An analysis of organizational conflict and change in the Ontario-Quebec Athletic Association.

William Campbell. Innes
University of Windsor

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AN ANALYSIS OF ORGANIZATIONAL CONFLICT AND CHANGE

IN THE

ONTARIO-QUEBEC ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies through the
Faculty of Physical and Health Education in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the degree of
Master of Physical Education at the
University of Windsor

by

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B.A., B.P.H.E., Queen's University, 1971

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

1973
ABSTRACT

University of Windsor

INNES, WILLIAM CAMPBELL

An Analysis of Organizational Conflict and Change in the Ontario-Quebec Athletic Association, 1973. 132 pp. (Richard Moriarty)

The purpose of this study was to investigate and analyse the sources of organizational conflict and change within a Canadian intercollegiate athletic association. The immediate objective of the study was to determine whether the sources can be attributed to the various organizational conditions or to certain individuals and/or groups within the association. Through an examination of the association's minutes and taped personal interviews with selected representatives of the athletic association, the sources of conflict and change were analysed by a macrosopic approach. Merton's Focused Interview was employed to elicit qualitative information from the interviewees. Furthermore, in order to facilitate the handling of an immense amount of information from a variety of sources, a molar research model adapted from the research by Moriarty was utilized. In addition, Pondy's model of a conflict episode was used to follow the course of organizational conflict within the athletic association.

A blending of administrative theory and practice concerning the organization and administration of Canadian intercollegiate athletics
was achieved in this study of organizational conflict and change within the Ontario-Quebec Athletic Association. The investigation and analysis brought forth the following conclusion:

1. Organizational conflict and change were present within the athletic association.

2. The sources of conflict and change within the athletic association were the inherent outcomes of the combined influence of four factors: the organizational conditions; the individuals and groups within the organization; the extraorganizational influences of other athletic associations, and the effects of the institutional situations of the various member institutions. Problems in communication, differing interests, and a lack of shared attitudes and values between the members also contributed to conflict and change in the OQAA.

3. The aftermath stage of conflict was characterized by an atmosphere of caution, apprehension, and conservatism on the part of the member delegates. A few significant recurrent problems which carried over from the CIAUC also affected conflict and change within the OQAA.

4. The athletic association changed organizationally from an oligarchic system to an equalized democratic arrangement. The findings suggested that this change was the consequence of a conflict-evolutionary process.

5. The McMaster delegates were considered to be the individuals who contributed most to democratizing the OQAA. An account of the strategies which they employed to bring about the change might contribute to the body of knowledge on change-agent research.
6. Moriarty's molar research model was found to be very helpful in the analysis of the sources of conflict and change within the OQAA. In addition, Merton's Focused Interview was very applicable to this type of research.

7. Pondy's model of a conflict episode adequately identified and followed the course of conflict within the athletic association.

There is a complete bibliography of books, periodicals, dissertations, and a list of the taped personal interviews conducted during this research. The tapes and typed transcriptions, along with the OQAA minutes collected in this study, are housed in the Sports Archives at the University of Windsor.
DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my wife, Heather, who through her unending faith and love provided the inspiration to complete my Master's degree.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author is deeply grateful to Dr. Richard Moriarty who acted as chairman of the thesis committee and who has continually offered his guidance, expertise, and encouragement throughout the duration of the study.

Likewise, the author wishes to thank committee members Dr. J. H. Duthie and Dr. A. M. Ragab for their assistance in helping the author to apply the theoretical framework to the athletic association.

Sincere thanks are extended to Mr. Malcolm Webster, for his time spent preparing the graphs; Mrs. Mary Moriarty, who has developed a keen interest in Canadian intercollegiate athletics, for her proof reading and interest in the thesis; and Elizabeth Sheehan, for her assistance in producing the final draft.

Lastly, the author thanks the OQAA delegates who gave freely of their time to make this study a reality.
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CHAPTER I

ORGANIZATIONAL ANALYSIS

Introduction

No aspect of social organization is so totally insulated from its environment that it never encounters external stresses, nor so perfectly ordered that it never experiences internal strains. Disruptive forces are impinging upon all social organizations from all sources. The results are perpetual social conflict and change.¹

Conflict in organizations is generally considered by administrators as something which should be avoided or eliminated. This attitude reflects a well-accepted belief that organizational co-operation is good and conflict bad.² Nevertheless, conflict is ubiquitous for all types of organizations, including those which administer programs in university athletics. Therefore, a knowledge of conflict would be of value to administrators of university athletics as they desire to operate their programs in a most effective and efficient manner.

In Canada, intercollegiate athletic associations have played and continue to play an important role in the development of athletic competition between universities.³ Initially, these organizations evolved because of the demand for inter-university competition. Each association developed its own organizational structure and administrative procedures for conducting athletic competition. However, since the turn of the twentieth century, university athletic administrators have encountered many problems which have affected the functioning of these associations. In order to cope with these organizational problems, and moreover to remain functional
administrative units, athletic associations have undergone several organizational changes. A classic example of this is the Ontario-Quebec Athletic Association.

Ontario-Quebec Athletic Association

Traditionally, the Ontario-Quebec Athletic Association has been regarded as one of the strongest and most influential university athletic associations in Canada. The association's beginnings can be traced as far back in history as 1906 when Queen's, McGill, and the University of Toronto established the first Canadian university athletic association - The Canadian Intercollegiate Athletic Union (Central). Moriarty has traced the organizational development of the CIAUC from its inception until its breakup in 1955. He has depicted the various trends, problems, and organizational changes which have occurred in Canadian university athletics during the first half of the twentieth century. Perhaps Moriarty's greatest contribution was his accurate account of the organizational difficulties which plagued the CIAUC in the late forties and early fifties, and eventually led to the break up of the association. The result of this organizational fragmentation was the formation of the OQAA in 1955. From its inception, the OQAA was the major athletic association responsible for providing athletic competition amongst Ontario and Quebec universities. This responsibility lasted for sixteen years until the OQAA was refashioned in 1971, when the Ontario Universities Athletic Association and the Quebec Universities Athletic Association took over the task of providing athletic competition in their respective provinces.

Need for the Study

An organizational analysis of conflict and change within an athletic association which employs models from administrative science should
yield information to the members of all associations. Practically speaking, administrative theory may assist the administrator in understanding the organization, in perceiving its problems and tasks, in managing these problems, and also in directing his organization towards the realization of its goals. Research in the area of conflict and change can perhaps bring about a greater understanding of and sensitivity to the disruptive forces, which produce conflict and change within athletic associations. In this way, the body of knowledge in administrative theory will be enhanced as practicing administrators will have at their disposal a theoretical framework by which to perceive potential problem areas. Conversely, theoreticians will have their theories tested in the real world. Furthermore, with adequate application of a conceptual framework, the administrator may achieve greater success in controlling organizational conflict, as he will possess the insight to take the necessary steps in order to keep his organization functional. Information of this kind would appear to be especially significant as contemporary university administrators are becoming more and more concerned with the direction in which Canadian university athletics has moved in the past few years.

At present, very little has been written about Canadian university athletic associations. Few investigators have desired to examine the events of the past or to question the individuals who have been responsible for the organization and administration of university competition. Presently many of these men who have played such an important role in Canadian intercollegiate athletics are at retirement age. These men possess a wealth of experience and valuable information which should be collected and analysed before it is lost forever. This study could be
worthwhile as it would publicize the experiences and insights of these men which could possibly serve as a guide for future development of university athletics in Canada.

As one of Canada's major university athletic associations, the OQAA is a good selection for a study of organizational conflict and change. The choice is further justified because many of the more recent university athletic associations have fashioned themselves after the OQAA. Therefore, a study of the sources of conflict and change in the OQAA may provide valuable information to all associations which have looked to the OQAA for leadership.

Perhaps the most significant contribution which a study of this kind can make is that it analyses the organizational conflict and change within university athletic associations. If conflict and change are ubiquitous to all types of organizations, then there is an immediate need to examine the inherent sources of conflict and change within these associations. A considerable amount of research has been done on a variety of organizations in the areas of conflict and change, but as yet, limited work has been conducted on conflict and change as they relate to athletic associations. The majority of work has been associated with business and commonweal organizations while little study has been devoted to service or mutual benefit organizations of which athletic associations are characterized.

Furthermore, the OQAA seems to be an excellent organization to study as its beginning in 1955 was the result of violent organizational conflict. An analysis of the "aftermath of conflict" in the OQAA could enhance the knowledge of administrative science, as it would indicate the effects of serious manifest conflict. Finally, a study of this nature would hopefully
stimulate similar research on other athletic associations in Canada. In this way the greatest benefits could be derived for university athletics in that they would be more effectively administered.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to investigate and analyse the various sources of organizational conflict and change within an athletic association. Furthermore, the objective of the study was to determine whether the sources of organizational conflict and change in an athletic association can be attributed to certain individuals and/or groups or to the various organizational conditions of the association.

Significant Questions Investigated

1. What were the attitudes of the association's members after the violent breakup of the preceding organization?

2. What were the significant recurring problems encountered by the members of the athletic association?

3. Was organizational conflict present within the athletic association, and if so, what caused it?

4. Did the association change organizationally, and if so, how; and what caused the change?

5. What contribution does Moriarty's molar research model make to the study of conflict and change when applied to an athletic association?

6. Does Pondy's model of a conflict episode adequately identify and describe the course of organizational conflict within an athletic association?
Scope of the Study

The study was delimited in several ways. For economic reasons, the analysis only dealt with conflict and change within the athletic association from 1955 until 1968. The focus of attention was upon conflict and change within the association itself, and any reference to a member institution or to another athletic association was only made insofar as it affected conflict and change in the athletic association. Only participation in men's intercollegiate athletics was dealt with in the study. Extra-organizational, political, and social variables were included in the analysis but only when they had a marked influence upon organizational conflict and change.

Limitations of the Study

This study may be limited in its ability to generalize due to the fact that the individuals who were interviewed were selected by the investigator. Some bias may enter into the information. However, it should be understood that typical responses are not being sought. Rather the purpose is to seek out individuals with a reservoir of experience who could be of tremendous value in increasing the awareness of the important influences within the association.

A further limitation of this study may be due to the fact that not all organizational events are written into the formal minutes. However, this apparent weakness should be counterbalanced by using the interview technique. The information which is obtained from the interview will provide a check for the minutes, and furthermore, reveal significant events which are not indicated in the written records.
This study may also be at a disadvantage because of the nature of the methodological approach. Some criticism may be voiced against this method because the conclusions and recommendations are so tenuous. This criticism is not an uncommon one with any ex post facto research. However, as stated earlier, the aim of the study is to collect, and analyze with the use of a theoretically based conceptual apparatus the existing information concerning conflict and change in one particular athletic association. Nevertheless, for reasons which are stated later in the thesis, the macro approach was considered to be the best mode of research to examine the organizational conflict and change within the athletic association. The purpose of the study was to seek tentative answers for the present time until more definitive studies either support or refute the findings of this study.

Definition of Terms

Active Membership. — refers to the status given to a member institution that meets the criteria of membership and is allowed to participate in the athletic contests sponsored by the intercollegiate athletic association to which it belongs.

Administrative Council. — refers to the council of athletic directors from the member institutions of the athletic association. Their function is to make recommendations on technical matters to the Board of Governors and to give consideration to issues of policy and principle.

Associate Membership. — refers to the status given to a technical institute, college, or university which is not an active member of another athletic association and does not meet the criteria for active membership,
but which has the privilege of participating in some of the athletic
competitions of the intercollegiate athletic association. 19

**Athletic Association.** - refers to a group of colleges and/or
universities which has united to provide intercollegiate competition
on a regional basis.

**Big Four.** - was the designation given to the four senior foot-
ball playing universities of Queen's, Toronto, McGill, and Western.

**Board of Governors.** - designates the highest administrative
body which controls the athletic association. Delegates from each mem-
ber institution have representation.

**Board of Reference.** - refers to a sub-committee of the executive
committee which handles matters of eligibility, discipline, game protests,
and other matters referred to it by the executive committee.

**Canadian Intercollegiate Athletic Union (Central).** - was the term-
ination used to designate the original Canadian Intercollegiate Athletic
Union during the period of 1952-1955. In 1955 the CIAUC separated into
the OQAA and the Ottawa-St. Lawrence Athletic Association.

**Conflict Episode.** - indicates a "gradual escalation to a state
of disorder" 20

**Executive Committee.** - refers to the administrative body respons-
able for deciding all matters of policy between meetings of the Board of
Governors. The committee is composed of faculty representatives or senior
members from the Board of Governors.

**Intermediate Sports.** - refers to the second highest level of comp-
etition amongst the member institutions of the athletic association. 21
Member Institution. - indicates a college or university which is a member of an athletic association.

Organizational Change. - refers to any planned or unplanned alteration in the status quo which affects the structure, technology, and personnel of the total organization.22

Organizational Conflict. - refers to a sequence of interlocking conflict episodes exhibiting a pattern of development and relationships which can be characterized by stable patterns.23

Playing Privileges. - refers to granting a non member institution the right to participate in specified athletic competition within the association.

Rugby Rules Commission. - was formed by the Board of Governors to recommend rule changes. This group consisted of a representative from each of the football playing universities.

Section and Division. - indicates the grouping or collectivity of the competing teams within an athletic association. Competition schedules are devised with sections and divisions in order to eliminate excessive travel between member institutions and to assist in equalizing intercollegiate competition for the participating teams.24

Senior Sports. - represent the highest level of competition which is available to the member institutions of intercollegiate athletic association.25
Organization of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into five chapters. In Chapter I, a need for the study was established, leading to the purpose of the study, and the significant questions which were investigated in the research. The chapter also included the scope and limitations of the study, and as well, several terms were defined.

Chapter II presents the relevant sociological and administrative theory which relate to conflict and change in organizations. Pondy's model of a conflict episode is depicted and considerable discussion is given to the nature and sources of organizational conflict and change. In addition, the operational definitions for organizational conflict and change are stated in the chapter.

Chapter III entitled "Research Design and Methodological Procedures" presents the conceptual approach adopted in the study. The research model is illustrated and described, and a related paradigm which is applied to an athletic association is also indicated. Furthermore, Chapter III outlines the methodological procedures utilized in the study. The interview technique which was employed in the study is described. Lastly, the presentation and analysis of data are explained in the third chapter.

Chapter IV presents the findings and analysis of the study. The chapter begins by pointing out some of the antecedent conditions which had an effect upon the formation of the athletic association. Pondy's model of conflict is then applied to the organization in order to trace the course of development of conflict and change. The minutes from the meetings of the association's governing bodies as well as excerpts
from taped interviews are combined to present and analyse conflict and change within the OQAA. Likewise, several graphs and charts are used to simplify the presentation, identification, and explanation of the significant information.

Chapter V includes a summary of the significant information presented in Chapter IV and several concluding statements are made regarding the purpose of the study and the questions which were investigated. Furthermore, recommendations are suggested concerning future research on athletic associations in Canada.

The appendices contain the interview guide, and a complete bibliography.
FOOTNOTES


5 Hereafter the association will be the OQAA.

6 The original athletic association was actually named the Canadian Intercollegiate Athletic Union in 1906 and the Central was added to the association in 1952 in order to more adequately describe the association. For purposes in this thesis, the CIAUC will refer to the national association prior to 1955.

7 Moriarty, op.cit.

8 Ibid., pp. 218-329; the CIAUC breakup also led to the formation of the Ontario-St. Lawrence Athletic Association (OSLAA).

9 Hereafter the association will be the OUAA.

10 Hereafter the association will be the QUAA.


15. Moriarty, *op. cit.*


CHAPTER II

ORGANIZATIONAL CONFLICT AND CHANGE THEORY

Conflict ... is a theme that has occupied the thinker of man more than any other, save only God and love.1

Organizational conflict and change are separate distinct processes each of which have several unique characteristics.2 In reality, however, the two are often closely associated with one another so that it is difficult to determine where one differs from the other. Neither conflict nor change can be thought of as being the cause or the effect of the other, because each can exist by itself within the organization or they can be present together and have several characteristics in common.3 In some instances, conflict brings about changes in the organizations, while in other situations, change can stimulate further organizational conflict. In general, however, conflict frequently accompanies change, and becomes part and parcel of the conflict and change process.

Evolution Versus Conflict Theory

The preceding introductory statements present an underlying theoretical theme in sociology and administrative science. Several scientists have postulated theories which attempt to explain change in terms of a smooth, cumulative, and relatively stable process.4 They consider society and, more specifically, organizations, as well integrated and functioning configurations which are moving gradually towards a more functional mode of operation. The majority of these investigators attempt to link up
various historical events and describe them in a logically presented manner. These theories have been referred to as "evolutionary and equilibrium theories". Their critics maintain that they have been unable to account for some of the marked alterations which have occurred in society and organizations. On the other hand, another school of thought has been the theories of social conflict. These theories focus on change itself, and accept the fact that change is inherent in all social organisms. Appelbaum indicates that "if evolutionary and equilibrium theories see stability everywhere, conflict theories see structural change everywhere."

Dahrendorf has been a major proponent of the conflict theory. He contends that the theory of conflict has more merit than other theories of social change.

The intent of a sociological theory of conflict is to overcome the predominantly arbitrary nature of unexplained historical events by deriving these events from elements of their social structures, in other words, to explain certain processes by prognostic connections... and not to relegate these conflicts to psychological variables or to descriptive-historical ones or to chance.

The supporters of the conflict theory contend that its use leads to a determination of how the disputes are generated. They posit that the theory will account for the various forms of conflict and for the differences in intensity.

Therefore, in order to analyse the problems faced by athletic associations, and to draw some plausible conclusions as to the causes of conflict and change within these associations, a theory of conflict may indeed be helpful. Following such conflict theorists as Marx, Dahrendorf, Pondy, and Coser, organizational conflict and change were considered to be present within all social organizations, presumably including those which administer
athletic competition between universities and colleges.

**Nature of Conflict**

In spite of the vast amount of discourse on the subject, the concept of conflict still remains ambiguous and confusing. The reason for the confusion stems from the fact that conflict has referred to such a wide range of social and organizational situations. Conflict can exist either between individuals, within organizations, or even between organizations. Hence, a definition of conflict depends to a great extent upon the perspective of the particular investigator. Social and administrative scientists have attempted to define and describe conflict, but for the most part, they have been quite broad and general in their definitive efforts. For example, conflict has been interpreted as "the mutual interference of parts, actions, and reactions in a social system;" or as any difference between two persons or parties. Olsen considers that "conflict occurs whenever there is discord or opposition between two or more actors within the process of social organization."

Some investigators have tried to be more explicit in their interpretations of conflict. March and Simon have defined it as "the term applied to a breakdown in the standard mechanisms of decision making so that an individual or group experiences difficulty in selecting an action alternative." Litterer perceives conflict as "a situation in which the conditions, practices, or goals for the different participants are inherently incompatible." Furthermore, Thompson translates conflict as "that behaviour which is expended in opposition to other members." Thompson has been criticized by Vanderpöl in that his interpretation encompasses "only part of the whole sphere of conflict situations."
Vanderpol continues to point out that conflict is not restricted to the behaviour of the members of the organization, but in fact, he suggests that organizational conflict may also involve the contradictory actions from individuals outside the organization.\textsuperscript{20} Mack and Synder also have attempted to describe the essential nature of conflict and they have proposed five propositions which seem to incorporate the fundamental properties of all conflict situations.\textsuperscript{21}

1. Conflict requires at least two actors (individuals or organizations).

2. Conflict arises from a kind of 'scarcity' or desired but limited resources, activities, positions, or goals.

3. Conflict actions are designed to limit, thwart, destroy, control, or otherwise influence another actor, and a conflictual relationship is one in which the actors can gain only at the other's relative expense.

4. Conflict requires interaction among actors in which their actions and counteractions are mutually opposed.

5. Conflict relations always involve attempts to acquire or exercise social power.\textsuperscript{22}

The existing definitions of organizational conflict have been expressed either in terms of the structural conditions of the organization or in relation to the traits, situation, and behaviour of the individuals and groups within the organization. However, the difficulty in formulating an adequate definition of conflict has arisen from trying to be general enough to incorporate all cases, while on the other hand, being specific enough to explain a particular conflict situation. Pondy has pointed out that this difficulty has arisen because conflict has been used to account for the following classes:

1. Antecedent Conditions (eg. scarcity of resources, policy differences) of conflictful behaviour.
2. Affective States (e.g., stress, tension, hostility, anxiety) of individuals involved.

3. Cognitive States of Individuals (e.g., their perception or awareness of conflictful situations).

4. Conflictful behaviour (ranging from passive resistance to overt aggression).  

Pondy has suggested that conflict may be represented at one time or another by any one or all of these various classes. He also has concluded that "attempts to decide which of these classes, conditions, attitudes, cognition, or behaviour is really conflict is likely to result in an empty controversy." Therefore, his "working definition of conflict," may be a step in the right direction in defining organizational conflict, as he considers it to be a dynamic process. Other conflict scientists have indicated a similar dynamic perspective of conflict.

**Pondy's Model of Conflict**

Pondy perceives conflict as a relationship between two or more individuals or groups which can be analysed as a sequence of conflict episodes. Each episode begins with various conditions which possess certain conflict potentials. In some situations, the parties in this relationship may not be conscious of the fact that conflict is actually present, and thus hostile feelings may not develop. While in other cases, the behaviour of the parties may show conflictful traits. However, in any situation, the conflict relationship "can be characterized by certain stable aspects of conditions, affect, perception, and behaviour." In other words, he sees organizational conflict as a sequence of conflictful events all of which may be described in terms of his five stages of development - latency, feeling, perception, manifestation, and aftermath. Pondy's model is illustrated in Figure 1, the Dynamics of a Conflict Episode. In addition to demonstrating the
Fig. 1. The Dynamics of a Conflict Episode.
course of organizational conflict, Pondy has indicated potential management techniques at the various stages of development. These devices will not be considered, as the foci of this study are the sources and development of organizational conflict within athletic associations.

Pondy's working definition of conflict can be described in the following orientation.

Each conflict relationship is made up of a sequence of interlocking conflict episodes, each episode exhibits a sequence or pattern of development, and conflict relationship can be characterized by stable patterns that appear across the sequence of episodes. 31

Coleman appears to agree with Pondy's view of conflict as he has also identified several distinct stages through which most controversies pass before they are resolved. 33 Pondy contends that every episode may not necessarily proceed through all stages to open aggression, as the conflict may be resolved before the hostilities become overt. 34 This view is supported by Aubert. 35 Therefore, because of Pondy's orientation to organizational conflict, his working definition will form the basis for an operational definition of conflict in this study.

The Course of Conflict

Pondy's model consists of five stages. The first stage is the aftermath of the preceding conflict episode. 36 The aftermath situation establishes the pattern of conflict development within the organization. The next stage, the latent aspect, is influenced to a very great extent by the aftermath of the previous episode. At this point the organization possesses several latent conditions for conflict. These conditions can be either organizational or personal in nature. Any one or a combination of two or more latent factors can result in organizational conflict. In the second stage or "perceived conflict," 37 tensions can be seen to be
building up within the organization. The differences between the members are conscious but as yet unexpressed. In the "felt or affective stage," these differences become personalized. The members of the organization begin to take sides with the individuals or groups who possess similar attitudes and feelings. If the disputes do become manifest, they are not expressed against the opposing party directly. However, there is an atmosphere of impending trouble and strife. In his model, Pondy has positioned the perceived and felt stages on the same horizontal plane (fig. 1). He has implied that it is possible for both stages to be present at the same time within the organization.

The "manifest" or behavioural stage represents the situation to which most investigators of conflict have devoted their time and efforts. This stage is perhaps the most serious to consider because aggression or frustration are overtly expressed. The conflict has really run its course and this stage represents its peak. In many cases, the organization's members will have committed themselves to a particular position on the issue and the conflict becomes clearly defined. Each disputant will likely attempt to increase his power, and to undermine his opponent. The outcome of this stage of conflict development can only be described in terms of win, lose, or compromise. Furthermore, this phase determines the conflict conditions for the succeeding conflict episodes.

In summary, Pondy has conceptualized an organizational conflict model as a dynamic ongoing process. His model gains support if organizations are assumed to be open dynamic systems. For this reason, Pondy's conceptualization of conflict as a series of episodes appears to have the greatest potential in defining organizational conflict. Pondy's view
of a conflict episode as a dynamic ongoing process obviously has some value for the administrative scientist, as he indicates "the development of each conflict episode is determined by a complex combination of the effects of preceding episodes and the environmental milieu." The idea of "conflict aftermath" as presented by Pondy, is particularly appropriate to the athletic association being examined in this study. Equally significant is the question of the source of conflict.

**Sources of Conflict**

A conflict source refers to the site or situation from which conflict originates. Conflict will be determined by the structural features of the organization, the personal relationships within it, plus the interaction of the two. The term 'structure' is but a static conceptualization of social relationships within an organization. In reality, as previously stated, these associations are dynamic, inter-related, and continually changing. However, the conflict scientists must 'freeze' these dynamic ongoing processes in order to depict the underlying patterns of social order. The importance of the organizational structure and social relationships in an examination of conflict can be clearly seen by referring back to the propositions by Mack and Synder. For example, they perceive conflict as existing between at least two actors in which their actions are mutually opposed: one actor limiting and thwarting the actions of another. Thus conflict could be said to arise from a particular type of social relationship. Furthermore, this relationship may disrupt organizational co-operation and co-ordination, and thus prevent the organization from achieving its goals. The social relationship provides a meaningful focus for understanding organizational conflict because it links the actual
sources of conflict with the processes of the organization itself. Olsen might support this position as he suggests that conflict frequently shows patterning and thus constitutes a social relationship.  

From an organizational perspective, Pondy has suggested that all forms of organizational conflict can be described in terms of three relationships. Conflict between parties in a superior-subordinate or vertical relationship is called "bureaucratic conflict." "Systems conflict" is exemplified by disputes between individuals or groups, who have a working or lateral relationship, while "bargaining conflict" exists between individuals or groups, who are party to an interest group relationship. These three conflict relationships will exist to some extent in any organization whether it be a business enterprise or a mutual-benefit athletic association. Therefore, if these relationships are assumed to be the organizational sites of conflict, then what are the factors which actually generate the organizational disputes?

Generators of Conflict

Previous studies have provided a long list of possible reasons for the eruption of organizational conflict. The majority of the studies have examined the business or commonwealth setting; and therefore, the causes are not entirely relevant in a service organization or mutual-benefit athletic association. However, the typology of the sources of organizational conflict from Pondy and those from other conflict investigators suggest three factors which might be expected in any formal organization.

1. Problems of communication between parties involved.
2. Differences in basic interests and goals.
3. A lack of shared perceptions and attitudes among members at different echelons.
These factors were presumed to be the main potential reasons for conflict arising and intensifying within an athletic association.

**Communication**

There must be an adequate communication network within the organization, in order that the activities of the various departments can be efficiently co-ordinated. Problems in communication can have distinctive affects on the overall functioning of the system. For example, March and Simon suggested that organizational channelling of information introduced bias.\(^50\) Furthermore, Smith and Litterer both maintain that poor communication channels often lead to conflict.\(^51\) Likewise, Walton and Dutton\(^52\) in their investigation of inter-departmental conflict concluded that barriers in communication can result in organizational conflict. Thus, since all organizations depend upon the co-ordination of tasks, effective communication is vital to the prevention of conflict and the realization of its goals. In many ways, organizational communication is dependent upon the structural features of the system. For example, Corwin\(^53\) found that certain structural features which inhibited co-ordination and cooperation were positively related to conflict. These features included organizational complexity, size, number of authority levels, and heterogeneity of staff. The syntality or personality of an organization will depend on the combination of these features. As the organization's syntality becomes more complex, there will likely be greater pressure upon the communication system to co-ordinate the activities of the organization. If the network cannot cope with the changes, conflict could result. In this respect, Smith admits that communication becomes a real problem in a complex organization, having tremendous size, specialization, and proliferation of roles. He
also points out that in such cases a great deal of pressure is put upon the supervisor to maintain the necessary co-ordination.\textsuperscript{54}

In addition to a lack in communication within the organization being an important source of conflict, too much communication between its members has been found to be a potential source of conflict. For example, Corwin found strong evidence that the rate of interaction and communication was positively related with conflict.\textsuperscript{55} Corwin's observation appears to be a direct contradiction of Homan's interaction-liking hypothesis.\textsuperscript{56} This relationship is still very much under investigation, but, Walton\textsuperscript{et al}\textsuperscript{57} may have a tentative answer. Initially, they believed that if departments had more knowledge of another's activity, there would be greater co-ordination and co-operation. They found the opposite to be true. It appeared that knowledge of other departments was used strategically in order to gain an advantage over the other departments. In sum, these studies appear to indicate that unrestricted communication can also affect organizational conflict.

Therefore, in order to co-ordinate the various organizational levels and departments, which Katz and Kahn term the "differentiated subsystems,"\textsuperscript{58} of the organization, an adequate network of communication and interaction must be present (written and verbal). Effective communication along vertical relationships is vital for the clarification of goals, tasks and duties, and thus for co-operation for the attainment of the organizational goals. Communication along lateral relationships is more complicated due to competition and conflicting interests.

\textbf{Conflict of Interest}

In any organization, there are basic differences among the occupants of the various positions within the system. This is partially due to the
specifications demanded by the organization of the duties and responsibilities to be undertaken by the occupant. In addition, these differences can be attributed to what Kahn et al. term a "latent role", which is the product of an individual's past experience and personality. When an individual becomes a member of an organization, he brings with him, his personal goals and interests. Conflict can arise if these goals are in opposition to and are incompatible with those of the organization to which he belongs, or when a member interacts with another who has different interests. Conflicts of interest may result from the formation of informal peer groups within the organization.

Katz and Pondy both suggest that organizational conflict arises when individuals or groups are either pursuing different goals or struggling for limited resources. This type of conflict can develop in both vertical and lateral relationships. Thompson observed that the structure of the organization increases the inequality between authority, technical competence and the share in the rewards of the organization. Furthermore, if the structure is rigid and complex with associated status and remuneration, there can be a vested interest in the defence and enhancement of each group's position. As Pondy points out, conflict can arise when one party seeks either to control the operation of another or to insulate itself from outside control and remain autonomous. The result of this type of conflict of interest is that the groups become less committed to the organization and they wish only to protect and further their own interests.

In short, organizational conflict can arise whenever two or more parties differ markedly in their respective goals or whenever two or more parties are in competition for a similar scarce resource. Moreover, when
two parties cannot co-ordinate their activities for some joint venture because they cannot reach a consensus of action, a potential source of conflict exists.

Consensus

March and Simon have indicated that the differences in perceptions of reality and the degree of felt need for joint decision making are two important factors to consider when one determines the cause of organizational conflict. Smith and Litterer both state that conflict stems from a lack of shared perceptions and attitudes among members of the organization. These investigators agree that a lack of consensus among the participants of an organization can be a potential source of conflict. Thompson and Tuden have observed that the type and degree of consensus in an organization will determine the various strategies of decision making, such as reliance on facts or compromise, and in turn, such strategies will condition the level of cooperation or conflict.

Member consensus is achieved primarily through the process of cohesiveness and participation in the organization. However, Warren found in his investigation of a teaching organization, that participation by teachers in the decision making process was positively related with conflict. Conversely, Homans hypothesized that increased participation by all members of an organization would lead to a clarification of organizational norms. Similarly, Corwin discovered in his research on the patterns of conflict that participation can facilitate consensus but he suggests that it also provides more occasions for conflict as the interaction may make the participants more aware of latent conflict.
A lack of consensus can arise in a situation where two units are involved in the performance of a joint task. In several cases, these units may be dependent upon each other but if there is disagreement on the proper course to take, conflict can result. For example, when one unit wishes to retain the status quo, while another adopts the attitude that it is time to change to more contemporary techniques, conflict is possible. If the two parties cannot reach an agreement, co-ordination may be impaired. Thus, it is possible for conflict to arise from a situation in which there is a lack of consensus on the proper goal to pursue as well as on the means of achieving it. It would appear that in view of the fact that organizations must co-ordinate their activities in order to achieve their goals, a lack of shared attitudes or "dissensus" would certainly lead an organization into conflict.

Organizational conflict within an athletic association may be said to arise from problems in communication, conflict of interest, and consensus or the combined influence of all three generators. Their effect on the conflict relationships will determine the form and intensity which the disputes will exhibit in the organization, and will invariably lead to change, which although unlisted in the preceding presentation of conflict generators, change may generate considerable conflict.

Change: A Conflict Source

Some investigators consider change a source of conflict. Sanborn and Hartman state that "conflict has as its starting point, change" and that "conflict is an inevitable byproduct of change". Others, such as Blau and Scott contend that "various conflicts in complex organizations are an inevitable source of change". Conflict and change are distinct
processes with many different characteristics, but in actual life, they are interwoven so that their effects are reciprocal.\textsuperscript{73} It is difficult to determine a cause-effect relationship between the two because either one can exist independently or collectively and share many common features. Therefore, it is perhaps more useful to consider conflict and change as a joint entity which can have both functional and dysfunctional consequences for the organization.\textsuperscript{74}

\textbf{Definition of Organizational Change}

A review of the relevant literature on conflict and change has revealed that there are several different ideas as to what conflict is and how it is actually generated. Suffice it to say that Pondy's conceptualization appears to possess the greatest potential in describing organizational conflict. The conflict-change relationship has been explained and it was concluded that both should be considered as a joint process. However, in order to identify organizational change, the concept must be operationalized. For the purposes of this study, Lippitt's definition of organizational change was accepted, that is, organizational change is "any planned or unplanned alteration in the status quo which affects the structure, technology, and personnel of the organization."\textsuperscript{75}

\textbf{Conflict, Change, and Athletic Associations}

In general, organizational changes within the athletic association will fall into two main categories: (1) nomothetic changes which include all structural and technological events of the association, and (2) idiographic changes which encompass any alterations in the traits, situation, and behaviour of the various member delegates.
A structural change will be clearly indicated within the formal minutes of meetings and in the organization's constitution. Such factors as the task, membership, voting power, and the number of teams competing, are characteristic of the structural dimension of an organization. The technological aspect of an athletic association will include any alterations in the manner in which the competition between the member institutions is formally arranged. Changes in intra-association or inter-association competition will come under the category of organizational technology. Furthermore if the association's members decide to rearrange competition schedules, that is by drawing up sections or divisions between the universities, then this action will also be a technological modification of the organization. The personnel dimension should be fairly clear as the minutes and interviews will indicate any marked changes. Therefore, with both conflict and change operationally defined, the next chapter will outline the research design and methodological procedures by which conflict and change can be analysed within an athletic association.
FOOTNOTES


3. Ibid.


5. Ibid.


8. Ibid.


11. Ibid.


17. J. A. Litterer, 


20. Ibid.


23. Pondy, op.cit., p. 298.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid., p. 299.


29. Ibid.

30. Ibid., p. 306.

31. Ibid., p. 298.

32. Ibid., p. 306.


34. Ibid., p. 299.

35. V. Aubert, "Competition and Dissensus: Two Types of Conflict and Conflict Resolution," Journal of Conflict Resolution, 1 (1957), 26-42.

36. Ibid. p. 305.

37. Ibid., pp. 301-302.

38. Ibid., 302-303.
39 Ibid., pp. 303-305.
41 Pondy, op.cit., p. 306.
42 Ibid., p. 305.
46 Pondy, op.cit.
47 Aubert, op.cit.; Dahrendorf, op.cit. (1964); Katz and Kahn, op.cit.; March and Simon, op.cit.; Olsen, op.cit.; Pondy, op.cit.; Smith, op.cit.; Thompson, op.cit.; Litterer, op.cit.
48 Ibid.
49 Smith, op.cit.; Litterer, op.cit., p. 379; Pondy, op.cit.
50 March and Simon, op.cit., p. 128.
51 Smith, op.cit., p. 505; Litterer, op.cit., p. 379.
54 Smith, op.cit., p. 510.
55 Corwin, op.cit., p. 517.
58 Katz and Kahn, op.cit., p. 25.


61. Pondy, op.cit.


63. Pondy, op.cit., p. 300.

64. March and Simon, op.cit., p 121.


68. Homans, op.cit.


70. Aubert, op.cit., p. 61.


73. Olsen, op.cit., p. 133.

74. Ibid.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

Conceptual Framework

Research in the administration of university and interscholastic athletics has been to a great extent microscopic, that is, investigators have tended to focus on specific technical matters such as scheduling, facility development, travel procedures, and legal liability. While this type of research has been valuable to all who administer programs in athletics, very little attention has been given to the more general questions facing athletic associations. In other words, few investigators have examined the administrative behaviour at the decision-making and management boundary levels of these organizations or the manner in which these associations manifest themselves to society. Many reasons could be suggested for the direction in which research has taken in athletics. Burns offers a plausible answer, as he writes:

The study of behaviour over time in terms of process was almost entirely neglected because of the lack of a conceptual apparatus.... Lack of longitudinal comparative studies especially those involving historical research seem to have lead to a failure to incorporate their insights into the body of writing that makes up contemporary organizational theory. 2

The conceptual approach which this study has adopted is an attempt to fill this apparent void in organizational research related to intercollegiate athletics. Quite simply, the approach will be macroscopic in nature. In the study an attempt will be made to elicit tentative
recommendations and solutions for the general problems which are associated with organizational conflict and change in athletic associations. Furthermore, due to the fact that information concerning conflict and change in the organization can only be secured from the academic and athletic administrators of the association, and since many of these men are at retirement age, there is an immediate need for an all encompassing method to analyze the multitude of organizational events before these primary sources are no longer available. Practically speaking, a conceptual approach of this kind may provide athletic administrators with some immediate answers concerning conflict and change within their associations. Since it appears that university athletics are moving at an ever increasing rate, a study which combines objective quantifiable data with subjective qualitative information may elicit recommendations which are closer to real life, and thus, may prove more beneficial. In addition to these reasons for using the macro approach, the investigator considered this mode potentially more effective at handling an immense amount of varied and scattered data from a number of different sources.

**Research Model**

The research model utilized for the organizational analysis in the study was a modification of the molar research model conceptualized by Moriarty in his study of the CIAUC. This model can be regarded as:

A wholistic model incorporating as causal variables both the humanistic, psychological, and socially induced behaviour, as well as the technological and situationally expedient behaviour.

Figure 2, the Molar Research Model, contains three basic dimensions. The independent variables are the nomothetic and idiographic
Fig. 2. Molar Research Model
dimensions. The nomothetic dimension represents the organizational aspect of the association, which includes such things as task, structure, and control. On the other hand, the idiographic or personal dimension incorporates the individuals and/or groups which make up the organization. An examination of the traits, situation, and behaviour of the individuals and groups within the organization are of primary interest with the idiographic dimension.

A critical question which administrative scientists have attempted to solve is whether conflict and change are precipitated by men or by the organizational context itself. For this reason, the model presents both the organizational and personal dimensions in order that all major causes of conflict and change are included. In addition, the extraorganizational and institutional influences are depicted in the model, but only insofar as they affect the intraorganizational focus of attention, that is, conflict and change in the athletic association. The dependent variable of the research model is the intraorganizational conflict and change dimension. In this instance, recurrent problems, conflict, conflict management, and resultant change are identified. The sources of conflict and change can be traced back to one or more variables.

Another element which the model contains is that of internal and external evaluation. Internal evaluation examines the information obtained from individuals who are directly associated with the organization. On the other hand, external evaluation takes into account facts derived from administrators who have a more indirect relationship with the association. Examination of responses from both internal and external sources should present a more accurate evaluation of the various events surrounding the athletic association.
Figure 3, the Research Paradigm, illustrates a more detailed picture of the pattern of organizational research as the model is applied to an athletic association. The nomothetic variable examines several organizational questions such as activity, budget, and constitution which are found in written sources. This information will give the investigator a record of the organization's task, structure, and control. Furthermore, it will point out when conflict and significant changes occurred in the organization.

Merton's Focused Interview is used to uncover and to identify organizational conflict and change within the association. The interview material is also used as an elaboration on the written data obtained from other sources. The internal and external sources of information are indicated in the model.

As mentioned previously, the focus of research is upon the intra-organizational conflict and change within the athletic association. The model allows conflict and change to be examined either at specific points in time or over time.

Although considerable attention will be given to the interaction of the nomothetic, idiographic, and dependent variables, other sources of conflict and change, such as extraorganizational or institutional influences, will not be discounted.

Methodology and Procedure

The methodological approach taken in the study has been indicated in the research paradigm (fig. 3). The paradigm has identified specific items of information to be collected. In general, the data will be information concerning the organization, the individuals and/or groups...
Fig. 3. Research Paradigm.
within the association, and intraorganizational conflict and change.

Sources of Data

Most of the information will be obtained by gleaning the minutes of meetings of the board of governors and administrative council of the OQAA. Additional information will be collected by utilizing Merton's Focused Interview with selected members of the administrative bodies of the OQAA, member institutions, and other individuals who had a significant role in the OQAA during that period.

Other sources of information would include selected transcribed audio taped interviews which were conducted by R. J. Moriarty. In addition to these sources of information university calendars, school and public newspapers, periodicals and professional journals would provide materials for the study.

Data Gathering Procedures

The minutes of meetings of the board of governors and administrative council of the OQAA were made available through the secretary-treasurer, the late Mr. J. P. Loosemore. Personal interviews were held during the 1971-1972 academic year.

Subjects for the Interview

The interviewers or subjects for the interview were selected by the investigator on the basis of the minutes of the association's meetings and on the recommendation of experts from the member institutions of the association. The subjects selected were from among the following:

1. former and present athletic directors,
2. former and present faculty representatives,
3. the association's secretary-treasurer,
4. representatives of the CIAU,
5. other significant individuals who have contributed greatly to the OQAA.

Instrumentation

The instrumentation of the study included a data analysis and the Focused Interview.

Data Analysis

A data analysis of the quantifiable information from the minutes of the meetings of the association was performed, and the data was recorded and plotted on graphs. The following items were tabulated and graphed:

1. membership;
2. sports and teams;
3. finances and fees;
4. income and expenses;
5. voting power.

Focused Interview

The Focused Interview which was developed by Merton and Kendall was found to be especially applicable to this type of research.

Superficially, this interview technique might appear quite similar to other modes of research interviews; however, the characteristics of the focused interview which make it distinctively different are as follows:

1. The interviewees are known to have been involved in a particular situation, such as, a member of an organization.

2. The investigator has provisionally analysed the situation (content analysis) and developed working hypotheses regarding various events of the situation.

3. The content analysis leads to the formation of the interview guide which contains the major areas of inquiry and which also determines
the criteria for the collection of relevant information.

4. The interview focuses on the subjective experiences of the interviewees in order to ascertain his personal definition of the situation. 11

Content analysis is an important part of the focused interview. With this prior knowledge, the interviewer can distinguish the objective facts from the subjective definitions of the interviewees. Therefore, the interviewer can play a more active role in the interview by focusing upon the significant aspects of the situation. Moreover, he can introduce effective cues of the situation which will produce a comprehensive report of the responses by the interviewees. The investigator then uses the multitude of responses to test the validity of the hypotheses derived from administrative theory and the prior analysis of organizational records. Furthermore, the investigator can effectively determine the unanticipated responses concerning the situation, thus creating new hypotheses. 12

The interview method was used to clarify the information gathered from the minutes and other written records concerning the OQAA, and also to uncover the potential areas of organizational conflict. Figure 4, Procedural Framework, outlines the steps which were followed in this study when the focused interview was utilized.

For the interview, general open ended questions appropriate to the interviewee were prepared. The interview guide used in the study can be found in the appendix.

Presentation and Analysis

By utilizing the research model developed by Moriarty the
Fig. 4. Procedural Framework.
presentation and analysis of the findings will focus on the interaction of the organizational context and the individuals and/or groups of the association as they lead to conflict and change.

The presentation and analysis will take the following form.

1. A record of the significant events of the association.

2. An analysis of the significant contributions of the members of the association.

3. An identification and analysis of the intraorganizational problems, conflict and change within the OQAA.

The record of events will take the form of a description of the organization's task, structure, and control. Graphs and charts will be used to clarify and describe the pertinent information.

The Focused Interview will be extremely helpful in determining the contributions of the association's members. The presentation and analysis will endeavour to examine objectively the behaviour of these men as they acted as academic and athletic administrators within the OQAA.

The emphasis in the presentation and analysis will be upon the third area. Intraorganizational conflict and change will be identified and analysed in the association. Through the use of the molar research model and administrative theory, the investigator will attempt to elicit the sources of conflict and change within the association. Finally, several recommendations will be suggested by the investigator as possible solutions to the questions of organizational conflict and change within athletic associations.
FOOTNOTES


6 Moriarty, op. cit., p. 7.


9 Ibid.

10 Ibid.


12 Ibid.
CHAPTER IV

ORGANIZATIONAL CONFLICT AND CHANGE WITHIN THE OQAA

Each episode or encounter leaves an aftermath that affects the course of succeeding episodes.\(^1\)

The above statement provides an excellent point of departure for an investigation of conflict and change within the OQAA. Pondy has implied in the statement that an examination of the preceding conflict episode may assist the investigator in discovering possible latent conditions or sources of organizational conflict within the organization. If this interpretation of Pondy's thesis is assumed to be correct, then it may be beneficial to review the significant events which were manifest in the violent disruption of CIAUC. Therefore, before proceeding to a discussion of conflict and change within the OQAA itself, the events which occurred just prior to the formation of the OQAA will be examined briefly.

Conflicts Conditions Prior to the OQAA'S Formation

Earlier historical research by Moriarty and by Loosemore has revealed that there was a violent organizational struggle prior to the formation of the OQAA.\(^2\) In fact, the OQAA was the direct result of the disputes within the parent association. Moriarty, especially, indicated that the latter years of the CIAUC showed traits of organizational and personalized tension, frustration, open hostility, and verbal aggression within the association.\(^3\) Fittingly, Moriarty has termed this period of time, the "Destructive Era"\(^4\) of Canadian intercollegiate athletics. A number of
possible causes have been suggested for the organizational conflict within the CIAUC during the early and middle fifties. The most commonly agreed upon reason for the battles and subsequent breakup appears to be the rejection of the McMaster football team from senior competition.\(^5\)

The secretary-treasurer of the CIAUC, and later of the OQAA, the late J. P. Loosemore had the following comment regarding the situation at that time.

1955 was rather unfortunate in that it was caused by McMaster University being asked to withdraw from the football conference; they had been admitted two years before, and I suppose ... they had not been strong enough in that period to give equal competition to the four existing universities ... Queen's, McGill, Western, and Toronto.\(^6\)

In addition, other reasons have been put forth for McMaster's exclusion from senior football. Five football teams made a very awkward schedule.\(^7\) Actually, some delegates believed that the Big Four universities were reluctant to let McMaster participate because they had built up a very convenient home and home schedule amongst themselves which over time had established traditional rivalries. More importantly, the four team competition had developed into a prosperous money making enterprise. Thus, the Big Four did not want this traditional competition in football to be jeopardized in any way. Bill Orban, who was an emerging physical educator at the time, expressed the feelings of many of the delegates from the smaller emerging universities.

The executive was a close-knit academic group from the Big Four, and they were reluctant to accept representatives of the smaller schools....Power and football were the main interest....This was the issue which precipitated the break. It was the main obstacle. The Big Four were reluctant to pass on power, authority, autonomy, membership, and voting. Power was tied up with football.\(^8\)
Thus, the rejection of McMaster from senior football seemed to be the straw which broke the camel's back. In general, there appeared to be many bad feelings about the manner in which the total association was being operated. From another point of view, Loosemore suggested that there were other reasons for the open hostility and conflict.

It was apparent that the administration of the CIAUC, composed of nineteen institutions with great variation in standards of play and a completely different outlook among many of the members, was becoming cumbersome and unwieldy. Another factor was the difficulty experienced in finding unity in the matter of common standards of athletic eligibility that would work in an equitable manner for all nineteen members of varying sizes and different academic standards.9

Moriarty concluded from his research on the CIAUC that there were, in fact, thirteen possible reasons for the open hostility and organizational cleavage of the CIAUC.10 Duncan McLarty of Western who was the chairman of the CIAUC at the time recalls the situation in the following way.

The problems that we faced in 1955 had to do with the increased number of institutions and their growth and also the great mixture of the institutions as to size, the general interest in sports, the general level of participation, and the increase in costs for competition. . . . At that time it was suggested that we break up into associations. The Ottawa-St. Lawrence was proposed along with the Ontario-Quebec and the South Western Ontario groupings. . . . In the background, there was a considerable amount of unfortunate animosity building up and this was due to the levels of competition and the voting within the old CIAUC.11

McLarty made an additional comment concerning the voting distribution within the association.

In many cases, the votes of colleges which were not involved in the sport controlled the voting and direction in CIAUC competition as it was carried out by those who were actually participating. We reached some real impasses in the organization.12

All in all, the organizational climate within the CIAUC at that time could be described as extremely unhealthy. At the 1955 meeting of
the association at London, the whole conflict situation reached its climax.

Harry Griffiths, McGill's athletic director, described the events of that meeting.

There were definitely personality conflicts and there was certainly no love lost ... there were not too many people trying to find a solution although there were people who worked hard hoping that there might be one.

Everyone came to the London Meeting intent on a breakup. It was inevitable there was going to be a split; its unfortunate that it could not have transpired under friendlier terms....Most of the delegates sat up half the night before the meeting; therefore, they were tired and tense by the time chairman Duncan McLarty gavelled the meeting to order...Percy Lowe of RMC and Dennis Harbie of Ottawa were the spokesmen for the Ottawa-St. Lawrence...Orrin Carson of Queen's and Warren Stevens of Toronto for the Ontario-Quebec Conference. The meeting quickly deteriorated into a name calling contest...accusations were made on both sides and there would be hard feelings for many years to come.14

The 1955 meeting was the first one attended by Professor Morrison of McGill and he had the following observation.

I recall that McLarty was chairman. I thought that, considering the mess there was, he did a hell of a job. He kept things very smooth considering the colour of their necks, they were all pretty red....Percy Lowe seemed to be against the government, as far as the establishment was concerned. The establishment at that time was three of the four larger universities, I never quite understood Percy.15

McLarty summarized the situation regarding his actions as chairman of the London meeting.

I allowed the meeting to run wide open for about twenty minutes ... it was the only thing you could do....I let people burn themselves out, more or less, say everything they wanted to say. Then I called things back to order and suggested that we break up and go to individual rooms which were provided. The Ontario-Quebec stayed in the Tower Room. The Ottawa-St. Lawrence went to a lower classroom and the South Western Conference were given the choice of going it alone or joining the OQ (which they did). We ended up our meetings with two associations, each with its
constitution, each with a considerable amount of autonomy and then an over-riding CIAUC constitution in which each of these associations held membership. 16

Thus, the delegates of the various member institutions concluded that the CIAUC was no longer a viable athletic association. As Moriarty has indicated, the representatives began to look elsewhere for inter-collegiate athletic competition.

For the most part, there was little interest at the 1955 meeting in the skeleton constitution of the CIAUC. Everyone knew that the CIAUC was dead, and they were interested in the constitution and affairs of the emerging Ontario-Quebec Athletic Association and the Ottawa-St. Lawrence Athletic Association. 17

Furthermore, in his organizational analysis of the conflict situation during the last few years of the CIAUC, Moriarty arrived at the following conclusions.

The system of management in the CIAUC was at the autocratic exploitative level. Neither the athletic directors nor the faculty representatives of the Big Four claimed to have any interest beyond their own institutional level. They founded and developed the CIAUC, financed it, and controlled it. Associate (non Big Four) members were included only insofar as they could contribute to the goals of the Big Four. These were the terms ... there was no compromise.... The events and men became polarized and immovable....(It was a) classic example of complete conflict. 18

There was an atmosphere of mistrust from all quarters. As the emerging smaller universities gained in status within the association, the Big Four became less communicative and strove to maintain their traditional power. 19 Moriarty summarizes the "Destructive Era" very succinctly: "Compromise gave way to confrontation....Goodsportsmanship was lacking both on the athletic field and at the conference table." 20

This section has described the organizational situation within the CIAUC prior to the formation of the QCAA. If Pondy's model of conflict is applied at this point, the last era of the CIAUC could be classified as a
manifest conflict stage in which open hostility and verbal aggression were evident. Therefore, following Pondy's model, the formation and inception of the OQAA may be considered to be the stage of conflict aftermath of the preceding episode. This stage represents the starting point for the presentation and analysis of the sources of conflict and change within the OQAA. Whether or not the antecedent conditions which led up to the formation of the OQAA had any effect upon organizational conflict and change within the athletic association is one question which remains to be investigated.

Conflict Aftermath of the CIAUC

After an investigation of the association's minutes and from interviews with sixteen individuals from the organization, there was conclusive evidence of organizational conflict and subsequent change within the OQAA. Initially, organizational conflict and change seemed to be the direct consequence of certain latent conditions which were carried over from the preceding athletic association. Later, the struggles appeared to be influenced by variables which developed during the history of the athletic association. The major causes of conflict and change were generated by the organizational relationships or the syntality of the association and by the traits and behaviour of certain key individual and groups within the OQAA. In addition, conflict and change within the athletic association was attributed to other variables which could be classified as extraorganizational and institutional. Therefore, in the following discussion, each source of conflict and change will be presented and analysed according to its influence upon the athletic association. The research model and interviews suggest that these sources can be divided into two general categories,
that is, organizational conditions and personal conditions.

Organizational Conditions

Structural Features

When the OQAA held its first annual meeting in 1956 at McGill under the constitution previously established at the breakup of the CIAUC, seven universities were represented. 21 Universities from the original Ontario–Quebec Conference of the CIAUC (Queen’s, Toronto, McGill and Western), and three member institutions from the South Western Ontario Conference (McMaster, Guelph, and Windsor) 22 had voting delegates present at the inaugural meeting. The formal organization of the new athletic association resembled that of the former CIAUC. An executive committee was established drawn up of delegates from the Big Four each having one representative, and one delegate representing the remaining three member institutions. The board of governors was composed of three representatives from each of Queen’s, Toronto, and McGill; two representatives from each of Western, McMaster and Guelph, while Windsor had only one voting delegate on the board. Representation on the board was determined by the number of sports in which the member institution was participating. An administrative council consisting of athletic directors from the various member institutions constituted the other major administrative unit within the athletic association. Within the framework of the less influential administrative council, each athletic director had one representative vote. 23

Organizationally, the administrative structure of the athletic association is depicted in Figure 5, Organigram of the Ontario–Quebec Athletic
Fig. 5 - Organigram of the Ontario Quebec Athletic Association.
Association. The organisogram shows that the administrative council was responsible to the governing decision-making body, the board of governors. Likewise, the executive committee composed of faculty representatives from the member institutions was also responsible to the board of governors. The executive committee dealt with matters of importance as it was directed by the board. This illustrated arrangement represented the formal structure of the OQAA at its inception in 1956.

However, there might be some individuals from the association who would disagree with this structural configuration. They might suggest that the executive committee was informally structured above the board of governors. In this sense, the OQAA would resemble the informal organization of the CIAUC. Orban alluded to this arrangement when he mentioned how the executive committee of the CIAUC was such a close-knit academic group, among the Big Four especially, and that it was often difficult to get a voice in matters at the executive level. This select grouping seemed to reappear in the OQAA. In fact, Morrison, who was a long term member of this elite group, agreed wholeheartedly.

There is no question... The executive committee was a pretty closed corporation. If there was such a thing as the establishment, that was it... There was never any question of the athletics running the academics... they (executive) thought that they should have control of the situation.

As one might expect from such an informal arrangement, there were disputes between the various levels of government within the OQAA. In particular, there were often great debates between the 'layman' faculty representatives and the 'professional' athletic directors as to how the
association and its activities should be conducted. During the early stages of the OQAA, the directors perceived the faculty representatives as "watchdogs" over university athletics. Moriarty indicated that there was a similar attitude by the athletic managers within the CIAUC.²⁸ In his research, Moriarty also pointed out that the Big Four universities seemed to possess a high degree of status and prestige over the other universities.²⁹ The Big Four members of the OQAA appeared to carry this status over into the OQAA set up.³⁰ Bill Mitchell of Guelph agreed as he commented that "in 1956, the Big Four universities were the big guys and the OQAA athletics was the Thing."³¹ Dr. Frank DeMarco of the University of Windsor mentioned that this status was indeed understandable.

The Big Four were the Big Four as far as universities.... They were the ones which had the resources, finances, and so on ... and in the eyes of the public, these were the only universities that existed....The attractive power of schools like Windsor was almost nil....At that time the public knew it, the Big Four knew it ... intercollegiate athletics in the OQAA was the Big Four.³²

Therefore, it appeared that the various organizational groupings within the structure of the OQAA carried a certain amount of informal status and prestige which had built up within the CIAUC and now reappeared within the OQAA. This status of the Big Four was evident at both the executive and administrative levels of government.³³ An examination of the association's task provides additional support for the presence of the Big Four's status within the OQAA.

Organizational Task

Basically, the purpose or mission of the OQAA was to provide athletic competition between universities.³⁴ In this regard, at the inception of the OQAA, the Big Four were participating in more sports than all of the other
universities combined. Similarly, they had more teams competing than the remaining institutions combined. However, the number of sports and teams was not the only factor which gave the Big Four status in the OQAA. Teams from these universities were considered by the other universities as the premier level of athletic competition, and leagues involving the Big Four were referred to formally and informally as Senior Intercollegiate Competition. In many instances, games or matches between Big Four and non Big Four universities were characterized by very one-sided contests, always in favour of the Big Four. Because of this high level of competition, the smaller emerging universities wanted to be a part of the Big Four competition. If they had their chance to join the Big Four, they would almost invariably take the opportunity.

Furthermore, because of the manner in which the intercollegiate competition was financed in the OQAA, the Big Four again appeared as the leaders of the athletic association. The Big Four contributed more financially in the way of fees for intercollegiate competition within the OQAA. Of course, they paid more to the association because they were the universities which were participating the most. For these reasons, the Big Four schools commanded a certain amount of respect and prominence in athletic competition within and outside the association.

Organizational Control

The system of control within the OQAA was perhaps the most interesting and significant aspect which had an influence on conflict within the athletic association. Earlier in this section, the voting distribution was indicated at both the executive and administrative levels of the organization. A comparison of the executive level of government and the administrative level
within the OQAA reveals quite a disparity in the dispersement of voting power. Apparently, the reason for such an allotment at the executive level was that it was designed to allow the four members involved mostly in the activities of the association to have more voting privileges. Of course, with the greater number of votes, the Big Four had control of the total operation of the association. Apparently, the manner in which the voting power was distributed was greatly influenced by the preceding conflict episode within the CIAUC.

Griffiths made a very significant comment regarding this dispersement of voting strength within the association.

Once the breakup came, the Big Four felt that they had learned a lesson. That is, they must never put themselves in a position where they lost control of the voting. 37

Morrison echoed his athletic director's comments.

The main thing at that time was that the originals in the intercollegiate competition in eastern Canada felt that they were back in control of their own affairs again. They were the dominating group who had players in most events. They objected to an institution coming in with players in one event dictating what is going on in all other events. 38

There seemed to be an atmosphere of caution and conservation amongst the delegates, especially the Big Four, at the inception of the OQAA. This apprehension appeared to be a direct consequence of the breakup of the CIAUC. 39

The conflict aftermath of the CIAUC seemed to elicit a fear in the Big Four delegates of fashioning a similar organizational situation in their present association. 40 This attitude was reflected in the actions of the delegates, particularly, when the bid for new members were entertained.

Weighted Distribution in Voting Power

The most significant event at the first meeting which revealed the apprehension of the Big Four was the consideration of the applications for
Almost immediately, the Big Four members showed a deep concern for the balance of voting power which would be altered, if and when, these two institutions were granted membership in the OQAA. The following quote from the minutes demonstrates the Big Four's caution.

The main difficulty in accepting these two universities into full membership was in the alteration in voting power inherent in the addition of two new members.... There were difficulties in restoring a situation whereby the balance of voting power was taken away from the four universities which between them provided the greatest share of athletic competition.

The executive committee was given the task of finding an acceptable solution to the problem of league expansion and its effect upon the distribution of voting strength. Meanwhile, Laval and Montreal had to wait to gain voting status within the OQAA, but they were granted playing privileges for the year.

The following year, the executive committee made its report. The executive committee proposed a motion to alter the existing voting structure. The changes in voting were related to the number of activities in which each member participated during the season. The representation on the executive committee was changed so that it consisted of "one delegate from each member entitled to five votes on the board of governors, one delegate from all other Ontario members combined, and one delegate from all other Quebec members combined." The changes within the board of governors were the following: three delegates, each with one vote, from any institution which had 'senior' rating in six different sports including at least three of the following sports—hockey, soccer, track, basketball, boxing, wrestling, swimming; two delegates, each with one vote, could represent those members which had 'senior' rating in five different sports including at least two of the previously mentioned
sports; one voting delegate was allotted to any institution which had 'senior' rating in any one of the aforementioned activities, and lastly, two votes were given to any member institution which participated in 'senior' rugby.

There was very little opposition to the first three constitutional changes in the voting structure. However, the delegates from McMaster took exception with the proposal which gave two additional votes to members for participation in senior football. They believed that the distribution of voting power should be based upon overall participation, and that one sport should not carry so much emphasis. However, the Big Four universities wanted to maintain complete control of the organization in order that they could continue to participate in the traditional Big Four competition. They did not want any interference from other universities. Through these changes, the Big Four felt assured that if new members were added, they would still possess a sufficient number of votes to maintain a two-thirds majority which was needed in order to change the constitution. McLarty felt that this type of power distribution was justifiable.

The OQAA realized that they would have to provide competition for all colleges as the emerging universities were coming into their own. However, it did not seem justifiable to bring in some smaller institutions into a league which was working and at least maintaining itself financially. It meant the financial collapse of the organization.

There was quite a lot of criticism of the voting arrangement, especially from the emerging universities who took a completely opposite view of the situation. One delegate, Dr. Craig McIvor of McMaster, firmly believed that the control of the OQAA was closely associated with the Big Four's desire
to maintain the traditional senior football competition.

It was a real and continuous struggle between the Big Four and the emerging universities for power and control of the operation. It all seemed to centre in the last analysis on football... The Big Four were mortally afraid that somehow the control of this traditional football competition among the four schools was going to get out of their hands and that disaster was going to result.50

There were a number of other representatives who shared McIvor's thoughts.51 Even Toronto's Loosemore admitted that many bad feelings at OQAA meetings existed because of the allotment of votes for members participation in senior football.52

Senior Football Competition

Delegates have indicated the importance of senior football in controlling the OQAA. Since the Big Four attitude regarding this traditional competition seemed to carry over from the CIAUC, it also could be considered a latent factor for conflict within the OQAA. Perhaps an examination of the football situation during the middle fifties will help to clarify this persistent conflict source.

The Big Four jealously protected their traditional Yates Cup competition because, since its inception in 1898, it had become a very popular and lucrative enterprise. The Big Four members realized the importance of this sport. Back home at their campuses, students, faculty, and alumni were deeply interested in their football teams. Herb Hamilton, the dean of university alumni directors expressed the feelings of the Queen's supporters towards the Golden Gaels and their opponents.

When the Gaels had a reunion game, the first choice was always Toronto, the second choice McGill. It was only once or twice when they were forced into a position when they took Western; they were not interested in playing anyone else....Football had contributed so much at
Queen's; it had become a way of life...everything was wrapped around it.53. Loosemore made a significant observation as to why football had become so important in those days. He mentioned that "the gates were tremendously important...in the fifties football used to pay for all other sports."54 In this regard, the Big Four wished to retain the football competition in order to keep their own university programs functional.55 McLarty also mentioned that the CIAUC football situation carried over into the years of the OQAA.

The Big Four concept did hang over into the OQAA for the famous Yates Cup ... there were those of us around that considered the Yates Cup a matter of exceedingly great importance.56

Therefore, because senior football had become so important, the Big Four structured the OQAA in such a way that it would not be affected by other organizational changes.57 They had a closed competition, and with the two additional votes for football, the four could protect their interests. In the long run, the closed nature of football became a constant source of dispute and bad feelings within the OQAA.58

Personal Conditions of Latent Conflict

Actually, the personal conditions of latent conflict within the OQAA have already been mentioned. These conditions were essentially found in one of two personal relationships. In the first case, the association was composed of two types of delegates, one being an academician, and the other, a professional athletic director. Kahn et al59 have suggested that each member of an organization will have a 'latent role' which is the product of his own personality and his perceived responsibilities to the system. Both the faculty representative and the athletic director were
shown to have different viewpoints in their perception of intercollegiate athletics. Because of these differences, a potential source of conflict existed. In fact, some delegates did mention that there were disputes between the two factions within the athletic association. This personal relationship is mentioned here merely to point out the condition for conflict which existed at the beginning of the OQAA.

The second personal relationship has also been indicated, that is, the Big Four delegates versus the representatives from the other universities. Several times in the previous discussion, differences in attitudes, status, prestige, voting, and competition levels were shown to exist between the Big Four and the other member institutions. For this reason, this relationship was another potential source of conflict. For example, at the first meeting of the association, these groups were shown to be polarized, each with its own relative position. This state of conflict also appeared to be the consequence of the previous conflict episode within the CIAUC.

Both relationships appeared to exist throughout the history of the organization. Later in the chapter, it will be shown how these relationships had a significant effect upon the conflict and change within the OQAA. These conditions describe the organizational situation of the OQAA during the aftermath stage of conflict. Several latent conditions of conflict and change were found to have their origin in the CIAUC. Over the next decade, the OQAA experienced conflict and change which were the result of the influence of several other factors. In the next section, the discussion will present these factors and illustrate how they influenced the course of conflict and change within the OQAA.
Organizational Events which Precipitated Conflict

There were several factors which precipitated and intensified organizational conflict within the OQAA. Although some of the reasons for conflict appeared more responsible than others, all sources interacted and were associated with one another.

Voting Power and Closed Nature of Football

The distribution of voting power and the closed nature of senior football were perhaps the most important sources of conflict and change within the OQAA. The importance of senior football has been demonstrated previously. Throughout the late fifties and early sixties, senior OQAA football continued to maintain its traditional prominence. There were very few changes in the football competition. The Big Four conceded to exhibition games but would not allow additional teams on a regular season basis. Since the Big Four universities were the only ones who could vote on football issues, they could refuse any application by another institution.

Al Lenard, athletic director of Queen's, recalled the traditional football situation in the following way.

Schools that participated in football always carried a little bit more weight. The Big Four used this weight for many years. While there were requests to join the OQAA football... they were just tossed away because nobody else could vote except the members participating in that sport. As I recall it, it was four to zero almost every time. 62

This behaviour by the Big Four gave rise to constant bickering and ill feelings between them and the other members. The emerging universities could not understand the situation at the time.

It was difficult to verbalize the attitude of the Big Four towards football... I felt that they had an extremely large mental block about this thing...
football meetings were held separately. There was no physical, constitutional, or regulatory way in which you could approach this until you changed their minds ... It was quite a thrust to speak to them ... to them it was a joke.63

Perhaps the major opponent to the closed nature of senior football was the late Ivor Wynne of McMaster.64 Wynne had been the major force in McMaster's short lived inclusion in OIAUC football in 1953, and on his initiative, he was able to get the Big Four to open up the competition in 1964. In this instance, the Big Four conceded to staging a playoff between the Ontario Intercollegiate Football Conference champion and the OQAA champ, provided that the OIFC champ was a member of the OQAA.65 In some ways, this change appeared as a mere token gesture in order to pacify the universities who wished to compete in the OQAA; however, even this concession indicated a change in the thinking of the Big Four delegates. By 1967, McMaster's delegation of Wynne, McIvor, and Prince had made an impression on the thinking of the Big Four schools,66 and the prestigious senior football competition added two members, McMaster and Waterloo. Queen's athletic director Al Lenard expressed the changed attitude of the Big Four towards football.

It was not so much what's good for Queen's, Western or Toronto; the idea was what's good for athletics, what's good for football in Ontario, what's good for football in Canada.67

One delegate from McGill indicated that the above statement would be reflective of the athletic philosophy of the McMaster delegates, especially Ivor Wynne, who was considered to be the main driving force to open senior football.68 However, force rather than philosophy may have opened football. Behind the scenes, there was a tremendous struggle to change the football format.
They had a devil of a time when they changed football. People will never know what went on behind the scenes... the personal bitterness, even to the point when McGill felt we should let McMaster and Waterloo in, one director came to me and said 'if you can't keep up with the competition, why don't you get the hell out and let McMaster in'.

In addition to the technical problem of opening up senior football, the closely related voting distribution was a constant source of debate. One non Big Four delegate described the situation in the following manner.

They (Big Four) threw the constitution at us, we could not vote. Of course, if you can't vote how can you change the situation. So, the constitution had to be changed as did the thinking of the athletic directors, and certain members of the board of governors, and alumni.

McMaster's McIvor was one faculty delegate who wished to establish a more equalized arrangement within the league.

The struggles throughout the sixties were to get a more rational framework within the OQAA... A more rational framework at both the playing and constitutional levels of government for all institutions in terms of equal representation in the broad decision-making process.

Figure 6, Voting Power (Big Four, Others), illustrates the change in power at the board of governors' level of the OQAA. Over the years, until 1968 when the voting format was equalized, the Big Four continued to possess the majority of the votes. In spite of the fact that the other universities were increasing their number of potential votes, it was impossible for them to get the extra votes which were allotted to senior football because the Big Four kept that activity closed. However, some Big Four members could see changes coming in the voting format.

I think the Big Four realized that once they lost their two-third majority they were in trouble, because some of the other colleges were thinking a lot differently than we were.
Fig. 6. Voting Power (Big Four, Others)
Therefore, one might say that Big Four began to become more liberal in their thinking around 1965 when the other universities had sufficient votes to block a two-thirds majority.

There was another significant organizational event which may have had an effect upon the voting format. This event occurred in the representation of the executive committee. At the 1961 meeting, Craig McIvor discussed the existing representation on the executive committee.

He felt that the basis of representation was irrelevant to the present composition of the OQAA, and that the old concept was outmoded whereby four institutions maintained individual representation while two other executive members each represented between them five other institutions and on the same basis, Waterloo would make a sixth institution.74

McIvor implied that there were difficulties in two representatives adequately communicating the desires of five or six institutions.75 He also pointed out at the meeting that the presidency of the OQAA had been rotated exclusively among the Big Four universities,76 and that the time had come for a complete review of the situation. As a result of the discussion, a special committee was struck to study the situation. The following year, the OQAA delegates made significant changes in the representation on the executive committee. Each of the Big Four schools were entitled to one representative on the executive while the remaining six schools were paired and one representative was delegated to the executive committee to represent two institutions.77 Although the representation was not entirely equal for all members, the delegates from the non Big Four schools felt that it was a significant step towards a more democratic arrangement.78

The final thrust to equalize the voting format was achieved in 1966 when McIvor was elected president of the OQAA,79 the first president from a
non Big Four university. Les Prince of McMaster considered it a major
political move, and in his opinion, "this was the great victory after
which things went a lot smoother." McIvor felt that it was a measure
of the confidence which the Big Four were now willing to put in the other
institutions. McClarty reinforced McIvor's belief.

The distribution of voting power plus its relationship to senior
football competition was a continuous source of conflict and change within
the OQAA. In many cases, these two factors were the cause of tension and
frustration between the delegates. Another factor which possibly contributed
to conflict in the association was the playing competition between the ath-
etic members.

OQAA Sports Participation

Overall Sports and Teams

The athletic competition between the member institutions of the OQAA
changed over time. More specifically, the emerging institutions began to
compete in more and more sports. Similarly, they increased the number of
teams which were participating. Figure 7, Number of Sports (Senior, Inter-
mediate, Total) and Figure 8, Number of Teams (Senior, Intermediate, Total),
show the overall sports program within the association. Figure 7 indicates
that the total number of sports fell during the late fifties, because of the
decreasing number of intermediate sport activities. Overall, the number of
senior sports increased except for one irregularity in 1964. This dip in
the graph can be attributed to the discontinuation of intercollegiate boxing
and the fact that a gymnastics meet was not held in 1964. Figure 8, shows
that the number of teams competing resembles the shape of the graph in Figure
7. There is an overall increase in the number of teams. The decrease in
Fig. 7. Number of Sports (Senior, Intermediate, Total)
Fig. 8. Number of Tests (Senior, Intermediate, Total)

Years: 1956, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68

Number: 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90, 100, 110, 120, 130, 140, 150, 160
intermediate teams is indicated, as well as a dip in the graph at 1964 because of the absence of boxing and gymnastics.

**Senior Sports**

The next four graphs point out the marked increase in participation by the emerging universities in OQAA competition. Senior sports participation, both the number of sports and the number of teams are demonstrated in figures 9 and 10 respectively. Figure 9, Senior Sports - Number of Sports (Big Four, Others), demonstrates that the number of sports in which the Big Four participated remained relatively the same from 1956 until 1968. There were a couple irregularities but this was due to the discontinuation of certain activities. On the other hand, the other universities showed an increase in the number of sports. In fact, by 1968, they were competing in all senior sports except one, waterpolo. Figure 10, Senior Sports - Number of Teams (Big Four, Others), shows an even more significant increase by the emerging universities. Again, the Big Four schools did not increase the number of teams competing. However, the graph shows that by 1967 the other institutions had a greater number of teams participating than the Big Four.

**Intermediate Sports**

The next two graphs, Figure 11, Intermediate Sports - Number of Sports (Big Four, Others) and Figure 12, Intermediate Sports - Number of Teams (Big Four, Others) illustrate the decline in intermediate sports and teams respectively. The Big Four and other universities parallel each other exactly in the number of intermediate sports (fig. 11), but in the case of the number of teams in intermediate sports, there were a couple of irregularities (fig. 12). Initially, the other universities had more teams competing at the intermediate level, but after a couple of years they dropped
Fig. 9. Senior Sports - Number of Sports
(Big Four, Others)
Fig. 10. Senior Sports - Number of Teams (Big Four, Others)
Fig. 11. Intermediate Sports - Number of Sports (Big Four, Others)
Fig. 12. Intermediate Sports - Number of Teams (Big Four, Others)
below the Big Four. The explanation may be that the non Big Four members began to move these intermediate teams into senior competition, while the number of Big Four teams did not decrease quite as quickly. A comparison with the increase in number of senior teams (Fig. 10) indicates that this explanation is correct.

Basically, these graphs show how the emerging universities increased in athletic competition, while the Big Four did not change very much in either the sports or teams category. The Big Four were already competing in several sports and they had many teams participating at the beginning of the OQAA. Thus, they did not have to expand their programs much before reaching the optimum number of sports and teams. However, the significance of these illustrations is in the overall increase of the other universities. If the emerging universities were expanding in the area of athletic competition, then it would seem justifiable that they should have a corresponding increase in the control of the competition. A look at the voting power (Fig. 6) indicates that this increase did not occur concurrently with the increase in competition but lagged appreciably behind.

The graphs clearly point out how much of an effect participation in senior football had upon the control of the OQAA. The other universities were expanding in all areas of athletic competition, except one, football. The closed nature of football and its associated voting privileges suggest that this situation would intensify organizational conflict. Most delegates did imply that this was in fact the actual case.83

Membership

Another interesting organizational facet within the OQAA was the increase in membership. Figure 13, Membership, indicates when the various
Fig. 13. Membership.
institutions were added as new members to the OQAA. The graph covers the entire period of existence of the athletic association, and shows how the non Big Four universities increased in number from three in 1956 to six in 1962. The significant factor is not the increase in membership but the events and attitudes of the delegates when applications for membership were submitted. The first application for membership came from Laval and Montreal in 1956, which evoked some apprehension on the part of the Big Four delegates. The attitudes, actions, and activities of the Big Four resulted in a change in the voting distribution and in the representation on the executive committee. Although these changes in the constitution appeared to ease the Big Four's apprehension towards increased membership, the delegates were still aware of the distribution of the voting power when institutions were being considered for membership.

The question of increased membership was dormant until 1961, when Waterloo submitted an application. The general format for an application of membership was first to make a proposal to the administrative council, and then if recommended by the council, the application went to the board of governors for approval. Waterloo followed this procedure and made its initial application to the athletic directors. The application was warmly received after the athletic director Carl Totszke described the various facilities and sports in which Waterloo was prepared to compete within the OQAA. The council was in favour of Waterloo's application because the new institution could provide a solution to the scheduling problems which existed at that time in basketball and hockey. Upon the recommendation of the administrative council and pending clarification of the institution's eligibility standards, Waterloo was accepted into full membership at the
1961 meeting of the board. At that time, the delegates felt that perhaps the association was large enough with ten schools. This concern was indicated in the minutes.

There was already a problem in satisfactory scheduling for our present 10 members and further expansion in membership would simply aggravate present difficulties. Also, there were other institutions already in being or in process of formation that would be seeking some form of athletic affiliation in the near future.

The delegates of the OQAA felt that all applications should be deferred at least a year until a study was made to establish a definite policy. Actually, the membership was not increased until 1968 when Ottawa and Carleton became members. All in all, the OQAA delegates felt that they had a responsibility in providing intercollegiate competition to non members. Reverend J. M. Hussey of Windsor thought that this task could be achieved through the medium of playing privileges. As a result of these discussions, the executive committee was given the mission of making a thorough study of the future demands for intercollegiate competition among members and with non members of the OQAA. By the following year, the executive committee had reached two conclusions:

a. that the OQAA shall not be enlarged beyond the present ten members ... that the recommendations (a) be considered flexible and subject to review from time to time.

b. that in order to meet the demands of presently existing but non-affiliated universities expected to be founded in the near future, other associations should be formed within the graphical region represented by the OQAA.
The committee also suggested that the OQAA assist the new athletic associations wherever possible. In this connection, the OQAA permitted McMaster, Guelph and Waterloo to hold dual membership in the OQAA and Ontario Intercollegiate Athletic Association. Therefore, most OQAA members were taking some measures to satisfy the demands of new emerging colleges and universities, but again, the Big Four, appeared reluctant to increase the membership at this time. Mitchell pointed out that the Big Four were not going to let the membership get out of hand.

They would help where they could but the Big Four were going to satisfy their needs for competition first. Until that time, if a school was going to offer good competition, they would be let in, but when the association reached ten, the delegates thought that more than ten members would ruin the competition.

This attitude prevailed a few years later when Ottawa and Loyola made applications in 1967. Again a special committee was established composed of members from both the executive committee and administrative council. The composition of this committee was significant because it was the first time in which athletic directors were involved directly with decisions relating to membership. The committee was asked to study the following problems.

1. Realignment with other conferences
2. Geographical sections within the OQAA
3. Addition of members from the conferences
4. Inclusion of universities not represented within a conference.

Once again the various members showed concern about the future development of the OQAA. At that time, the association was getting pressure from several universities for membership. Laurentian, York, and Waterloo Lutheran had also made application. After the study was made by the
special committee, Carleton and Ottawa were admitted in 1968, and further
discussions on realignment between the OQAA, OSLAA, and OIADA were going
to be conducted in the near future.

In short, over the years, the number and composition of membership
seemed to lead to problems both at the executive or constitutional level
and the administrative or playing level of government within the OQAA. The Big
Four were especially cautious when institutions were considered for mem-
bership. Universities had to satisfy general requirements for competition and
quite often they were allowed to compete first on a probationary basis, and
if they proved themselves, they were granted membership. Morrison summarized
the question of membership in the OQAA with the following statement.

Well, I wouldn't say that they (Big Four) were too exclusive
in who they took in as members. They were very insistent
that they were going to run the show as it had been run.
If you wanted to come in as a member, all right, but we
are still going to have our twenty votes against a total
of twenty-nine....I must say, as a member representative
of McGill, I supported it.

OQAA Finances

A fourth and always important factor in any athletic association
was finances, and the financial set up of the OQAA was no exception. Figure
14, Membership Fees (Big Four, Others) and Figure 15, Finances (Income, Ex-
penses, Television Income) demonstrate the overall financial picture within
the OQAA. A comparison of the membership fee assessment (fig. 14) and the
voting dispersement (fig. 6) indicates an inconsistency between the members
controlling the association and the actual members paying for competition.
Initially, the Big Four schools were providing more in the way of fees; how-
ever, as the graph shows, they did not change very much in their fee assess-
ment. On the other hand, the other institutions actually increased their
Fig. 14. Membership Fees (Big Four, Others)
Fig. 15. Finances (Income, Expenses, Television Income)
membership fee total per year. There were a few irregularities. From 1957 until 1961, the non Big Four schools membership fees decreased due to the discontinuation of intermediate sports. Furthermore, in 1964, when boxing and gymnastics competitions were not held, the graph shows a small decrease in their fee assessment. The revealing aspect of the changes in fee assessment is the increase by the other schools. At the beginning of the OQAA, the Big Four set the rules because they were paying for the competition. In this sense, one might be able to justify the weighted voting format. However, as this graph indicates, the other schools eventually began to contribute as much, if not more to the OQAA in fees than the Big Four institutions. There appeared to be a distinct lag in general policy in regard to 'who was paying the piper' and 'who was calling the tune'. These combined factors intensified the conflict situation in the organization.

Figure 15 illustrates the more general financial picture within the OQAA. Over the twelve years the association was financially stable. In every year but one, the OQAA's income exceeded its expenses. In that particular year, 1964, the deficit occurred because the association had unforeseen payments to the Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation for publishing the CIAU Football Rule Book and to the CIAU for increased membership fees. Nevertheless, the association still remained in the black because of a relatively large accumulated surplus which had built up in previous years. The tremendous increase in income and expenses from 1966 on was the effect of television income upon the association. The effect which television had upon the association's financial status can only be determined by examining the situation from 1967 until 1971. Unfortunately, this examination did not fall under the scope of this study.
Eligibility

There is still one further problem area which may have affected conflict in the OQAA, that is, eligibility. In retrospect, Harry Griffiths stated:

Of course we had the eligibility from the cradle to the grave. If you paid your fees, why shouldn’t you be permitted to play. You could see that people were beginning to resent this because in the Big Four sometimes people would turn up for the eighth year and they did not think this was right.\textsuperscript{105}

There were a number of different questions surrounding the eligibility problem. Difficulties were expressed in the number of years which a student could participate. The delegates discussed several possibilities relating to the limitation of playing years. The numbers proposed ranged from four to six years, until finally the league decided in 1966 that five years on a non-retroactive basis would be acceptable.\textsuperscript{106} Of course, the Big Four members wanted more years because they were the ones which had the postgraduate schools.\textsuperscript{107} Contrarily, the emerging universities desired some limitations in order to make them more competitive with the larger schools.\textsuperscript{108} Other facets of the eligibility issue dealt with allowing freshmen to play,\textsuperscript{109} as well as the procedures with transfer, and postgraduate students.\textsuperscript{110} In addition, the members had to consider the eligibility of students who were playing with an amateur association,\textsuperscript{111} or who had played or were trying out for a national team.\textsuperscript{112}

Perhaps the two most important questions of eligibility were first trying to establish among the various universities a basic eligibility standard in relation to students having a grade XII or XIII certificate,\textsuperscript{113} and second, finding an acceptable solution in the limitation of playing years both in the OQAA and CIAU competition.\textsuperscript{114} The OQAA was extremely careful in
formulating the standards in both cases. In almost all cases, the executive committee was responsible for ruling on an eligibility issue. Loosemore mentioned that eligibility was perhaps the most important thing which was done by the executive. McLarty commented that the aim of the OQAA was to get some recognizable eligibility clause, for without it, the competition would develop real problems.

Some delegates felt that eligibility was not a problem for most sports except football. Of course, this may be explained because of the high degree of status which was associated with the sport. As other sports grew in status, eligibility became a broader problem. In any event, the eligibility of students appeared to be a continuing problem encountered by the OQAA.

This section has discussed several organizational events which appeared to precipitate and/or intensify the conflict situation within the OQAA. One must keep in mind that many of these factors occurred simultaneously with one another. It is difficult to determine which of these events had the greatest influence upon the association. In order to facilitate a clear presentation and analysis of these events, it was necessary to separate one source from another so as to show the effects of each one. The minutes and interviews appeared to support each other in the discovery of these conflict sources. In addition, the minutes and interviews suggested that certain individuals and/or groups had an influence on conflict and change within the OQAA.

**Individuals and Groups which Affected Conflict and Change**

In the discussion of the conflict aftermath, two social relationships were indicated within the organization. In the first case, a potential
conflict situation was suggested to exist between the faculty representatives and athletic directors, and in the second instance, the Big Four universities and the other member institutions were considered to constitute another latent conflict relationship. These social relationships are discussed here rather than within the organizational events because the traits, situation, and behaviour of the individuals who comprised each group appeared to have a significant influence upon conflict and change within the OQAA.

Faculty Representatives versus Athletic Directors

The latent conflict relationship between the faculty representatives and athletic directors was indicated earlier in the discussion of the conflict aftermath surrounding the formation of the OQAA. Actually, resentment between the executive and administrative levels persisted for a few years in the OQAA. Athletics were academically oriented, as there was often a strong academic faculty member involved in the operation, and they controlled the situation. As the association grew, more and more decisions had to be made by the directors of athletics, and the faculty representatives were happy to let the directors run the day to day program. Lenard explained the change in status of the athletic directors in the following way.

For so many years the board of governors was made up of academicians and deliberately no physical education people....of course, the ideas changed as the personnel among the athletic directors became more professional.

Dr. Pat Galasso of Windsor agreed with Lenard's comment and he added that the administrative council became more and more trusted as time went on. He attributed the source of the change in the administrative council's status to the image of Les Prince.

Les Prince was the chairman of the administrative council and, therefore, he was permitted to sit on the executive committee. His conduct at the meetings instilled greater confidence in the image of the athletic directors.
The minutes appeared to indicate that the administrative council did increase its role in the administration of university athletics. For example, in several cases during the middle sixties consideration of significant issues were first examined by the administrative council. If the directors felt that the business was worthwhile, they would recommend it at the meeting of the board of governors for ratification. Two delegates from the Big Four felt that as the role of the council grew in nature, the board of governors became more and more a rubber stamp.  

In addition to the increase in status of the administrative council, a few delegates indicated that the composition of the executive committee took on a new picture. Harry Griffiths described this change.

The whole policy changed. The first move was when Pat Galasso was sent as a faculty representative for Windsor...I remember there was a great controversy as to whether he and his school of physical education enjoyed the prestige given an academic. Everyone looked on those in the school as muscle men. They weren't to be trusted! Another delegate considered the appointment of Pat Galasso as a significant step towards increasing the image of athletic directors. When Galasso was asked about the situation, he indicated that his acceptance in 1966 to the executive was quite a change philosophically for the betterment of intercollegiate athletics. Galasso was unique because he was a representative for Queen's at the administrative level, and later, he was the faculty member for Windsor on the executive committee. He offered a comparison of how he was treated in both cases.

As the first athletic director for Queen's, I experienced the delineation of the old boy attitude between the faculty representative and athletic director, while at Windsor, I had now arrived with new status.
In retrospect, Galasso mentioned that there was evidence of conflict between the executive and administrative levels of government. He felt that the struggles resulted from the following.

1. A lack of interest in athletics by the executive committee.

2. A lack of communication between the executive and administrative bodies.

3. A general lack of trust between the athletic directors and faculty representatives.

It seems, as these delegates have suggested that this social relationship continued to be a source of conflict within the athletic association. The relationship between the Big Four and other members also contributed to the conflict situation.

**Big Four versus Other Members**

Basically, this relationship could be considered the classic case of interest group conflict and/or conflict of consensus. Previous discussion has demonstrated how the Big Four universities desired to maintain the status quo while the emerging universities were at their heels asking for change. There is considerable evidence from the interviews to support the fact that these two groups were in serious conflict. The Big Four were the 'haves' and the others were the 'have nots'. Similarly, while the smaller emerging schools were asking for their 'equal' share of the organizational rewards, the Big Four were taking what they considered to be their 'fair' share. The interviews with the delegates indicated that conflict between these groups was present from 1956 until 1968. The representatives often described the behaviour of certain key individuals as contributing to the conflict situation within the league. Nevertheless, organizational conflict and change did appear to result from the interaction of these two groups, the Big Four and the other members. A brief examination of the
various individuals in each group will illustrate why conflict intensified within the OQAA.

In the beginning, there was a distinct delineation between the delegates of the Big Four and the representatives of the other schools. The Big Four had strong academic personalities in Carson of Queen's, Morrison of McGill, McLarty of Western, and Allcut of Toronto. These individuals emulated the Big Four's attitude of retaining the traditional competition during the early years of the OQAA. For example, Carson was considered by many of his colleagues to be the main resisting force. Hamilton described Carson in the following manner.

It was football or nothing as far as Orrin was concerned. He jealously guarded what he thought were the rights and privileges of the Queen's membership... he was always afraid of the effects on the gate. If anything seemed to be a threat to the Queen's - Varsity relationship, he was against it.

These strong willed individuals wished to retain the status quo, especially the Yates Cup competition. McLarty, Carson, and Morrison continued to represent their institutions through most of the existence of the OQAA. Carson retired in 1964, Morrison in 1967, while McLarty was a representative throughout the entire period of this study. The representatives on the administrative council from the Big Four were Harry Griffiths of McGill, John Metras of Western, and Warren Stevëns of Toronto and a variety of representatives from Queen's (Bartlett, Gaozzo, Lenard). Lenard commented about his Big Four colleagues.

These people carried over the old regime to the present one. I think that it went along for a long time continued to be the leaders of the council. They almost invariably the chairman and in that sense alone, they were able to retain a little bit of the old regime.
Harry Griffiths felt that Warren Stevens was a great force in retaining the status quo.

I remember Toronto, they just didn't want any change in any way. Of course, this was Warren Stevens. You see he was always in favour of the status quo. He would admit that maybe we ought to consider changes. When it came time to change, you could not get a yes or no answer on it from him.\textsuperscript{136}

Les Prince of McMaster perceived Stevens as his greatest opponent in the struggle within the association.\textsuperscript{137} McLarty also felt that Warren Stevens was fairly insular and set in his ways.\textsuperscript{138}

The none Big Four members were led by the McMaster delegates McIvor, Wynne, and Prince.\textsuperscript{139} McIvor mentioned that during the early years of the association there was not too much they could say to the Big Four. They did not like the situation but there was nothing which they could do about it.\textsuperscript{140} All three delegates dedicated themselves to get McMaster and the other non Big Four schools greater status within the OQAA. Les Prince described the situation.

It was a great and continuous struggle, personal relations, conditions, and situations. We could not oppose the Big Four, therefore we had to change their thinking.\textsuperscript{141}

He also spoke of his preparation before meetings and how he used to wait in the lobbies of hotels to see what the Big Four were going to do.\textsuperscript{142} McMaster's delegates were concerned with obtaining a more logical set up in terms of strength and geographical distribution. In other words, they were determined to change the organization from the oligarchic system in the late fifties into a more equalized democratic association. Prince mentioned that he encountered real resistance.
I was told by some individuals who were not much older than I was, that I was quite a young upstart at that time... I was asked by one of the senior members 'what was I trying to do, destroy the OQAA.' What I said was, 'you're probably right. What I'm trying to do is to destroy the Big Four and in particular, football.' This did not ride very well with them.143

Both McIvor and Prince felt that their greatest co-operation came from Western at the administrative level and from Toronto and Western at the policy making level.144 The McMaster representatives indicated that their great victory in democratizing the OQAA came about because they never went fragmented to the meetings. They believed that they understood what intercollegiate athletics was all about, both philosophically and practically.145 There were some great contradictions between the executive and administrative levels of government. In some instances the faculty member would not communicate with the director of athletics at the same institution. McMaster made its gains because all delegates would appear consistent and always went as one.

Several other delegates indicated that these individuals played a key role in changing the system. Morrison commented that,

McIvor was the one that would really stand up and present his case very logically. Then there was Ivor Wynne. Between the two of them, you might say they were opposing the establishment, and were making them feel that it was time we got away from the selfish attitude, forget all this tradition.146

Al Lenard agreed with Morrison.

I think McMaster with Ivor Wynne, Les Prince, and Craig McIvor contributed a lot. They had a big representation in athletics. They showed a lot of interest, enthusiasm and leadership.147

In summary, conflict and change appeared to result from the behaviour and philosophies of two very distinctly different groups. Overall, the OQAA could be considered to have changed from an oligarchic system in the
late fifties to a democratic organization in 1968. This change was accompanied by the presence of organizational conflict. In the initial stages, latent, perceived, and felt conflict existed, and as the emerging schools gained in competition and status, they were more vocal about the organizational set up. In these instances, their feelings became manifest and they spoke out against the Big Four. Galasso mentioned that, "McMaster spurred a highly verbalized attack against the Big Four until they embarrassed them to open up the organization." The consequence of these attacks seemed to bring about organizational change.

Extraorganizational Factors

Conflict and change within the OQAA resulted from other influences, that is, extraorganizational factors. These factors were the other athletic associations within the geographical region of the OQAA. The minutes and interviews indicated that the universities from other athletic associations, especially those from OSLAA and OIAA, wanted very much to increase the athletic competition between the OQAA and their athletic associations. Morrison described how the other leagues felt towards the OQAA. We were a real establishment...with both feet in the trough and keeping them there you see. Naturally the others resented it.

During the middle sixties the OQAA became more concerned about its association with other leagues. They made some concessions with football in 1964, but for the most part, they did not begin to study their relationship with other leagues seriously until around 1967. The advent of the new CIAU did appear to have some effect on the OQAA. The OQAA first considered a national athletic association in 1958. At that time, they
concluded that the formation of such an organization was not feasible because the OQAA was providing sufficient competition within its own association. The following year, the OQAA sent a representative in football to the Churchill Games on the West Coast. A deficit was incurred from the games, so the OQAA decided in 1960 that national competition did not have any merit at that time.

When the new CIAU was established in 1961, the OQAA was reluctant to endorse it. The members of the OQAA expressed concern over the effect of prolonged seasons on academics and the increased expenses for staging national championships. McLarty, who was the first president of the new CIAU, commented about the OQAA’s attitude towards the national association.

At the time, the OQAA was recognized as the big athletic association in Canada, without which no Canadian union could operate. Conversely, I think the OQAA saw very little advantage to bursting out on the national scene at least in the earlier years of the CIAU. So the OQAA was somewhat indifferent about it and a direct consequence was that some other members of the CIAU became critical of the OQAA. The OQAA went in as a duty rather than a desire.

McLarty felt that the OQAA was justified in its belief since they still had problems of their own, and because they were not mature enough to branch out on the national scene. In this sense, conflict seemed to exist between the OQAA and other institutions across Canada. In his research on the CIAU, Kurtzman suggested that the new association needed the endorsement of the OQAA in order to give it strength. Furthermore, he believed that the real turning point for the new CIAU occurred when the OQAA decided to adopt a five-year eligibility rule within their association. With this change, the CIAU members felt that they finally won over the OQAA.
Actually, the new CIAU was structured very much like the OQAA. It was composed of faculty representatives and athletic directors. However, there was a major difference between the two athletic associations. The CIAU's voting format was equally distributed and not weighted as in the OQAA. Kurtzman indicated that "this resulted in some dissension within the CIAU, by the members of the OQAA." Mitchell made a similar observation.

At the CIAU meetings, the OQAA were the big guys and they were going to CIAU meetings with smaller guys. Here the smaller schools like Osgoode had the same vote at the national level as a school like Toronto. In this situation the OQAA was not keen about the new CIAU.

Bob Pugh, the executive director of the CIAU recalled that "no doubt the OQAA wanted to protect their interests, they had something to lose." Pugh also thought that "the OQAA was the last to get on the CIAU bandwagon." Hence, conflict and change within the OQAA appeared to be influenced by the pressures exerted on the association from these extraorganizational factors. The interviews with various delegates showed that some tension did develop between the OQAA and the other athletic associations.

**Institutional Factors**

There is one last area which has been implied in earlier discussion, but which should be made explicit in order to account for other major sources of conflict and change within the OQAA. This area refers to the institutional changes which occurred during this time period (1956-1968). Organizational analysis has shown that the fifties and sixties were years of rapid growth and change within universities. Because of the tremendous
increase in student population from the post-war baby boom, the smaller universities greatly expanded their existing programs. This expansion also included the area of intercollegiate athletics. Galasso felt that the increase in size and academic status of the emerging universities together with an overall change in philosophy seemed to contribute to conflict and change within the OQAA. The change in philosophy was characterized by increased democratic attitudes towards all aspects of the university community, and as McLarty pointed out the "real democrats were the emerging universities." The Big Four and non Big Four delegates approached these institutional changes in a completely different manner. While the non Big Four universities saw the inevitable and wanted it, the Big Four members perceived the coming changes but resisted them. In retrospect, McIvor thought that the Big Four were somewhat conservative in their approach to intercollegiate athletics.

The expansion of intercollegiate athletics was inevitable; it was implicit in the winding up of the CIAUC in 1955 ... I think the Big Four were dragging their boot straps over a long period of time to recognize the inevitable.

Conversely, Morrison of the Big Four clearly indicated the manner in which these changes could only come about.

Well the great cry came out for democratic institutions. My view was that democratic institutions had to be won. You had to force them on the establishment. We did not like being forced and we were hanging on as long as we could.

The consequence of these differing attitudes was, of course, organizational conflict and change within the OQAA. Moreover, the total change in educational philosophy appeared to have an effect of decreasing the importance of the prestigious Yates Cup, and in turn, produced greater conflict. Therefore, these institutional factors also had an influence upon
The presence of conflict and change within the QQA were identified and analyzed through the use of a molar research model. Minutes and excerpts from personal interviews were utilized to depict the sources of conflict and change, and to explain their various forms and intensities. The information was organized and presented in a manner related to both the molar research model and Pardy's model of a conflict episode. Ironically, in the non-directed personal interviews, the interviewees tended to discuss the problems within the QQA in terms of the dimensions of the molar research model.

The next chapter will summarize the significant information in this chapter and will present the conclusions and recommendations of the study.
FOOTNOTES


4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., p. 283; Personal interviews with J. P. Loosemore, March 17, 1972; W. Mitchell, November 7, 1970.


7. Ibid.


12. Ibid.


18. Ibid., p 290.

19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. OQAA, Minutes of Meetings of the Board of Governors, March 23, 1956. (Hereafter will be referred to as Minutes of OQAA and the proper date).
22. In 1956 the University of Guelph was called the Ontario Agricultural College and the University of Windsor was Assumption College, however, for the sake of clarity, the present nomenclature will be used.
27. Lenard, op. cit.
29. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
33. Personal interviews with C. McIvor; March 16, 1972; L. Prince, op. cit.
34. OQAA, Constitution of the Association (amended), March 31, 1967.
38. Morrison, op. cit.
42 Ibid.
43 Ibid., March 22, 1957.
44 Ibid.
45 Ibid.
46 Ibid.
47 Morrison, op.cit.
48 Personal interview with P. J. Galasso; May 18, 1972.
50 McIvor, op.cit.
51 Galasso; op.cit.; Mitchell, op.cit. (1972); Morrison, op.cit.; Prince, op.cit.
52 Loosemore, op.cit. (1972).
53 Hamilton, op.cit.
54 Loosemore, op.cit. (1972).
55 Griffiths, op.cit. (1972); Hamilton op.cit.; Lenard, op.cit.
57 Morrison, op.cit.
58 Loosemore, op.cit. (1972).
60 Griffiths, op.cit. (1972); Lenard, op.cit.
61 Galasso, op.cit.; Prince, op.cit.
62 Lenard, op.cit.
63 Prince, op.cit.
64 Ibid.; Lenard, op.cit.; Griffiths, op.cit. (1972).
65 The records of the OIFC can be found in the Sport's Archives at the University of Windsor.
67. Lenard, *op.cit.*
69. Ibid.
70. Prince, *op.cit.*
71. McIvor, *op.cit.*
75. Ibid., March 23, 1962.
76. Ibid., March 24, 1961.
77. Ibid., March 23, 1962.
78. McIvor, *op.cit.*
80. Prince, *op.cit.*
81. McIvor, *op.cit.*
87. OQAA, Minutes of Meetings of the Administrative Council, February 27, 28, 1961.
89. Ibid., March 22, 1963.
90. Ibid.
Ibid.
Ibid., April 5, 1968.
Ibid.
Ibid., March 20, 1964.
Ibid.
Minutes of OQAA, March 31, 1967.
Ibid.
Ibid.
Minutes of OQAA, April 5, 1968.
Morrison, op.cit.
Loosemore, op.cit. (1972).
Griffiths, op.cit. (1972).
Minutes of OQAA, March 26, 1965.
Morrison, op.cit.
Minutes of OQAA, March 21, 1959.
Ibid., March 23, 1956; March 22, 1957; March 21, 1959; March 26, 1965.
Ibid., March 20, 1964.
Ibid., March 25, 1966.
Ibid., March 26, 1965; March 25, 1966.
Galasso, op.cit.
118. DeMarco, op.cit.; Lenard, op.cit.
119. Lenard, op.cit.
120. Ibid.; Mitchell, op.cit. (1972)
121. Loosemore, op.cit. (1972).
122. Lenard, op.cit.
123. Galasso, op.cit.
124. Griffiths, op.cit. (1972); Lenard op.cit.
126. Lenard, op.cit.
127. Galasso, op.cit.
128. Ibid.
129. Ibid.
131. McLarty, op.cit. (1972); Morrison, op.cit.
135. Lenard, op.cit.  
137. Prince, op.cit.
140 McIvor, op.cit.
141 Prince, op.cit.
142 Ibid.
143 Ibid.
144 McIvor, op.cit.; Prince, op.cit.
145 Ibid.
146 Morrison, op.cit.
147 Lenard, op.cit.
148 Galasso, op.cit.
150 Morrison, op.cit.
152 Ibid., March 31, 1967.
154 Ibid., March 21, 1959.
156 Ibid., March 24, 1961.
158 Ibid.
160 Ibid., p. 393.
162 Personal interview with Bob Pugh, May 9, 1973.
163 Morrison, op.cit.
164 Galasso, op.cit.
166 McIvor, op.cit.
167 Morrison, op.cit.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

The preceding chapter has presented and analysed the various sources of conflict and change within the OQAA. The sources were identified by written and oral information and analysed according to the research model presented in Chapter III. In order to test the value of administrative theory in determining the causes of conflict and change in an athletic association, this summary will review some of the important points which have been mentioned in the previous discussion and relate them to the theory which was presented in Chapter II.

Conflict Relationships Within the OQAA

Following Pondy's model of conflict, Figure 16, Conflict Relationships Within the OQAA, illustrates the three conflict relationships which existed within the OQAA. A vertical conflict relationship was present between the faculty representatives of the executive committee and the athletic directors of the administrative council. There was horizontal or lateral conflict both at the executive and administrative levels of government. This conflict was evident between the Big Four and non Big Four member institutions. A third conflict relationship was observed to exist between the member delegates on an interest group basis. This relationship included the struggles which occurred between a Big Four delegate on the executive committee versus a non Big Four member on the
Fig. 16. Conflict Relationships Within the OQAA.
administrative council. The organizational disputes within the athletic association reached all of Pondy's stages of conflict. However, an interesting situation developed in the OQAA. Initially, when the OQAA began in 1956, the three stages of latent, perceived, and felt conflict were present within the athletic association. The presence of these stages was an aftermath condition from the manifest conflict of the CIAUC breakup. These conditions lasted throughout the entire history of the athletic association. As various events and changes occurred within the organization, the level of conflict intensified until it reached a more manifest stage. Furthermore, the conflict appeared to coincide with an overall pragmatic and philosophic change in the athletic association. In other words, the organization was quite oligarchic in nature when it first began, and later, it developed into a democratic association by the middle-sixties. Organizational conflict seemed to be a major influence in these association changes. The conflict was generated by four factors: organizational conditions; traits and behaviour of individuals and/or groups within the association; extraorganizational and institutional influences. Similarly, throughout the development of the OQAA, problems in communication, differences in goals and interests, and a lack of consensus amongst the members also seemed to contribute to organizational conflict within the athletic association.

Communication

Generally there was a lack of communication between the athletic directors and the faculty representatives within the OQAA. Only in a few institutions did the executive and administrative delegates appear to possess a consistent view towards intercollegiate athletics. In the other
institutions, there was a distinct difference between the attitudes and actions of the delegates. In the beginning, the faculty representatives as a group, were not overly communicative with the athletic directors. This behaviour appeared to be carried over from the CIAUC. The academics continued to hold closed sessions the night before the board meetings, and there they would decide the business to be passed the following day.

In addition, a lack of communication existed between the Big Four and non Big Four delegates. At the executive level, the representation was structured in such a way that easy communication was difficult. The Big Four members always had a representative allotted for each school, while the other universities would have to share a representative on the executive committee. In some cases, one delegate would represent either two or three schools at the executive level. The emerging universities thought that this situation was unacceptable because a delegate from one school could not fully appreciate the problems which were inherent within another institution.

The board of governors also experienced difficulties in communication between the Big Four and non Big Four members. The association had a few social gatherings associated with the general meetings, and these occasions provided the opportunity for more informal communication between the members. However, these gatherings intensified the organizational conflict because the emerging university's delegates had the chance to speak out against the situation within the OQAA. There were two noteworthy incidents which were mentioned in the interviews. Communication between the members did appear to improve over the course of time, but when the emerging institutions became more vocal, manifest conflict resulted.
This observation was similar to Corwin's finding regarding the relationship between conflict and open communication within an organization. There were problems in communication at the administrative level but they were more informal and appeared to be the result of the difference in the status of the various institutions.

Conflict of Interest

Differences in goals and interests contributed to the conflict situation within the OQAA. On the one hand, the Big Four were interested in preserving the traditional competition or retaining the status quo which was associated with senior football. On the other hand, the emerging universities desired change and wished to get into the prestigious Yates Cup competition. Senior football was associated with the distribution of voting power within the association, and this was a major source of resentment and dispute. At the inception of the OQAA, the Big Four desired to control the behaviour of the other members and to insulate itself from any other control. However, as the other universities grew in participation and status, the Big Four could no longer command the OQAA situation.

In general, a conflict existed between the Big Four and the other members. The Big Four wanted one thing and the others wanted something else. The Big Four resisted any changes which would threaten their position within the organization. However, over time, there was less disparity in the goals and interests of all member delegates within the OQAA.

Conflict of Consensus

A lack of shared attitudes and values also existed within the OQAA. The Big Four wanted to run the organization but the other members were demanding a greater voice in the operation. There was no compromise
between the Big Four and the others during the early stages of the OQAA. The smaller schools were suppressed into a subservient position within
the organization. They did not like it, but there was nothing which they
could do about it. If they wished to be members of the prestigious OQAA
they had to do what they were told and bide their time. Eventually, the
smaller institutions began to participate more and more in the operation
of the association. However, this increased involvement appeared to lead
to greater conflict within the association. In this regard, Corwin found
a similar situation in his analysis of a teaching organization. The
faculty representatives exhibited a different attitude towards athletics
than did the athletic directors. A lack of trust between the executive
and administrators of athletics precipitated additional conflict in the
association. Nevertheless, as changes occurred, the differences in attitudes
and values seemed to diminish between the various echelons of the organiza-
tion. An interesting finding of the study was that the increase in consensus of the members of the organization corresponded with an increased
intensity of intraorganizational conflict.

Pondy’s Model of a Conflict Episode

Conflict in the OQAA followed Pondy’s conceptualization of a con-

conflict episode. The manifest stage of the CIAUC established the pattern of
conflict development in the stages to follow, and its effects were evident
over a long period of time. The aftermath stage possessed several latent
conditions for conflict which later generated into more serious conflict
behaviour. Conflict was perceived and felt within the OQAA from its incep-
tion until 1968 when this study was terminated. Whether conflict continued
to exist can only be answered through future investigation. The conflict
intensified because of several factors. It became more manifest during the middle sixties, and eventually, it appeared to be associated with major constitutional changes within the association. As the emerging universities grew in size, status, participation, voting strength, and financial strength, they demanded a greater share of the organizational benefits. The OQAA was initially set up to satisfy the needs of four large institutions, but after a while, as the organization grew, it could no longer handle the new demands which were being placed on it. Hence, organizational conflict intensified to a position where change occurred in order to meet the new demands. There were several personal struggles within the organization and these appeared to be a result of the interaction of the various individuals and groups within the organizational context itself.

Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to investigate and analyse the sources of organizational conflict and change within an athletic association. The immediate objective of the study was to determine whether the sources can be attributed to the organizational conditions, task, structure and control, or to the traits, situation, and behaviour of individuals and/or groups within the association. Through an examination of the association's minutes and taped personal interviews with selected representatives of the athletic association, the sources of conflict and change were analysed by a macroscopic approach, covering twelve years 1956–1968. Furthermore, in order to facilitate the handling of an immense amount of information from a variety of sources, a molar research model adapted from the research by Moriarty was utilized. In addition, Pondy's
model of conflict episode was used to help follow the course of organizational conflict within the athletic association. An analysis of organizational conflict and change within the OQAA arrived at the following conclusions:

1. Organizational conflict and change were present within the athletic association. In this regard, a study of a mutual benefit organization, like the OQAA, gave support to the premise that organizational conflict and change were ubiquitous for all types of organizations.

2. In an attempt to achieve the objective of this study, the findings suggested that conflict and change resulted from the interaction of individuals and groups with the organizational context itself. More specifically, the sources of organizational conflict and change in the athletic association can be considered to be the inherent outcomes of the combined influence of four different factors: the organizational conditions consisting of the association's task, structure, and control; the traits, situation, and behaviour of individuals and groups within the organization; the extraorganizational influences of other athletic associations, and the effects of the institutional situations of the various member universities. In addition to these factors, problems in communication, differing interests, and a lack of shared attitudes and values between the member delegates of the association also contributed to the conflict-change process in the OQAA. All of these factors, individually and collectively, had a marked influence of either precipitating or intensifying organizational conflict.

3. The aftermath stage of conflict from the preceding athletic association was characterized by an atmosphere of caution, apprehension, and conservatism on the part of the member delegates. Apparently, this
attitude existed because the delegates did not wish to encounter the manifest conflict which they had experienced at the breakup of the CIAUC. A few significant recurrent problems carried over from the preceding organization. The OQAA was plagued with problems in the following areas: organizational control (voting power distribution), athletic competition (traditional senior football), eligibility, disputes between the executive and administrative levels of government, and personal struggles between the Big Four delegates and the representatives from the other universities. Furthermore, the recurrent problems changed considerably within the OQAA and these changes were shown to contribute to the conflict-change situation within the athletic association.

4. The athletic association did change organizationally. The OQAA changed from an oligarchic system to an equalized democratic arrangement. This change was associated with organizational disputes within the athletic association. In this regard, the conflict theory of change which was discussed in the second chapter was supported. However, the democratization of the OQAA was considered to be connected with several evolutionary changes which were occurring within the Canadian universities at that time. This observation suggests that organizational change may be the consequence of a conflict-evolutionary process. Perhaps future research in this area could clarify this finding.

5. The McMaster delegates Craig McIvor, Les Prince and the late Ivor Wynne were considered to be the individuals who contributed most to change and democratizing the OQAA. Together they brought a new way of thinking to intercollegiate athletics in the OQAA. Although they met great resistance from some quarters, they were successful in achieving equal
privileges for all member institutions within the OQAA. An account of the strategies which they utilized to bring about these organizational changes in a real life situation might contribute to the body of knowledge concerning change-agent research.

6. Moriarty's molar research model was found to be very helpful in the analysis of the sources of organizational conflict and change within the athletic association. The model assisted in organizing the immense amount of data which was obtained from the minutes and interviews. In addition, Merton's Focused Interview was very applicable to this type of research. The non-directive technique gave the interviewees the opportunity to focus on the events and situations which were significant to them. Ironically, the interviewees tended to organize their responses in a manner which was similar to the molar research model. In this way, one might conclude that significant connections exist between the real life situation and a conceptual model which is based upon organizational conflict and change theory.

7. Pondy's model of a conflict episode adequately identified and followed the course of organizational conflict within the athletic association. The disputes passed through all of his conceptualized stages of conflict development, and in some cases, two or three stages occurred simultaneously. More specifically, Pondy's stage of aftermath was observed to have a profound influence upon the subsequent stages of conflict development. Furthermore, the stages of latency, perception, and affection persisted throughout the duration of the study. Further investigation of these stages could contribute valuable information towards controlling conflict before it reaches the manifest stage.
Recommendations

Perhaps one last thought, which the administrators of athletic associations should bear in mind, is the effect of conflict upon the organization. They should not be afraid of organizational conflict, but they should be aware of its possible consequences. Conflict can be both functional and dysfunctional for the organization. Corwin, Warren, Walton and others, all view conflict as "an unanticipated or unintended consequence of the formal structure, which is ... dysfunctional for the organization." Kahn and others take a similar viewpoint, as they regard the personal emotional costs of conflict too excessive for the members of the organization, and they state "(the) common reactions to conflict and its associated tensions are dysfunctional for the organization as an on-going social system and self-defeating in the long run." Similarly, Walton and Dutton found evidence that lateral conflict relationships had negative effects on both overall organizational performance and for an individual's professional well-being.

On the other hand, several conflict scientists believe that conflict can be useful for the organization. For example, Smith mentions that in some situations, conflict may stimulate creative thinking and change. Dalton, Blau and Scott agree fully that the organizational struggles are important mechanisms of organizational change. Likert arrives at a similar conclusion. He views conflict between organization members as:

healthy and essential as long as mechanisms are available to deal constructively with these conflicts, effective interaction is ... maintained ... and there exists a basic loyalty to the organization.

The terms 'functional' and 'dysfunctional' have become fashionable expressions for explaining the effects of conflict upon an organization. However, when the terms are used, there is often a failure by conflict scientists
to outline explicitly the value system on which they make their assertions. In terms of organizational values, the effectiveness and efficiency of the system are usually considered important. If an organization moves towards the achievement of its goals with the least expenditure of its resources, many social scientists would consider this organization to be effective and efficient. However, if the advent of disputes either limits the organization's ability to attain its objectives or increases the operating costs of the system, then conflict could be regarded as dysfunctional for the organization. Alternatively, if the disputes between the members enhances the organization's probability of reaching its goals, then conflict could be said to be functional. In other words, the functional or dysfunctional consequences of conflict depend to a large extent on how conflict affects the overall effectiveness and efficiency of the organization.

Furthermore, whether conflict is functional or dysfunctional will depend on the syntality of the organization itself. Some conflict, rivalry, and competition between organizational members may produce beneficial results. However, if the nature of the organization is such that co-operation and co-ordination must be present for effective operation, conflict would likely be dysfunctional. Therefore, an important consideration is that of the amount of conflict which the organization can tolerate. Litvak has observed that the traditional bureaucratic organization cannot tolerate very much conflict, whereas the professional organizations are structured to permit a great deal of conflict. In general, organizations associated with athletic associations are of the latter type. Therefore, it might be expected that they could withstand some conflict and still remain functional.
In summary, the effects of organizational conflict can be numerous, but generally, the consequences are classified into two categories, functional and dysfunctional. This study did not consider whether organizational conflict within the OQAA was functional or dysfunctional. At face value, one might say that the conflict was functional for the emerging universities and dysfunctional for the Big Four institutions. However, the athletic association should make explicit the value system upon which its functionality is based. In order to do this, the members will have to reach some consensus as to the organization's goal and the means by which to achieve it. Equally important, athletic administrators should become familiar with the various conflict management techniques which can be employed to control conflict effectively. This particular study focused on the sources of conflict and change and it merely suggests a possible point of departure for worthwhile future research in the area. The responsibility rests with the athletic administrator to seek the solutions to these important problems. Therefore, in order to assist the athletic administrator with this task, the following recommendations are posed as potential areas for future research in Canadian intercollegiate athletics.

1. Further research of a similar nature should be conducted on other athletic associations in Canada. This would provide the opportunity for investigators to make comparisons in intercollegiate athletics. Equally important, high school athletics and youth sport organizations should be analysed in a similar manner.

2. A study of this kind should be done on the remaining years of the OQAA and also on the present OUAA. These situations may indicate different sources of organizational conflict and change. An analysis of
these situations would provide further information about the conflict aftermath within the OQAA.

3. An investigation of the consequences of conflict and of the conflict management techniques which are available for use in athletic associations is another area of future research.

4. Biographies and research in leadership on the OQAA delegates should be carried out immediately before these individuals are no longer available. These studies may reveal important sources of conflict and change which are related to the traits, situation, and behaviour of the athletic leaders.

5. A comprehensive study of the change strategies employed by the McMaster delegates within the OQAA should be conducted. This study might provide significant information for investigators who are interested in change-agent research.

6. The quantitative data used in the graphs should be statistically analysed. A trend analysis of the OQAA and CIAUC might yield an interesting comparison which could suggest future trends in Canadian intercollegiate athletics.

7. An examination of the relationships between the sources of conflict, the management techniques, and the strategies of planned change should be conducted. Studies in this area might reveal strategies and tactics which could be utilized to produce purposeful organizational change via a conflict-change process.
FOOTNOTES


4 Corwin, op. cit.


APPENDIX A

OQAA INTERVIEW GUIDE

General Open-ended Questions

1. Describe the organization and administration of intercollegiate athletics in the OQAA during the period in which you were associated with it.
   a) What was the OQAA like when you were first associated with it?
   b) What was the OQAA like when you left it (if applicable)?
   c) What were the significant changes during that period?
      What caused them?
      If men, then what role did the events play?
      If events, then what role did the men play?

2. What were the significant problems facing the OQAA during the period of your association with it?

3. How were you treated and how did you feel as a representative of your institution in the governing bodies of the OQAA?

4. What influence did the CIAU have upon the OQAA and vice versa?

5. What was the general feeling amongst the members of the OQAA after the breakup of the CIAUC in 1955 (if applicable)?

6. What was the OQAA's position on the following: (List those that are not mentioned in question 2)
   a) membership and re-alignment ... who could join as full members or playing members, and what was the difference in terms of control within the OQAA?
   b) football ... what was the relationship of football and control in the OQAA?
      Football for control or control for football?
c) disproportionate representation ... was there criticism of the power and control exercised by the Big Four?

d) other university leagues ... what was the attitude of the OQAA to other leagues and vice versa?

e) recruiting and subsidizing ... was this a problem for the OQAA?

f) role of athletics in university ... was athletics considered a part of education or a business?

g) preferential sports ... was preference given to some sports and none to others? If so ... then what sports?

h) budget ... did the OQAA have difficulty in financing its operation? What was the effect of television on the OQAA?

i) eligibility ... what were the regulations regarding transfer students, number of years played, post graduate students?

7. The minutes of the association have indicated a change, ie. an autocratic to a democratic organization. Some have said that perhaps the Big Four were somewhat resistive to change within the OQAA. They have been called traditional, ultra conservative, etc.

Do you agree?

If so ... What would you consider to be the three major contributing factors producing this change?

Contrarily, what would you consider to be the three main obstacles hindering organizational change?

8. Could you perhaps project into the future and indicate what you feel the direction intercollegiate athletics will take now that the OQAA has disbanded and a new association has been established.
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