these freshers' made a valid point so came up with the solution of having an old boy to look after a fresher. I guess we made this decision to protect the Club and make sure new members stayed safe.

Does the Varsity Song need Changing?

As debated previously the varsity song has been an issue raised by the paid Coach at the University Sports Club. It quickly became clear that under normative control in order to change such a strong tradition members themselves needed to initiate the change process.

P4. "The Coach tried changing the song himself but it was not that successful"

P6. "We have made some changes but this has come from us [members]. I think any changes that are made at the Club needs to come internally. We act as a collective group not as individuals"

P8. "The song is rather vulgar and I guess if you are not a member you would think it's rude and a little discriminatory.

It is clear that members agree with the arguments around the nature of the varsity Song. Subsequently there have been some new rules formed around its use.

P11. "It began from the Coach which then led to a couple of our members suggesting that we need to make changes. I didn't agree with this at the time but listened to what they had to say"

P6. "I remember we were about to sing the song at an after match function and a few players stopped us and said 'hey guys let's try singing the song like this'. They then proceeded to teach us the new words that they Coach has added in"

P15. "Since changing to song there are now rules around what version we sing and where. When we are in the public eye we sing the more appropriate version, and when we are in private we sing the original version"

The changing of the varsity song proved to be a difficult task originally due to the approach the paid Coach took. Succeeding this were the actions of members themselves directly resisting the tradition of the normal song by beginning to educate and explain an adapted version. Interestingly members at the Club agreed to these new rules around the song despite it changing a long lasting tradition.

The Old Man Suit
One of the University Sports Club traditions is that members are required to wear an old man suit as their uniform to games, after match functions, or Club events.

P9. "The old man suit has been around for years apparently. It's unique to our Club here. It's how we stand out from the rest"

P13. "The better your old man suit is the more respect you get"

Members relate strongly to the significance of the old man suit and the position it holds at identifying themselves as 'Varsity Players'. In contest to these understandings is a new rule concerning the Men's first team.

P7. "The Men's first team I guess are the image of the Club but I don't think we should have to dress differently. After discussions with other members we did agree that we would look more professional in a nice team polo"

P9. "It was agreed among us all that it would be in the best interests of the Club to try clean up our act a little, part of this is turning up to game day dressed more appropriately"

This is another example of members of the Club straying away from the traditional Club rules in order to facilitate change. Resisting the uniform of the old man suit in order to maintain a cleaner and professional image for the Men's first team. Again, this new rule came with a compromise in that a team polo is worn on match days, with the old man suit being wore to all other Club events.

Although there are not many examples of resistance, the scenarios discussed highlight that the Club's culture is shifting. More importantly, these examples show that under a normative control structure forms of resistance can surface and produce an outcome.

SUMMARY

The findings that emerged in this empirical investigation are theoretically important for a number of reasons. First and foremost, the findings give further weight to the issues surrounding the alcohol and sports relationship. Illustrating the extent to which alcohol plays within sporting cultures around New Zealand, and the effects of such immersion. At a more specific level I believe that the findings provide new insight to the concept of normative control. Firstly, through its strong contribution to the team culture at the University Sports Club, and secondly its ability to generate member resistance and facilitate change. Chapter Five will discuss these conclusions further.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

The following chapter aims to tease out the contributions drawn from Chapter Four and is structured accordingly. Beginning with an overview of the 'Varsity Player' in order to establish the foundations and origins of normative control at the University Sports Club. Having illustrated a framework for normative control I will then use Barker's (1993) three phases to illustrate how control exists and is exercised at the University Sports Club. Thus, arriving at the key finding of this research, resistance within normative control. Here I will deliberate on the various forms of resistance at the University Sports Club and how they have influenced change whilst maintaining power structures and a culture that members buy into. Next, I will provide an in-depth insight as to how the concepts of organisational culture, normative control and organisational resistance stimulate the alcohol and sport issue within New Zealand sport today. Lastly, I will discuss what future research could explore in order to further understand the alcohol and sport issue and ultimately strengthen the alcohol, sport, and management fields.

ORGANISATIONAL CULTURE: THE 'VARSITY PLAYER'

From the findings chapter it was illustrated that the University Sports Club has a distinct organisational culture formed around a number of practices formulating what is referred to as 'Varsity Players'. This idea of a 'Varsity Player' captures the identity that each individual member is required to adopt to become accepted as a member of the Club. Findings suggested that by adopting this identity members are unconsciously buying into a system of normative control. This is supported by Welch and Welch (2006) who suggest that organisational culture is an important element of normative control. However, having an established organisational culture which all members, old and new, abide to does not just spontaneously appear, rather is created and developed over time through a complex process of human interaction (Schein, 1992, 1995). Research suggests that there are three elements to explain this process – socialization, leadership, and organizational founders (Coakley, Hallinan, Jackson, & Mewett, 2009; Hoye, Smith, Nicholson, Stewart, & Westerbeek, 2009; Schein, 1992, 1995; Scott, 1997).

Firstly, it became clear that the socialization process is vital to the University Sports

Club's normative control structure. Socialisation is a constant process in which an individual obtains a sense of identity, learns the norms, values and appropriate behaviour for their social circumstance through human interaction (Coakley, Hallinan, Jackson, & Mewett, 2009). This socialisation process is a powerful mechanism within the University Sports Club for reinforcing critical aspects of the Club's culture. An example of this process can be captured and is typically done through the annual initiation ceremony. The initiation process as depicted in Chapter Four serves as a social site in which new members are first exposed to the valued cultural characteristics of the University Sports Club.

Secondly, the founders of the University Sports Club continue to play a pivotal role in its development and existence within contemporary society. Strong cultures are often created by a devotion to tradition and developing a sense of history, thus founder's ideas are traditionally privileged within the subculture (Hoye et al, 2009). The proliferation of the University Sports Club's varsity song which was created by the founders of the Club is a perfect example of how the founders have influenced and continue to influence the culture of the Club.

Lastly, leaders within the University Sports Club represent the most important role and therefore are largely responsible for maintaining the subculture. Leaders that are capable of inspiring members to overlook their own self-interests for the benefit of the Club are more likely to be successful in creating or reinforcing a strong culture (Scott, 1997). The influence of the 'old boys' can be seen in the initiation process of 'freshman' in which the 'old boys' are able to convince initiates to forego their own self-interests, that is, their dignity and sometimes personal safety, for the good of the group which is reflected in other member's amusement and team cohesion.

The overall purpose of the many practices and the various cultural maintenance processes involved within the University Sports Club subculture is the construction of the 'Varsity Player' identity. This identity captures how a member of the Club should carry himself, consequently forming a foundation through which normative control can be enacted upon them.

NORMATIVE CONTROL AND THE UNIVERSITY SPORTS CLUB

Having established an understanding of the University Sports Club's organisational culture and subsequent 'Varsity Player' identity I now find that this understanding can go deeper and begin to provide answers to some of the issues around the consumption of alcohol and sport. In doing so, the concept of normative control has allowed me to begin this exploration. This is supported by Welch and Welch (2006) who suggests organisational culture is an important element of normative control. The concept of normative control is the underpinning concept to this research thesis with my aims and objectives formed around this. Consequently, I have been able to draw on how power structures within Club exist, operate, and reproduce what forms the University Sports Club and its member's. Having been a member of the University Sports Club previous to this research I was aware of how the dynamics of power functioned, however it wasn't until I began to understand the conceptual foundation of control (in particular normative control) that these power structures resonated into a number of questions. Further, once I stepped outside of the organisation I began to see how influential certain types of power could be, specifically the influence on the consumption of alcohol. Using Barker's (1993) conceptualisation of normative control has allowed me to tease out the current power structure at the University Sports Cub, as a result I have made the following deductions.

EMPOWERMENT: DEFINING CONTROL AT THE UNIVERSITY SPORTS CLUB

Barker (1993) contends the first phase of normative control to be 'consolidation and valued consensus'. From his research at ISE Communications Barker (1993) highlighted that "over time the team's value-based interactions became a social force that controlled their actions" (p. 420). At the University Sports Club Barker's (1993) process of 'consolidation and valued consensus' can be seen through the establishment of the values and traditions which forms the 'Varsity Player' identity. This agreed consensus creates and recreates a value-based order (invisible hierarchy) through which members used to draw 'proper' behavioural premises, that is, the Club's rules and traditions that empower them to act in ways functional for the organisation (Fleming and Stablein, 1999). However, in contrast to Barker's (1993) research this value based consensus at the University Sports Club is unconsciously established where members

67

are not necessarily aware of the underlying advocacy of this identity. Further, the effects this identity can and will have on their ability to be control.

The annual initiation ceremony marks an important point where this value based consensus is learnt and committed to by new members. As a result, the 'Varsity Player' identity is formed which evidently represents Barker's (1993) value based consensus referred to in his research. It could be compared to a code of conduct, a set of un-written rules of how members are required to act. Consequently, members at the University Sports Club encompass empowerment not only over their actions but also over others. Firstly, by what Chiles and Zorn (1995) highlight as empowerment by perception, members at the Club gain confidence to act in the manner that was expected of them as a 'Varsity Player'. For example, gaining a rite of passage by learning the Club traditions to become an official member. Secondly, as a process (Albrecht, 1998), where members gained a sense of personal control which also produce a desired impact on others through the use of communication. For example, having the ability to educate Club members of the drinking rules through role modelling and application.

The overall position of this conclusion is that the adoption of the internal value system at the Club – the 'Varsity Player' – highlights a replacement for direct managerial supervision. As members share a common belief and commitment to organisational values they act in an appropriate manner to conform. Further, their attitudes and behaviours are directly influenced to fall in line with this system. Commitment to the University Sports Club's values is reinforced by members being suitably rewarded a rite of passage for 'buying in' and/or given a sense of empowerment.

IDENTIFICATION: ADOPTION OF CULTURAL PRACTICES

Barker's (1993) second phase of normative control, 'emergence of normative rules', illustrates how members turn their value consensus into normative rules to which new members can willingly understand and subject themselves to. One either accepts the rules and its subsequently welcomed as a member or disobeys them and risks punishment (Barker, 1993). At the University Sports Club value based assumptions became objective and rationalised rules that all members had to accept and obey. Thus findings from this study reflecting Barker's (1993) second phase of normative

control as members either became an insider or remained an outsider based on their ability to adopt the value based assumptions ('Varsity Player' identity). That is, membership was signified by an individual taking on the identity of a 'Varsity Player' and can be captured through Mael and Ashforth's (1992) understanding of identification.

Identification refers to the "perception of oneness with or belongingness to a collective, where the individual defines himself or herself in terms of the collective in which he or she is a member" (Mael and Ashforth, 1992, p.104). Thus, when an individual identifies with an organisation, that individual adopts the interests of the organisation and accepts them as his or her own. This is evident through the findings of this research as once individuals become members they also become social enforces of the 'Varsity Player' identity. Firstly by existing members educating new members through the initiation process. Secondly, by all members becoming role models of the 'Varsity Player'. Tomkins and Cheney (1985) suggest that as a result, when members are faced with a decision (e.g. to drink that beer or not to) they are limited to alternatives linked to their identification; "other options will simply not come into view, and therefore, will not be considered" (Tompkins & Cheney, 1985, p. 194).

This second stage of Barker's (1993) model is captured and concluded through organisational identification, "the point at which the individual and the collective merge... the point of transcendence for the natural differences between individual identity and collective identity" (p. 128). Thus, within the normative control system at the University Sports Club individuals identify with the values of the Club and hence will act in accordance with those values.

DISCIPLINE: SURVEILLANCE, PUNISHMENT, AND REWARD

Barker's (1993) final stage of normative control is defined as 'Stabilization and Formalization of rules'. Barker (1993) argues in his research that "norms became formal rules with penalties... it had the elements of rationalized control without the hierarchical elements... people monitored each other's actions" (p.429). As a result, Barker (1993) concluded that normative control may be more powerful than the bureaucratic system of control. Barker's (1993) final stage is reflective at the University Sports Club, however, new insights demonstrate contrasting assumptions about the

normative control concept – that being forms of resistance challenging normative control within the Club.

At the University Sports Club findings highlighted that there is a discipline system that exists in order to survey, punish and reward members based on their behaviour remaining in line with the 'Varsity Player' identity. Barker and Cheney (1994) highlight the work of Foucault (1977) in seeing discipline as a key principle within a social group as a communication tool of rewarding and punishing behaviour which either conforms or deviants from organisational values. At the University Sports Club punishment came in the form of what Barker and Cheney (1994) would refer to as social pressure, for example, consuming large quantities of alcohol. This was illustrated in my findings where 'participant ten' stated that members who failed to drink with their 'left hand' were punished continuously by consuming beer after beer until they learnt to follow this rule.

What is important to note and also aligns with Barker's (1993) research is that although the values being upheld may deviant from the organisation itself, discipline is carried out by individual members themselves. Members discussed this by suggesting that they felt under constant surveillance whilst in the presence of other members. Thus, it can be stated that a normative control system is established at the University Sports Club where individuals identify with organisational values and discipline behaviour based on conformity to those values.

Barker's (1993) research suggested that the teams control at ISE Communications began to resemble the old system of control, as a result it was highlighted that normative control may be more powerful than the old bureaucratic system. I believe that this may be due to the lack of scope for resistance. This is reinforced with Barker (1993) highlighting that under normative control resistance doesn't surface. In contrast, at the University Sports Club, although members felt they were under constant surveillance, this wasn't viewed as always negative. Members praised this form of control as effective in maintaining the current culture. As a result, demonstrating that the University Sports Club may act under the confines of normative structures, however, members feel that they have enough autonomy to express concern or change. These ideas shift from Barker's (1993) work as the

University Sports Club provides an example where members have an opportunity to question the current norms. This was clearly highlighted in the findings through the various forms of internal resistance. The next section of this chapter will deliberate on these elements and how they contribute to the understanding of the normative control concept.

ORGANISATION RESISTANCE: CHALLENGING NORMATIVE CONTROL

Having established and discussed the University Sports Club's organisational culture and subsequent normative control measures that are formed from this, I now find it important to present what represents an important theoretical implication of this study – organisational resistance to normative control. Organisational scholars have shown interest in different systems of organisational control, workplace resistance, and in particular to the metaphor of control which refers to the process of tightening the 'iron cage' (Thomas and Davies, 2005). In the case of sport, it is common to have strong cultures that have been established by historical traditions, however some cultural characteristics like excessive drinking may fall outside the management approach that needs to be carried out in the best interests of an organisation (Hoye, Smith, Nicholson, Stewart, & Westerbeek, 2009). This example highlights a specific relationship to this thesis as I investigated the normative control structures within the University Sports Club, and how the many cultural practices around the consumption of alcohol are now becoming contested and disputed by subcultural members due to their effect on the Club. This section will provide a discussion of these forms of resistance as they surfaced at the University Sports Club, what actions were taken, and the overall outcomes. Further, how this provides insight to the concept of normative control.

RESISTANCE: CAN IT SURFACE UNDER NORMATIVE CONTROL?

To date, Barker's (1993, 2004) work, in particular, contributes to our interpretation of how teams operating within a normative system of control actually tightens Weber's (1958) "iron cage" of control. However, it is suggested that the understanding of the normative control concept could be strengthened by analysing how resistance acts simultaneously with control (Casey, 1999; Ezzy, 2001; Kunda, 1992; Peters and Waterman, 1982; Ray, 1986; Sewell, 1998; Schwartz, 1987). Here is where this

research begins to offer insight into the normative control concept. In contrast to Barker's (1993) conclusions drawn from his research at ISE Communications as discussed in the literature, at the University Sports Club member resistance surfaced against normative control which has resulted in the culture beginning to change.

Barker's (1993) concept of normative control as previously discussed highlights that in disciplinary technologies within normative control as so strong that worker opposition is effetely removed (du Gay 1993; Sewell and Wilkinson 1992; Townley 1993; Willmott 1993). At the University Sports Club findings highlighted that members have some form of autonomy as demonstrated by members speaking up against the culture when appropriate. For example, members discussed how they felt under constant surveillance, expressed concerns around safety, and were concerned with the public image of the Club. 'Figure three' below captures these ideas as they unfolded at the University Sports Club, highlighting there are two sources of resistance (1) external pressures for culture change, and (2) internal resistance. Barker's (1993) findings from his research would suggest that forms of resistance such as those at the University Sports Club would not surface, and if they did, resistance would become ineffective in changing power relations (Barker, 1993). However, in the case at the University Sports Club resistance to the Club's culture was addressed in a formalised manner by all members.

'Figure three' highlights the action processes and outcomes as a direct result of the resistance expressed by those specifically internal to the Club. It is important to highlight that these forms of resistance were catalysed by external influences. The University Sports Club demonstrates here how as a collective group all members have agreed upon a number of changes to the culture in order to become more aligned with professional standards. More importantly to protect the Club and its members from a safety perspective and ultimately maintain its existence. It can therefore be suggested that resistance can surface under normative control. The University Sports Club provides an example of such resistance and as a result contributes insight to the theory of normative control. In order to understand this new relationship further I will use Mumby's (2005) dialectical perspective.
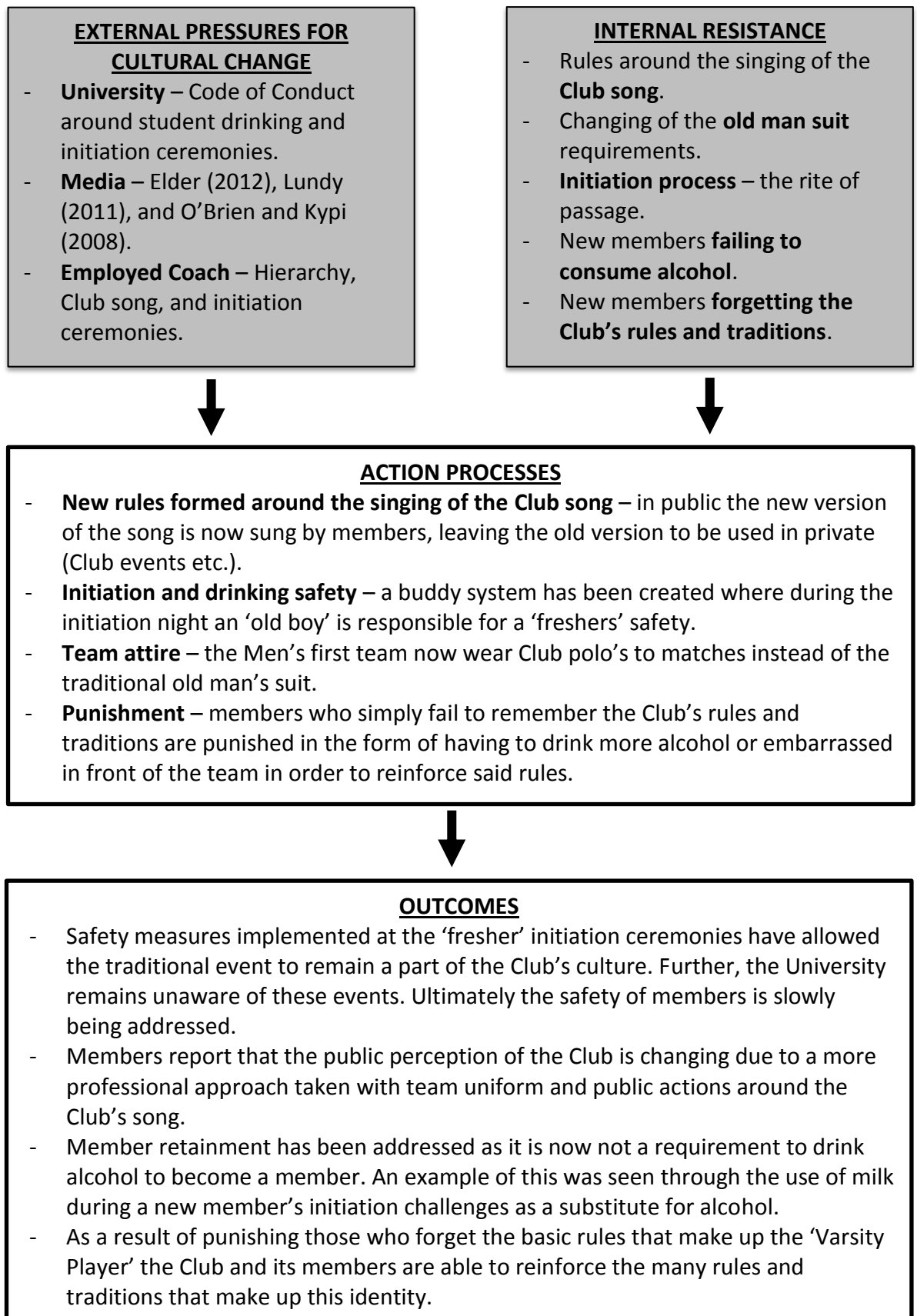
<table>
<tr><td>

EXTERNAL PRESSURES FOR CULTURAL CHANGE
- **University** – Code of Conduct around student drinking and initiation ceremonies.
- **Media** – Elder (2012), Lundy (2011), and O'Brien and Kypi (2008).
- **Employed Coach** – Hierarchy, Club song, and initiation ceremonies.

</td><td>

INTERNAL RESISTANCE
- Rules around the singing of the **Club song**.
- Changing of the **old man suit** requirements.
- **Initiation process** – the rite of passage.
- New members **failing to consume alcohol**.
- New members **forgetting the Club's rules and traditions**.

</td></tr>
</table>

ACTION PROCESSES
- **New rules formed around the singing of the Club song** – in public the new version of the song is now sung by members, leaving the old version to be used in private (Club events etc.).
- **Initiation and drinking safety** – a buddy system has been created where during the initiation night an 'old boy' is responsible for a 'freshers' safety.
- **Team attire** – the Men's first team now wear Club polo's to matches instead of the traditional old man's suit.
- **Punishment** – members who simply fail to remember the Club's rules and traditions are punished in the form of having to drink more alcohol or embarrassed in front of the team in order to reinforce said rules.

OUTCOMES
- Safety measures implemented at the 'fresher' initiation ceremonies have allowed the traditional event to remain a part of the Club's culture. Further, the University remains unaware of these events. Ultimately the safety of members is slowly being addressed.
- Members report that the public perception of the Club is changing due to a more professional approach taken with team uniform and public actions around the Club's song.
- Member retainment has been addressed as it is now not a requirement to drink alcohol to become a member. An example of this was seen through the use of milk during a new member's initiation challenges as a substitute for alcohol.
- As a result of punishing those who forget the basic rules that make up the 'Varsity Player' the Club and its members are able to reinforce the many rules and traditions that make up this identity.

Figure 3: Organisational resistance at the University Sports Club from external pressures and internal influences producing specific action processes and outcomes.

CONTROL AND RESISTANCE IN PARTNERSHIP

Mumby (2005) suggests that studies focusing on organisational control processes interpret worker resistance as ineffective in changing power relations – for example, Barker (1993) research at ISE Communications. In contrast, studies that advocate workplace resistance stipulate that resistance can be authentic and is untouched by organisational control efforts (Prasad and Prasad, 1998). Mumby (2005) highlights that both these arguments are problematic, instead, suggests adopting a dialectical approach to the binary of control and resistance. As a result, allowing for a better understanding of how control and resistance work in tangent.

Mumby's (2005) dialectical approach is highlighted in 'Figure three', illustrating how the University Sports Club traversed through the binary of control and resistance. As a result, visible is a demonstration of how normative control and resistance can work collectively in order to influence change. As demonstrated in 'Figure three' we see members of the Club resisting the Club's norms and practices. However, due to the power structures being one that is dispersed across all members of the Club (normative control), a collaborative approach was taken to deal with such forms of resistance. This can be seen through both the University Sports Club using these forms of resistance to influence change that is in the best interests of the Club. Secondly, through using resistance by members to reinforce cultural elements.

An example of Mumby's (2005) approach can be seen through addressing the issues of cultural safety around the initiation ceremonies. Here there was both an effort to engage in some form of practice in the context of the established rules and traditions at the Club. In this context, such resistance addressed the mechanisms by which the dialectic of control and resistance produces. That being, issues of cultural safety verses the maintenance of Club traditions. As a result, reflection and transformation allowed the status quo to change, that is, a buddy system was created to ensure safety for 'freshers' when consuming large quantities of alcohol. Here a dialectical analysis highlighted the ongoing conflicts that constitute the process by which the University Sports Club attempted to shape organisational practices (Mumby, 2005).

Using Mumby's (2005) approach to look at resistance within normative control we can see that there are both elements of control that are effective in fostering a positive

team environment, implications that threaten forms of resistance to this environment, and the binary of these concepts as they produce a functional organisation. That is, the play off of control and resistance that creates the existing culture at the University Sports Club.

CONTRIBUTION TO THE CONCEPT OF NORMATIVE CONTROL

This research highlights similarities with Barker's (1993) conceptualisation of normative control. A valued base consensus was formed at the University Sports Club where through the use of the 'Varsity Player' identity member's actions were dictated to align with the organisation. However, where the differences form are around the idea of members possessing a level of autonomy to resist and question the valued based consensus when necessary. 'Figure three' highlights these forms of resistance and the resulted outcomes. Allowing me to draw the conclusion formed around Mumby's (2005) idea of dialectics where normative control and resistance effectively produced outcomes that benefited the University Sports Club and its members.

Although there isn't a previous form of control at the Club to compare today's structures to, like that in Barker's (1993) research, these conclusions are still strong in their claims. Illustrating that Weber's (1947) 'iron cage' doesn't necessarily become tightened, rather constructive forms of resistance can surface and change the existing norms effectively. It could also be argued that the use and acceptance of resistance is depended on the organisational make up. In Barker's (1993) case he used a corporate organisation, in comparison I have used a sporting organisation for my analysis. Thus, identifying that further research is needed to support these claims, as well as Barker's (1993).

ALCOHOL ISSUE AND THE UNIVERSITY SPORTS CLUB

In order to deliberate on this issue of alcohol and sport, further its existence at the University Sports Club, I will begin by addressing how normative control stimulates this relationship. Proceeding this I will illustrate how the University Sports Club uses alcohol to reinforce normative control. Next I will provide an account of the changes the University Sports Club are implementing around alcohol consumption and the implications of these changes. Lastly, I will provide some context into what future research should focus on to further understand this pressing issue.

NORMATIVE CONTROL, ALOCHOL, AND SPORT

The findings from this research have provided an example of one of the many sporting organisations in New Zealand that have a strong culture formed around its association with alcohol (Hutchins, 2009; Lundy, 2011; Nelson & Wechsler, 2003; Paul, 2013). At the University Sports Club not only is this association evident, it also remains the key ingredient that allows their culture to remain alive. This is captured through the 'Varsity Player' identity which new members and existing members are required to conform to in order to gain and maintain membership. Further, this identity is then used to control member's behaviour, particularly around one's ability to consume alcohol. This is reinforced and captured by 'participant fourteen' stating "if you don't drink you can't really be part of the Club". Thus, supporting Trice and Roman's (1978) basic assumptions on the cultural perspective on alcohol. They suggest normative controls within an organisation have the potential to inhibit and/or encourage a person's alcohol consumption (Trice & Roman, 1978).

FUNCTION OF ALCOHOL USE: THE UNIVERSITY SPORTS CLUB

Alcohol holds a strong presence at the University Sports Club across a number of cultural practices. Scholarly research suggests that through the consumption of alcohol, individuals can prove a commitment to their team, bring about team cohesion, and provide a rite of passage (Carron, Colman, Wheeler & Stevens, 2002; Johnson, 2011). Findings from the University Sports Club support these claims with members highlighting that alcohol and sport are inseparable, with one you get the other. Further, with this association they could only see the positive effects brought to the University Sports Club, claiming that it contributes to team cohesion, the Club's existence, and is what differentiates them from other Club's. Supporting these beliefs is Stainback's (1997) assumptions that alcohol can have a positive influence on an organisation however when over consumed it becomes problematic. Conversely, although it is suggested that the consumption of alcohol brings individuals together, there is also a contested terrain surrounding the cultural safety of alcohol consumption (Hoye, Smith, Nicholson, Stewart, & Westerbeek, 2009). This is illustrated through the external pressures and internal resistance experienced at the University Sports Club, as a result various cultural changes have been made.

CULTURAL CHANGE: THE UNIVERSITY SPORTS CLUB'S ATTEMPT

Findings demonstrated that the University Sports Club is aware of the stigma surrounding the consumption of alcohol. External pressures forced upon the Club from outsiders, namely the University and media, has led to a number of changes enacted by members themselves. This is illustrated in 'Figure three' where I discussed the action processes and outcomes surrounding resistance to the current culture. Although these changes demonstrate cultural change at the University Sports Club and evidence of the issue around the consumption of alcohol beginning to be acknowledged, I believe that more work needs to be carried to address the issues the Club has with alcohol. However, with alcohol being such a dominant part of the culture I struggle to see it existing without the number of practices that are formed around this problem. Despite an increasingly social climate and evidence of innovative policy on student drinking behaviours by numerous institutions, the data in this study suggests that alcohol consumption, further initiations, play a vital role in the construction and confirmation of member's identities at the University Sports Club. Further research is needed to understand how this issue can be addressed.

As the consumption of alcohol appears to be integral to the culture at the University Sports Club's culture, rather than implementing drastic changes the Club has begun to strategically deal with resistance in its own way, using normative control to do. This is illustrated through action processes in 'Figure three'. In order to avoid exposure from the University the annual initiation ceremonies are called different names, and rules have been made which restricts members discussing these events. Further, instead of reducing the amount of alcohol consumed at the initiation ceremonies, the University Sports Club has used the mentor system as a solution to the safety concerns raised. It can therefore be argued that instead of the University Sports Club addressing the issues around the consumption of alcohol they are supressing the problem through including more rules around its association.

From my analysis, I have identified the contested nature surrounding the Club's culture, which has highlighted that there is a need to change various elements, specifically the drinking culture. Changing the University Sports Club's culture will create a different atmosphere within the Club, but to say that the Club would be non-

existent is probably going too far. Many sporting teams have changed their culture and remained successful, so it is possible. For example, Paul's (2013) article 'Rugby booze rituals shock for coaches' discussed in Chapter One.

Paul's (2013) example proposes that although the University Sports Club relies on its strong subcultural practices for survival, the changing of this culture is possible. This change will not only result in the Club becoming viewed in a more professional light, but issues of cultural safety will be addressed. However, in order for change to occur it needs to come internally. As findings suggested there are already examples where many of the University Sports Club's cultural elements have changed under normative controls. I believe that there needs to be more of these critical changes within sporting organisations in order to address the pressuring issue around the consumption of alcohol. Thus, highlighting that future research could look across different sporting codes and organisations as a starting point.

ALCOHOL AND SPORT: WHERE TO FROM HERE?

In my introduction I described a personal experience through an account of my initiation night at the University Sports Club. As a result identifying my desire to explore the sport and alcohol phenomenon that exists today. I have now completed my own study on alcohol and sport, and have subsequently attempted to generate my own views, questions, and recommendations to the academic field.

Given the breadth of analytical material within the alcohol and sport field it is difficult to provide a new perspective to this relationship. Indeed, my research has highlighted a strong relationships between sport and alcohol and the role the two play in influencing social relationships, control, and resistance. In doing so I introduced the concepts of culture, normative control, and resistance. Moving forward future research should consider a number of points to build on the already considerable volume of research done in this field, as I believe that there is a lot more needed to understand the alcohol and sport relationship. Some recommendations include:

- Look at a larger population size and more than one organisation either regionally and/or nationally. This will allow for conclusions to be drawn in order to compare and contrast data, as a result having more relevance when applying them to different organisations. My study only focused on one sport, one team,

in one region, which is a great starting point but, by collecting more data a much broader understanding of the phenomenon could be achieved.

- Use different management concepts to look at the alcohol and sport relationship. Applying normative control has allowed good insight into this relationship, other management concepts therefore could provide yet further understanding.

- Provide an analysis of the intervention programmes that have been adopted to address the alcohol and sport issues both in New Zealand and globally. Further, use a case study example to see how such strategies are effective or not.

Due to the nature of research surrounding the consumption of alcohol and the stigma one can receive for discussing certain practices around its organisations association, it is always difficult to gain a true insight into an individual's perspective. The unique position I held as a previous member of the University Sports Club has allowed me to draw on data which quite possibly could have been hard to collect from an outsider's position. Although this has led into a further insight to the alcohol and sport issue, I believe that it only begins to explain and understand this phenomenon. Ultimately, this research challenges us to question the culture surrounding sport not only in New Zealand but also globally. After all, this is only one example, from one Club, from one sport, in one country where its social significance could extend much further.

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI

VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

School of Management

INFORMATION SHEET/LETTER FOR PARTICIPANTS

The Varsity Player: The Interplay of Culture, Control and Resistance around the Consumption of Alcohol at a New Zealand University Sports Club.

Date:

To whom it may concern,

My name is Todd Bryant.

I am a Masters student at Victoria University of Wellington, doing a research project on the subcultural practices around the consumption of alcohol that are apparent across New Zealand sporting organisations. This research is being conducted as a part of the requirements for the completion of my degree and is the basis of my Master's thesis.

This research has been approved by Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee, and I have also sought permission from your sports club to contact you about seeking your participation in this research. Now I would like to ask for your support in this research by participating in an interview. The interview will take no longer than an hour and will examine your personal perspectives on the subcultural practices around alcohol consumption within your sports club.

Interviews will involve a series of formal and informal questions about your experiences and opinions of your sport clubs subculture. This will include pre-determined questions, but the majority of the questions that will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops. Given the potential sensitivity of the issue of alcohol use, in the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that you feel hesitant or uncomfortable you may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage of any kind to the club and yourself.

My aim is to travel to your location to carry out the interview face to face, and I will fit the date and time of the interview to best suit you. With your consent I would like to audio-record the interviews so that they can be transcribed at a later date [by myself as the lead investigator]. The recordings and transcriptions will be kept strictly confidential and will be stored securely. Recording and transcriptions will be destroyed five years following the completion of the research due to the possibility of future publication. Further, as stated previously the results of this research project may be published and will be available in the Victoria University Library, however the club and your identity will not be personally identified, and the use of pseudonyms will be used to protect your confidentiality.

I would like to thank you for your time and support to help make this study possible. If you have any queries please do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisor, Todd Bridgman, using the contact details below.

Researcher:	Todd Bryant	**Supervisor:**	Dr. Todd Bridgman
	Victoria Management School		Victoria Management School
	Victoria University of Wellington		Victoria University of Wellington
Phone:	███████	**Phone:**	███████
Email:	todd.bryant@vuw.ac.nz	**Email:**	todd.bridgman@vuw.ac.nz

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI

VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

School of Management

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS

The Varsity Player: The Interplay of Culture, Control and Resistance around the consumption of alcohol at a New Zealand University Sports Club.

Researcher: Todd Bryant, *BPhEd(Hons)*

Supervisor: Dr. Todd Bridgman, *PhD*

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I know that:

1.   This research has been approved by Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee;

2.   My participation in the research is entirely voluntary;

3.   I am free to withdraw from the research at any time without any disadvantage;

4.   Personal information/raw data [audio-recordings] will be destroyed five years following the completion of the research due to the possibility of future publication. This information will be retained in secure storage until destroyed;

5.   This project involves a series of formal and informal questions about my experiences and opinions of my sport clubs subculture. This will include pre-determined questions, but the majority of the questions that will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops. In the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that I feel hesitant or uncomfortable I may decline to answer any particular

question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage of any kind; and

6.   The results of the project may be published and will be available in the Victoria University Library but my identity will remain confidential.

7.   The semi-structured interviews will be audio-recorded using a voice recorder, by ticking the following box I agree to this☐.

I…………………………………………………give consent to be involved in this research.
(Please print name clearly)

………………………………………………………………….   ..…………………….
(Signature of participant)
(Date)

APPENDIX THREE: THE UNIVERSITY SPORTS CLUB'S ANNUAL INITIATION

Description of Key Events
Turn up to Student bar dressed as a female prostitute.   *Team speeches and jug sculls for MOTM*
Made to walk in two single file lines holding hands with partner. On the walk the fresher's were made to;   - *Stop outside a liquor store – sit in a circle playing the game 'duck-duck-goose'*   - *Passed a hockey turf on the way to the flat where initiation was to be located, a hockey match was being played – fresher's had to run around the side lines skipping holding hands*
Each fresher entered individually and introduced themselves to the 'old boys' who were sitting in front of them. Fresher's had to complete the following tasks: - *Introduce themselves using a strippers name*   - *Scull a glass of wine and consume a shot of whiskey*   - *Drinking had to be done with left hand and tapped out twice on one's head, if not done this way they were made to do it again until they got it right*   - *Given a balloon and a piece of string – had to tie it to their arms and protect it from popping otherwise punished (for the entirety of the night – punishment was to scull a beer).*   - *Told to sit on the ground and not to talk*
The old boys were sitting on couches in front of the fresher's – they addressed them   *Outline of club rules – drinking rules (left hand, tap out, "where you from") Old man suits (must be worn to all events and games), $2 items (must be something that cost you $2 but you can't use it, it must be on you at all times)*   *Each fresher was then put into a team – this was done by taping an item to their head which represented their team name, these included; condoms, bread, and tea bags – three teams consisting of six members in each*

In teams the fresher's were made to do a scrumpy hands race – two bottles of scrumpy with both hands taped to them – this was to be done as fast as possible without spilling any of it.
In teams the fresher's were required to consume two bottles of wine and a six pack of beers between them – this was again a race – at least half of the fresher's were sick, throwing up multiple times.
The fresher's were then given a rest – here The oldest 'old boy' in the club addressed the fresher's – two fresher's were miss-behaving as the old boys addressed the freshers earlier in the night – punishments were given out in the form of a beer bong funnel consisting of half a bottle of wine and two eggs.
The varsity tradition 'where are you from' rhymes was introduced – each freshman was required to stand in front of the 'old boys' and freshman group where there were asked "where you from". Freshman who didn't perform an adequate rhyme were given haircuts by the 'old boys' – Only two freshman were given this punishment.
Each freshman was then introduced to their mentors. The 'old boys' each gave their fresher's a '$2 item' which is a varsity tradition – Fresher's must have these on them at all times – example included; condoms, key chains, badges and so on.
Fresher's sent away in teams to learn the club song. Each team had two mentors assigned to them to teach them the songs. While leaning the song each team had to consume a bucket of alcohol which consisted of red/white wine, vodka/raspberry goon, chilli sauce, and one of the buckets was urinated in by an 'old boy'.
Fresher's had to perform the song in front of the 'old boys'.
Naked run; each fresher had to run around the block with no clothes on while the old boys chucked eggs at them.
Final event of the night – As a collective fresher group they had to complete the 'ring of fire' which consisted of two bottles of gin and sardines (which had been mixed together).

REFERENCES

Adams, A., Anderson, E., and McCormack, M. (2010). Establishing and challenging masculinity: the influence of gendered discourses in organized sport. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 29: 278-296.

Adler, P. A., and Adler, P. (1987). *Membership roles in field research* (Vol. 6). Sage.

Albrecht, T. L. (1988). Communication and personal control in empowering organizations. *Communication Yearbook*, *11*, 380-404.

Alvesson, M. (1995). *Cultural Perspectives on Organizations*. CUP Archive.

Alvesson, M., and Skoldberg, K. (2009). *Reflexive Methodology: New Vistas for Qualitative Research*. London, England: Sage.

Alvesson, M., and Willmott, H. (2002). Identity regulation as organizational control: Producing the appropriate individual. *Journal of Management Studies*, *39*(5), 619-644.

Barker, J. R. (1993). Tightening the iron cage: Concertive control in self-managing teams. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 408-437.

Barker, J. R. (2004). A rhetorical critic of organization. *Electronic Journal of Radical Organisation Theory*, *8*(1), 1.

Baumann, G. (1992). Ritual implicates 'others': Rereading Durkheim in a plural society. Understanding Rituals, 97-116.

Bell, E., and Forbes, L. C. (1994). Office folklore in the academic paperwork empire: The interstitial space of gendered (con) texts. *Text and Performance Quarterly*, *14*(3), 181-196.

Black, D., Lawson, J., and Fleishman, S. (1999) Excessive alcohol use by non-elite sportsmen. *Drug and Alcohol Review*, *18*, 201-205.

Boyatzis, R.E. (1998). *Thematic Analysis and Code Development: Transforming Qualitative Information*. Thousand Oaks, CA, United States of America: Sage.

Bryant, T. (2013). The Song Remains the Same: A Subcultural Analysis of a University

Football Club's Contested Terrain of Values, Experiences and Identities (unpublished honours dissertation). Otago University, Otago, New Zealand.

Burawoy, M. (1979). *Manufacturing consent: Changes in the labor process under monopoly capitalism*. University of Chicago Press.

Byers, T., Slack, T., and Parent, M. (2012). *Key concepts in sport management*. London: Sage Publications Limited.

Cannell, C. F., and Kahn, R. L. (1957). *The dynamics of interviewing; theory, technique and cases*. New York: Wiley.

Carron, A., Colman, M., Wheeler, J., and Stevens, D. (2002). Cohesion and performance in sport: a meta-analysis. *Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology,* 24: 168-188.

Casey, C. (1999). Come, join our family: Discipline and integration on corporate organizational culture. Human Relations, *52*(2), 155-178.

Cheney, G. (1995). Democracy in the workplace: Theory and practice from the perspective of communication.

Chiles, A. M., and Zorn, T. E. (1995). Empowerment in organizations: Employees' perceptions of the influences on empowerment.

Clayton, B., and Harris, J. (2008). Our friend jack: alcohol, friendship and masculinity in university football. *Annals of Leisure Research, 11*(3), 311-330.

Coakley, J., Hallinan, C., Jackson, S., and Mewett, P. (2009). *Sports in Society: issues and controversies in Australia and New Zealand*. North Ryde, N.S.W: McGraw-Hill.

Collins, T., and Vamplew, W. (2002). *Mud, Sweat and Beers: A cultural history of sport and alcohol*. Oxford: Oxford International Publishers Ltd.

Craig, R. T. (1994). Communication theory as a field. *Communication theory*, *9*(2), 119-161.

Crawford, G. (2004). *Consuming sport: Fans, sport and culture*. London: Routledge.

Creswell, J. W., and Creswell, J. D. (2005). Mixed methods research: Developments, debates, and dilemmas. *Research in organizations. Foundations and methods of inquiry*, 325-26.

Deetz, S. A. (1994). Future of the discipline: The challenges, the research, and the social contribution. *Communication Yearbook*, *17*(565-600).

Denzin, N.K., and Lincoln, Y.S. (2005). Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research (3 ed.), (pp. 1–32), Thousand Oaks, CA, United States of America: Sage.

Donnelly, P. (1985). Sport subcultures. *Exercise and Sports Science Reviews, 13*, 539-578.

du Gay, P. (1993). 'Numbers and Souls': Retailing and the De-Differentiation of Economy and Culture. *British Journal of Sociology*, 563-587.

El-Sayed, M. S., Ali, N., and Ali, Z. E. S. (2005). Interaction between alcohol and exercise. *Sports Medicine*, *35*(3), 257-269.

Ezzamel, M., and Willmott, H. (1998). Accounting for teamwork: A critical study of group-based systems of organizational control. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 358-396.

Field, C.A., Caetano, R., and Nelson, S. (2004). Alcohol and violence related cognitive risk factors associated with the perpetration of intimate partner violence. *Journal of Family Violence*, *19*, 249-253.

Fleming, P., and Stablein, R. (1999). Normative Control: A Review. Massey University, New Zealand. Working Paper Series.

Foucault, M. (1972). *The Archaeology of Knowledge: Translated from the French by AM Sheridan Smith*. Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*. Pantheon.

Garrety, K., and Down, S. (n.d.). From totalization, through the non-subject, to the reclamation of resistance: A review of the debates on normative control,

autonomy and the organizational self. Working paper. Retrieved from http://www.ncl.ac.uk/kite/research/working-paper.htm

Gossett, L. M. (2012). Falling between the cracks: Control challenges of a contingent workforce. Management Communication Quarterly, *19*, 19-44.

Gratton, C., and Jones, I. (2004) *Research methods for sports studies*. (2nd Ed.). Oxon: Routledge.

Groves, M., Griggs, G., and Leflay, K. (2012). Hazing and initiation ceremonies in university sport: setting the scene for further research in the United Kingdom. *Sport and Sociology: Cultures, Commerce, Media, and Politics, 15*(1): 117-131.

Guba, E. G., and Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. *Handbook of qualitative research*, *2,* 163-194.

Hatch, M. J., and Cunliffe, A. L. (2013). Organization theory: modern, symbolic and postmodern perspectives. Oxford university press.

Hoover, N. C. (1999, April). *National survey: initiation rites and athletics for NCAA sports teams*. Retrieved from http://www.alfred.edu/sports_hazing/docs/hazing.

Hoye, R., Smith, A., Nicholson, M., Stewart, B., and Westerbeek, H. (2009). *Management principles and applications*. London: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Hughes, M., and Coakley, J. (1992). Positive deviance among athletes: the implications of over conformity to the sports ethic. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 8*, 307-25.

Hutchins, G. (2009). Your Shout: A toast to drink and drinking in New Zealand. Auckland, New Zealand: Hachette NZ LTD.

Johnson, J. (2011). Through the liminal: a comparative analysis of communities and rites of passage in sports hazing and initiations. *Canadian Journal of Sociology, 36*(3): 199-223.

Kanter, R. M. (1990). *When giants learn to dance*. Simon and Schuster.

Kahu-Kauki, P. S. (2011). Exploring Players' Perceptions About Alcohol: The Impact of Alcohol on the Rugby Team Culture (Unpublished Masters Thesis). University of Waikato, Waikato, New Zealand.

Kay, T. (2003). Sport and Gender. In B. Houlihan (Ed.), *Sport and Society: A student introduction*, (pp.89-104), London: Sage.

King, N. (2012). Doing template analysis. *Qualitative organizational research: Core methods and current challenges*, 426-450.

Kirby, S. L., and Wintrup, G. (2002). Running the gauntlet: An examination of initiation/hazing and sexual abuse in sport. *Journal of Sexual Aggression, 8*(2): 49-68.

Klatsky, MD, A. L. (1996). Alcohol, coronary disease, and hypertension. Annual review of medicine, *47*(1), 149-160.

Knee, C. R., and Neighbors, C. (2002). Self-Determination, Perception of Peer Pressure, and Drinking Among College Students1. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *32*(3), 522-543.

Kondo, D. (1990). Crafting selves: Power, discourse and identity in a Japanese factory. *Informal networks: The Company behind the charts*, 104-111.

Kunda, G. (1992). *Engineering Culture: Control and commitment in a High-tech corporation*. Philadel phia: Temple University Press.

Larson, G. S., and Tompkins, P. K. (2005). Ambivalence and resistance: A study of management in a concertive control system. *Communication Monographs*, *72*(1), 1-21.

Littlejohn, S. W., and Foss, K. A. (2009). *Encyclopedia of communication theory* (Vol. 1). Sage.

Lundy, S. (2011, December 16th). Year in review: Serious off-field offenders. *New Zealand Herald.* Retrieved from http://www.nzherald.co.nz/sport/news/article.cfm?cid=4andob jectid=10774859.

Mael, F., and Ashforth, B. E. (1992). Alumni and their alma mater: A partial test of the reformulated model of organizational identification. *Journal of organizational Behavior*, *13*(2), 103-123.

Mallan, M. (2006). A commentary on two of Australian's greatest consuming passions, alcohol and sport and the regulation of the relationship between them. *Australian and New Zealand Sports Journal, 1*(2), 42-79.

Maynard, M. (1994). Methods, practice and epistemology: The debate about feminism and research. *Researching women's lives from a feminist perspective*, *10*, 26.

Messner, M. A. (1990). When bodies and weapons: Masculinity and violence in sport. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 25*(3), 203-219.

Mumby, D. K. (1988). Communication and power in organizations: Discourse, ideology, and domination.

Mumby, D. K. (2005). Theorizing resistance in organization studies: a dialectical approach. *Management communication quarterly*, *19*(1), 19-44.

Nelson, C., Treichler, P. A., and Grossberg, L. (1992). *Cultural Studies*. New York: Routledge.

Nelson, T. F., and Wechsler, H. (2003). School spirits: Alcohol and collegiate sports fans. *Addictive Behaviours*, *28*, 1-11.

Nixon, H. (1993). Accepting the risks of pain and injury in spot. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 10*(2): 183-196.

Nixon, H. (1994). Coaches' views of rick, pain and injury in sport. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 11*(1): 79-87.

Nuwer, H. (1990). *Broken Pledges: The deadly Rite of Hazing*. Marietta, GA: Longstreet Press.

Patton, M. Q. (1980). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. California: Sage.

Paul, G. (2013, March 26th). Rugby booze rituals shock for coaches. *The New Zealand Herald.* Retrieved from http://www.nzherald.co.nz/specialreportrugbysalcoho lissues/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503330andobjectid=10873623.

Peters, T. J., Waterman, R. H., and Jones, I. (1982). In search of excellence: Lessons from America's best-run companies.

Pettigrew, A.M. (1973). The Politics of Organizational Decision-making. London, England: Tavistock.

Prasad, A., and Prasad, P. (1998). Everyday struggles at the workplace: The nature and implications of routine resistance in contemporary organizations. *Research in the Sociology of Organizations*, *15*(2), 225-257.

Pringle, G. R., and Hickey, C. (2010). Negotiating Masculinities via the Moral Problematization of Sport. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 27*, 115-138.

Puig, N., and Morell, S. (1996). Relating the method: Use of itinerary concept in the analysis of sport biographies. *International Review for Sociology of Sport*, *31*(4), 439-455.

Ray, C. A. (1986). Corporate Culture: The last frontier of control? Journal of Management Studies, *23*(3), 287-297.

Schein, E. (1992). *Organizational culture and leadership*. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

Schein, E. H. (1985). Organizational culture. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Schwartz, H. S. (1987). On the Psychodynamics of Organizational Totalitarianism. *Journal of Management*, *13*(1), 41-54.

Scott, W. G., and Hart, D. K. (1989). *Organizational values in America*. Transaction Publishers.

Sewell, G. (1998). The discipline of teams: The control of team-based industrial work through electronic and peer surveillance. *Administrative science quarterly*, 397-428.

Sewell, G. and Wilkinson, B. (1992). 'Someone to Watch over me': Surveillance, Discipline and the Just-in-Time Labour Process. *Sociology*, *26*(2), 271-289.

Slack, T., and Parent, M. (2006). *Understanding sport organisations: The application of organization theory*. Champaign IL: Human Kinetics.

Soeters, J. L. (1986). Excellent Companies as Social Movements [1]. *Journal of Management Studies*, *23*(3), 299-312.

Sparkes, A. C., and Templin, T. J. (1992). Life histories and physical education teachers: Exploring the meanings of marginality. In A. C. Sparkes (Ed.), *Research in physical education and sport: exploring alternative visions*, (pp. 118-145), London: The Falmer Press.

Stainback, R. D. (1997). *Alcohol and sport*. Human Kinetics.

Stevenson, C. L. (1999). Becoming an international athlete: making decisions about identity. In J. Coakley and P. Donnelly (Eds.), *Inside sports*, (pp. 86-95), London: Routledge.

Sweet, S. (1999). Understanding fraternity hazing: insights from symbolic interactionist theory. *Journal of College Student Development, 40*(4): 355-64.

Thomas, R., and Davies, A. (2005). Theorizing the micro-politics of resistance: New public management and managerial identities in the UK public services. *Organization studies*, *26*(5), 683-706.

Tobin, K. G. (1993). *The practice of constructivism in science education*. Psychology Press.

Tobin, K., and Tippins, D. (1993). Constructivism as a referent for teaching and learning. *The practice of constructivism in science education*, *1*, 3-22.

Tolich, M. and Davidson, C. (1999). Starting Fieldwork: An Introduction to Qualitative Research in New Zealand. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Tompkins, P. K., and Cheney, G. (1985). Communication and unobtrusive control in contemporary organisations. In: R. D. McPee and P. K. Thompkins (eds.), Organisatiinal communication: Traditional themes and new directions (pp. 179-210). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Townley, B. (1993). Performance appraisal and the emergence of management. *Journal of Management Studies*, *30*(2), 221-238.

Trice, H.M., and Roman, P. M. (1978). Spirits and Demons at Work: Alcohol and Other Drugs On The Job (2 ed.). New York, NY, United States of America: Cornell

University.

Van Raalte, J. L., Cornelius, A. E., Linder, D. E., and Brewer, B. W. (2009). The relationship between hazing and team cohesion. *Journal of Sport and Behaviour, 30*(4): 491-507.

Waldron, J. J., Lynn, Q., and Krane, V. (2011). Duct tape, icy hot and paddles: narratives of initiation onto US male sports teams. *Sport, Education and Society*, *16*(1): 111-125.

Walker, B., and Bridgman, T. (2013). Organisational identity and alcohol use among young employees: A case study of a professional services firm. *International Journal of Drug Policy*, *24*(6), 597-604.

Weber, M. (1978). *Economy and society: An outline of interpretive sociology*. University of California Press.

Welch, D. E. and Welch, L. S. (2006) Commitment for hire? The viability of corporate culture as a MNC control mechanism, *International Business Review*, *15*, 14-28.

Wenner, A. L. (1991). One part alcohol, one part sport, one part dirt, stir gently: Beer commercials and television sports. In L. R. Vande Berg and L. A. Wenner (Eds.), *Television criticism: Approaches and applications,* (pp. 338-407), New York: Longman.

Wenner, L., and Jackson, S. J. (2009). *Sport, Beer, and Gender: Promotional Culture and Contemporary life*. Zurich: Peter Lang Publishers.

Whitson, D. (1990). Sport in the construction of masculinity. In M. A. Messner and D. F. Sabo (Eds.), *Sport men and the gender order: Critical Feminist perspectives,* (pp. 19-30), Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.

Willis, P. E. (1977). *Learning to labor: How working class kids get working class jobs*. Columbia University Press.

Willmott, H. (1993). Strength is Ignorance, Slavery is Freedom: Managing Culture in Modern Organizations. Journal of Management Studies, *30*, 515-552.

Wilsnack, S. C., and Wilsnack, R. W. (1979). Sex role and adolescent drinking. *Youth, Alcohol, and Social Policy, 2*, 183-224.

Yin, R. (2009). Case Study Research: Design and Methods (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA, United States of America: Sage.

Young, K. (1993). Violence, risk and liability in male sports culture. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 10*, 373-396.

Young, K. (1998). Performance, Control, and Public Image of Behaviour in a Deviant Subculture: A case study of rugby. *Deviant Behaviour*, *9*, 275-293.