Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.
“Winning isn't everything; it's the only thing”

Vince Lombardi (1959)

A Case Study of the Winning Ethos and Organizational Culture
of the All Blacks (1950-2010)

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

In

Management

At Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand

Thomas William Johnson

2012
DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my wife Judy, my four sons, their charming wives and my nine grandchildren; the most important people in my life, who I love dearly.

It is dedicated also to Tegan and Chelsea both starting their academic careers, whose results have been inspirational for me.
ABSTRACT

Organizational culture has been defined as, “a pattern of shared basic assumptions learned by a group as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, which has worked well enough to be considered valid, and therefore to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think and feel in relation to those problems” (Schein, 2010, p. 18). The winning record of the All Blacks, a 75% success ratio in test matches, is part of their organizational culture, which has been developed, nurtured and sustained since their inception in 1903. This case study evaluates the All Blacks during three distinct eras between 1950 and 2010. Primary data was obtained through the use of semi-structured, in-depth interviews with past and present All Black captains and coaches. A cross case analysis has been chosen because it is a method used in qualitative research to investigate different phenomena within their real contexts (Yin, 2009).

A key finding is the strong senior collective leadership that has been ever present. Originally lead by senior players informally from ‘the back seat of the bus’ this internal leadership has been formalised by the recent coaching team and has proved to be very effective. Pride in the All Blacks legacy, pride in selection and pride in winning are also constant factors in their success. Symbols, such as the jersey with the silver fern are clearly important as well as rituals like the haka, which has become increasingly important. The learning culture within the team has emphasised constant improvement through scientific use of exercise physiology, video analysis, nutrition, and developing effective decision making on and off the field. The importance placed on winning has remained consistent. The learning culture and learning leadership within the All Blacks instils a commitment to total honesty in self and team evaluation and reflection. It is anticipated that these findings will be transferable to other sport team contexts and assist in the organizational development of sport team culture.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge and thank the following people for their assistance and encouragement in completing this thesis. In particular I thank:

Academic supervisors

1. Associate Professor Andy Martin For his great support, guidance and encouragement throughout the various stages of the theoretical construction of the thesis, and its research and writing stages. I am grateful for the encouragement through undergraduate and post graduate work at Massey, which has now culminated in the thesis in no small measure due to his enthusiasm and example.

2. Dr Farah Palmer For whom I have the utmost respect and admiration for her academic and sporting achievements in New Zealand. I am extremely grateful for her dedicated efforts critiquing my work, which was assistance I greatly appreciated and am thankful for.

Academic advisors

3. Dr Art Thomas Whose personal friendship I value greatly, but for also having the patience and tenacity to start me on the academic journey and then provide sage advice as and when I needed it.

4. Dr Phil Ramsay For his interest and help with the research and also for his in depth knowledge on organizational culture and management theory.

5. Dr Geoff Watson For his encyclopaedic knowledge of New Zealand rugby history and for his willing assistance in critiquing the thesis and for the advice given.

6. Associate Professor Geoff Dickson I appreciate the time and efforts spent with me at the outset of the PhD journey and for knowledge passed on about competitive advantage and knowledge management.

7. Associate Professor Elizabeth Rata I am grateful for her expert knowledge in the areas of New Zealand Culture and Identity, Neotribal Capitalism, Indigenous Education, Ethnic Politics and the political economy of ethnic and national regulation as well as her friendship, assistance and encouragement with the thesis.
8. Associate Professor Chris Tremewan For his encouragement to produce a book on rugby as a consequence of the thesis.

9. Associate Professor Hugh Morton My thanks for his assistance verifying the statistical information on the All Blacks results.

10. Associate Professor Ron Garland For his encouragement throughout, and my regrets at his sad passing before completion of the thesis.

**Interviewees**

My thanks also to the All Black coaches and captains all household names in New Zealand. Not one refused an interview which made me proud of my rugby heritage and being a rather obscure member of the rugby fraternity.

**New Zealand Rugby Union**

My special thanks to the New Zealand Rugby Union for their supply of information and video clips and access to personnel. Special thanks to CEO Steve Tew and my condolences to the family of Jock Hobbs – A great rugby man sadly missed.

**Other assistance**

- Photographs Peter G. Bush
- Massey University Human Ethics Committee (MUHEC)
- Proof reading Ellen Martin
LIST OF PUBLICATIONS & ABBREVIATIONS

Publications

Abbreviations
Boks  South Africa Springbok rugby players
CEO  Chief Executive Officer
CER  Closer Economic Relations Agreement
DB  Dominion Breweries Ltd
DGSE  Direction Generale de la Securite Exterieure
DNA  Deoxyribonucleic acid
GST  Goods and Services Tax
GLOBE  Global Leadership and Organizational Behaviour Effectiveness
HART  Halt all racist tours organization
IOC  International Olympic Committee
IRB  International Rugby Board
MCC  Marylebone Cricket Club
MMP  Mixed Member Proportional Vote
MMPI  The Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory
MP  Member of Parliament
MUEC  Massey University Ethics Committee
NBA  National Basketball Association of the United States
NZRU  New Zealand Rugby Union (shortened 2006, was NZ Rugby Football Union)
NGO  Non Governmental Organization
OPEC  Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
OPM  Organizational Profile Model
RWC  Rugby World Cup
TV  Television
UCLA  University of California Los Angeles
UK  United Kingdom
US  United States of America
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION ...................................................................................................................... ii
ABSTRACT ......................................................................................................................... iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .................................................................................................... iv
LIST OF PUBLICATIONS & ABBREVIATIONS ................................................................. vi

CHAPTER ONE .................................................................................................................. 2
INTRODUCTION ................................................................................................................. 2
THE RESEARCH TOPIC AND CONTEXT ............................................................................. 2
  1.0 The All Blacks ......................................................................................................... 2
    1.0.1 Winning ........................................................................................................... 2
    1.0.2 Organization culture ....................................................................................... 3
    1.0.3 Rugby research ............................................................................................... 3
    1.0.4 Leadership ....................................................................................................... 4
  1.1 Rationale: Why the topic needs investigation ......................................................... 5
    1.1.1 Research questions ......................................................................................... 5
    1.1.2 Aims ............................................................................................................... 6
    1.1.3 Objectives ....................................................................................................... 6
  1.2 Three All Black eras ............................................................................................... 6
  1.3 Motivation for the research .................................................................................... 8
  1.4 Nature of the research - Conceptual framework ..................................................... 10
  1.5 Structure of the thesis .......................................................................................... 11
  1.6 Chapter summary ................................................................................................. 11

CHAPTER TWO ................................................................................................................ 14
LITERATURE REVIEW .................................................................................................... 14
  2.0 The All Blacks ....................................................................................................... 14
    2.0.1 History .......................................................................................................... 14
    2.0.2 The importance of history to culture ............................................................... 16
    2.0.3 The historical legacy of winning excellence .................................................... 17
  2.1 Organizational culture .......................................................................................... 20
    2.1.1 Definitions ...................................................................................................... 20
    2.1.2 Influence of the external environment ............................................................. 23
    2.1.3 Influence of internal organization culture ....................................................... 24
    2.1.4 Organizational learning .................................................................................. 26
  2.2 Artefacts & creations ............................................................................................. 27
    2.2.1 Symbols .......................................................................................................... 28
    2.2.2 Rites & rituals ................................................................................................ 30
  2.3 Values .................................................................................................................... 30
    2.3.1 Attitudes ....................................................................................................... 32
  2.4 Core assumptions .................................................................................................. 33
    2.4.1 External adaptation ......................................................................................... 34
    2.4.2 Internal integration .......................................................................................... 34
  2.5 Leaders & leadership ............................................................................................ 37
    2.5.1 Leadership theories ......................................................................................... 38
    2.5.3 Collective leadership groups ........................................................................... 41
    2.5.2 How leaders create organizational cultures .................................................... 42
  2.6 Chapter summary ................................................................................................. 43
CHAPTER SEVEN ........................................................................................................................... 193
DISCUSSION ................................................................................................................................. 193
7.0 What are the key organizational success factors distinctive to the All Black team? .......... 193
7.0.1 Artefacts & creations ............................................................................................................. 193
7.0.2 Values & beliefs .................................................................................................................... 196
7.0.3 Leaders & leadership ........................................................................................................... 199
7.0.4 The learning culture ........................................................................................................... 205
7.1 How have macro environmental forces impacted the All Blacks’ culture during the three distinctive periods from 1950 until 2010? ................................................................. 210
7.1.1 Political ............................................................................................................................... 210
7.1.2 Economic ............................................................................................................................ 212
7.1.3 Socio-cultural ...................................................................................................................... 213
7.1.4 Technological ...................................................................................................................... 218
7.1.5 Adaptation to change .......................................................................................................... 218
7.2 How has the All Blacks’ winning record been maintained in a changing cultural environment? .................................................................................................................................. 220
7.2.1 Pride in the legacy ................................................................................................................ 221
7.2.2 Pride in selection .................................................................................................................. 222
7.2.3 Pride in winning .................................................................................................................. 223
7.2.4 Collective leadership ........................................................................................................... 224
7.2.5 Cultural change ................................................................................................................... 226
7.3 Summary .................................................................................................................................. 227

CHAPTER EIGHT ........................................................................................................................... 229
CONCLUSIONS ................................................................................................................................ 229
8.0 What were the key organizational success factors distinctive to the All Black team? .... 229
8.0.1 Artefacts & creations ............................................................................................................. 229
8.0.2 Values & beliefs .................................................................................................................... 230
8.0.3 Leaders & leadership ........................................................................................................... 231
8.0.4 The learning culture ........................................................................................................... 233
8.1 How have macro- environmental forces impacted on the All Black culture during three distinctive periods from 1950 to 2010 ................................................................. 234
8.1.1 Political ............................................................................................................................... 234
8.1.2 Economic ............................................................................................................................ 235
8.1.3 Socio-cultural ...................................................................................................................... 236
8.1.4 Technological ...................................................................................................................... 237
8.2 How has the All Blacks’ winning record been maintained in a changing cultural environment? .................................................................................................................................. 238
8.2.1 Pride in the legacy ................................................................................................................ 238
8.2.2 Pride in selection .................................................................................................................. 238
8.2.3 Pride in winning .................................................................................................................. 239
8.2.4 Collective leadership ........................................................................................................... 239
8.2.5 Cultural change ................................................................................................................... 240
8.3 Implications of the study ......................................................................................................... 241
8.4 Recommendations for future research .................................................................................. 244
8.5 Competitive advantage - the future ....................................................................................... 244
Richie McCaw (All Black Captain)

The Rugby World Cup
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION
THE RESEARCH TOPIC AND CONTEXT

Winning isn’t everything – it’s the only thing” (Vince Lombardi)

1.0 The All Blacks

1.0.1 Winning

The objective of this research is to evaluate the winning ethos and organizational culture of the All Blacks between 1950 and 2010, focusing on the key success factors distinctive to its team culture. The above quote, from Vince Lombardi, the successful Green Bay Packer’s coach of the 1950s, certainly applies to the public expectations of the All Blacks. The All Blacks’ history and winning traditions began in 1903 with a 22-3 win over Australia, and whilst the team has now won the Rugby World Cup twice in seven attempts since the tournament’s inception in 1987, as stated by Harris (2008, p. 1), “No national sporting team anywhere in the world can match their win record over such a long period of time.”

The All Blacks have won 75% of their test matches in their 109 year history (Appendix A, B). In the period of the Henry, Smith, and Hansen coaching regime (2004 - 2010), the success rate is an even higher percentage of 86%. This international success rate is not even matched by football's five times world champions Brazil, ranked fifth in the World (29 June, 2011, Fifa.com – World football), whose overall success rate in international matches is 62% (Harris, 2008). In their book ‘Peak Performance’ Gilson, Pratt, Roberts and Weymes (2003) examine the organizational theory behind twelve successful international or professional teams in world sport. This included the very successful professional franchises the Chicago Bulls, the San Francisco 49ers, the Atlanta Braves and the New York Yankees, teams which all had periods of sublime success, but the success was not sustained over a lengthy period. Their success rate is what makes the winning ethos of the All Blacks unique and a cultural phenomenon worth investigating.
1.0.2 Organization culture

Schein (2010, p.1) describes culture as “a dynamic phenomena that surrounds us at all times, being constantly enacted and created by our interactions with others and shaped by leadership behaviour, an asset of structures, routines, rules and norms that guide and constrain behaviour.” Schein’s theory also asserts that artefacts located at the surface of a culture are realisations of underlying values that in turn are manifestations of deeper assumptions. It can also be said that from an interpretive perspective meanings associated with cultural assumptions and values imbue artefacts and transform them via symbolisation into symbols.

Today the All Black name or brand is one of the most universally recognised in the world (Romanos, 2002). Palenski (2001, 2003) in his research attributes the All Black jersey, the use of the silver fern motif and the ritualistic use of the *haka* to Tom Ellison who died before the name All Black gained wide usage. He had been one of the leading figures in the 1888-89 *New Zealand Native* team (Ryan, 1993) and was responsible for transferring the jersey to the New Zealand team and then captained the first New Zealand team to be known, if only briefly, as the All Blacks.

It has been necessary to give a brief outline of the history of the All Blacks and publicly recognised artefacts and rituals associated with the team prior to the period, which will be the focus of the research (1950 – 2010), because it helps develop an understanding of their cultural “roots” and how this may or may not have influenced their adaptation to changing macro environmental forces and the internal integration that has taken place since. It appears that in spite of the forces for change, economic, technological and socio-cultural particularly, the All Blacks have maintained their 75% winning test-match record. From the perspective of formal leaders (i.e. coaches and captains) how have they managed to maintain this aspect of their team culture over time?

1.0.3 Rugby research

Rugby and the All Blacks have been the focus of numerous books in the popular press attempting to shed light on why they are so successful, but the level of academic scrutiny
has been limited. An exception is a Doctoral thesis and book “Inside the All Blacks” by Robin McConnell (1998) which involved questionnaire surveys of some 240 All Blacks and personally experiencing the preparation and execution of play in test matches during the 1992-95 periods. In the ethnographic study by McConnell (1998) there are a number of parallels to my own research, particularly where it involves leadership either in the form of coaching or captaincy.

McConnell makes some very pertinent observations on tradition, winning, preparation and ultimately the impact of professionalism that I will comment on in the discussion section of this thesis. His ethnographic study of the All Blacks has a particular focus on leadership and the relationship between captain and coach primarily in the period 1992-1995, which involved Laurie Mains as All Black coach and Sean Fitzpatrick as captain. This differs from my own research which covers three specific eras of All Black rugby from 1950 – 2010. These eras have specific differences demographically and, due to the macro environmental forces that brought about change politically, economically, technologically and socio-culturally, each era is different. Whilst there are some parallels between the two studies this research differs primarily because it focuses on organizational culture as the framework for the research. Both research studies are qualitative and therefore have some limitations, but the current study extends the examination of the cultural values and the embedded basic assumptions of the All Blacks. Unlike McConnell’s work this research applies Schein’s understanding of culture to the All Black team by in-depth interviewing formal leaders of the team in the three different eras.

1.0.4 Leadership

Schein also states that “once cultures exist they determine the criteria for leadership… and thus determine who will or will not be leader” (Schein, 2004, p. 22). When cultures become unsuccessful or dysfunctional, leaders are invariably replaced so the organization can survive and adjust to a changing environment. One such example was New Zealand’s failure, until 2011, to win the Rugby World Cup since 1987. In all instances, except 2007, the current coaches have retired, resigned or been unceremoniously discarded by the New
Zealand Rugby Union (NZRU), perhaps due in part to the negative press and public reaction to losing at what is now considered the pinnacle global event for rugby. The press, for instance, kept up a barrage of vitriol after the All Black failure in 2007. For example, Rugby columnist, Chris Rattue (2008) stirred up a hornet's nest with his assertion that he would not support any team coached by Graham Henry - which meant the current All Blacks. All Black captains associated with losing World Cup squads have also had to deal with media attention, public disappointment and criticism of their leadership abilities. Rugby and more specifically, success at the elite, high performance level of All Black rugby clearly matters for many New Zealanders.

The importance of leadership in the study of organizational culture is an acknowledgement of the assessment by Schein (2004, p. 22), that “the dynamic processes of culture creation and management are the essence of leadership and make one realise that leadership and culture are two sides of the same coin.” By focusing on interviewing leaders (coaches and captains) and their role in leadership within the All Black team, it is expected that a greater understanding of the culture of the All Blacks will occur.

1.1 Rationale: Why the topic needs investigation

Because the winning ethos associated with the All Black team culture has been developed, nurtured and sustained since the inception of the first national team in 1903, and because Schein (2004, 2010) claims leadership plays a significant part in culture creation, the questions guiding this research are, from the perspective of coaches and captains:

1.1.1 Research questions

- What are the key success factors distinctive to the All Black team culture?
- How have macro-environmental forces impacted the All Blacks culture during three distinctive periods from 1950 until 2010?
- How has the All Blacks’ winning record been maintained in a changing cultural environment?
1.1.2 Aims

- To produce a thesis that adds to the body of knowledge on organizational culture and high performance teams like the All Blacks.
- To generate a deeper understanding of organizational culture and leadership that will prove to be useful for future All Black coaches and captains.

1.1.3 Objectives

- To evaluate the winning ethos and organizational culture of the All Blacks between 1950 and 2010.

It is hoped this research into the interactions between leadership, culture, and macro-environmental factors will add to the body of knowledge about organizational culture and help future All Black leaders (coaches and captains) maintain the All Blacks' competitive advantage.

1.2 Three All Black eras

The 60 year timeline 1950-2010 has been selected because as Falcous (2009, p.375) states, “the significance of sport in the symbolic construction of nationhood has been widely acknowledged” and endorsed by Bairner (2001), Cronin and Mayall (1998), Maguire (1999), Miller, Lawrence, McKay and Rowe (2001). The selection of the three eras was the subject of much debate with supervisors. With winning such an important part of the All Black psyche a Chi squared analysis (on 5df = 4.53, p = 0.476) was conducted on each decade for the last sixty years. There were no significant differences to the winning ratios, if the division was made on a decade by decade basis, but there were differences in the political, economic, social, technological and demographic changes that were taking place, and had taken place over a sixty year period. It was therefore decided that, whilst the division into three eras was not perfect, each era of twenty years would capture those significant changes that had occurred and allow for an examination of the cultural realities and romanticised myths of these eras. Consideration was also made of the increasing age of the potential interviewees from the 1950s and 1960s. This era in New Zealand’s rugby history is the last
where primary research in the form of interviews can still be conducted with captains and coaches all of whom are 70 years old or older (including the researcher). The researcher did not have to rely on secondary sources for data.

The following are the three eras (with playing summaries Table 1-3, Appendix B), which are covered in more detail in Chapters Four to Six. The first era of the research (1950 – 1969) was the post-war period where New Zealand emerged from the hardship and deprivation of World War II into a period of relative prosperity, an economic boom, and rugby remaining strictly amateur. The second era (1970 – 1989) was a period of counter culture where the class politics of the past morphed into the politic of bi-cultural identity and integration issues. Rugby was in a period of semi-professionalism or shamateurism. The third era (1990 – 2010) was one of major change with the economic impact of globalisation and the demographic changes brought about by Asian and Pacific Island immigration to New Zealand. Major change came in rugby with its professionalization in 1995.

1. 1950-1969
   - environment – post-colonial, post-depression, post-World War II period
   - rugby – amateur

2. 1970-1989
   - environment – politics of identity, integration, biculturalism
   - rugby - semi-professionalism (shamateurism)

3. 1990-2010
   - environment - multi-culturalism, globalisation
   - rugby – professionalism
Table 1  All Blacks playing record 1950-1969

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Tests played</th>
<th>Won</th>
<th>Drawn</th>
<th>Lost</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950 - 1959</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>73.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960 - 1969</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>83.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>79.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: All Blacks: Myths and Legends (Palenski, 2008, p. 75)

Table 2  All Blacks playing record 1970-1989

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Tests played</th>
<th>Won</th>
<th>Drawn</th>
<th>Lost</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970 - 1979</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>62.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980 - 1989</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>78.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>71.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: All Blacks: Myths and Legends (Palenski, 2008, p. 75)

Table 3  All Blacks playing record 1990-2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Tests played</th>
<th>Won</th>
<th>Drawn</th>
<th>Lost</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990 - 1999</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000 - 2010</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>83.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>79.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: All Blacks: Myths and Legends (Palenski, 2008, p. 75) and All Blacks (2010)

1.3 Motivation for the research

The title of the rugby book written by Australian rugby front row prop and Sydney lawyer Steve Finnane (1979) called “The game they play in heaven” says it all in summing up my passion and love of the game. I have childhood recollections of listening to the All Blacks play Australia in 1946 and South Africa in 1949 on static dominated radios. Such was the desire for an All Black win and the pride in supporting the team.

As a European fourth generation New Zealander, and a product of the World War 2 era, many of my personal values were established in this period. A father away at the war, knowing the deprivation and hardship of shortages and rationing, and fear about the future helped instil a work ethic. There was no such thing as a free lunch, and there was a pride in New Zealand as a country that had proved itself in successive wars and on the rugby fields. The egalitarian ethos associated with the image of New Zealand society was symbolically mirrored in rugby, which was promoted as a game for all, regardless of ethnicity, social
background, and size or skill level. Rugby was a legacy from New Zealand’s colonial past that made a lasting impression on me.

My representative rugby began during my primary school days in 1949-50, as a Waikato primary school representative, and then at a first class level from 1957-1968, during which period I represented Counties Manukau as it is now, Waikato, Hawke’s Bay and Auckland playing 116 matches, which included winning the Ranfurly Shield and successfully defending it for 21 games. I played in All Black trials and represented the North Island on two occasions before spending a year coaching at senior provincial representative level. The experience of captaining Hawke’s Bay on 50 occasions and then coaching for a season were leadership roles that were helpful in preparing me for the role of chairman of the Hawke’s Bay Rugby Union in 1972. The following year I transferred to Wellington in my job and was elected to the Council of the New Zealand Rugby Football Union and spent 12 years in national administration prior to retiring in 1986.

The governance of rugby in this amateur era was conservative and traditional, and driven by a “status quo” mentality. I served on the original World Cup committee with two other New Zealanders and three Australians that saw its establishment and the playing of the first World Cup in 1987. Rapid changes technologically in sport medicine, exercise physiology, improved training equipment and nutrition had an immediate impact on rugby. With these changes and the continuing and growing demands from the top players for remuneration the professionalization of the sport was inevitable and this occurred in 1995.

It is because of my life long involvement with rugby that I have such a passionate interest in the welfare of the national game, and a desire to see the success of the All Blacks maintained, as well as the game being promoted as an enjoyable sport and recreation for all New Zealanders. The period I had in rugby gave me valuable experience in how to try and be an inspirational leader with a sound knowledge and understanding of the strategies and tactics necessary to be successful. It made me conscious of the need to plan adequately and how to motivate your fellow players. Leadership is a challenge because you are usually thrust into the role without really knowing why you have been selected for the job.
Experiential learning and success builds confidence. In my own particular case the rugby experience helped me in the various leadership roles I had in senior management and lecturing positions later on in my working life. When I began my academic studies, ironically at the same time two of my sons were attending university, I realised how much I would have benefited earlier in my business career if I had gone to university at a younger age. I know I could have done a much better job in company restructuring for example, if I had the understanding I have now of organizational culture. The combination of a love for rugby, experiential interest in leadership and theoretical exploration of organizational culture has motivated me to conduct this research.

1.4 Nature of the research - Conceptual framework

The research process can be summarized as follows:

- Epistemology: Subjectivism
  - Theoretical perspective: Interpretivism
  - Research Approach: Inductive
- Research methodology: Phenomenology
  - Case study method
  - Time frame: Cross sectional
- Data collection methods: Semi structured in-depth interviews with experts in their field (Gray, 2009).

I have endeavoured in this research to adopt an approach to the research, which makes maximum use of my knowledge and experience of rugby from an observational perspective where I have seen almost every test played since 1950 and have observed all aspects of selection, training and playing. Using Schein’s term of a clinical approach I have utilized my own lived experiences and the academic knowledge I have acquired over the last two decades on the subject of organizational culture. Schein (2010, p. 2) expresses the fact that, “For academic knowledge to be useful, it must illuminate experience and provide
explanations for what we observe that puzzles or excites us.” He also believed that the scholar/researcher should develop their concepts and thereby enhance existing theory.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

Following this first introductory chapter, Chapter Two reviews the literature firstly from an historical perspective. It then defines both organizational culture and leadership before reviewing the three levels of culture in the Schein Model.

Chapter Three describes the methodology for the thesis. It begins with a discussion of why a case study was chosen as the research design reflecting the use of qualitative methods. The chapter then outlines the reasons behind the use of qualitative analysis of data from the in-depth interviews conducted with All Black coaches and captains. Finally, issues of validity, reliability, limitations and ethical considerations of the study are considered, reinforcing the rigor of the research process and acknowledging the researcher’s biases.

Chapters Four, Five, and Six begin by reviewing the background for each of the three parts of the study. Each chapter then presents an analysis and discussion of the findings from the interviews of the All Black captains and selector/coaches.

Chapter Seven is a discussion relating theory to the analysis of findings from the three parts of the study. Chapter Eight provides conclusions related specifically to the aims of the thesis. It includes a discussion on the implications of this thesis furthering the theoretical understanding of organizational culture and providing a wider understanding of the implications of leadership and team culture that will enable the All Blacks to maintain their success rates in international rugby.

1.6 Chapter summary

Chapter one sets out the research topic and context of evaluating the winning ethos and organizational culture of the All Blacks (from 1950-2010). The chapter highlights both organizational culture and leadership from the seminal works of Schein (2004, 2011). The topic needs research because the All Blacks are a high performance team whose
interactions between leadership, culture, and macro-environmental factors will add to the body of knowledge about organizational culture and help future All Black leaders.

There is emphasis that the All Black culture is a dynamic phenomenon shaped by the interaction of its team members and leaders in a manner that sets behaviour patterns, routines, rules and norms, which guide and constrain behaviour. Whilst leadership is a critical determinant of behaviour and success, the followers have an important role too. Where there is honesty and truth in analysing results and a commitment to the importance of the team rather than the individual, the role of the follower becomes much more meaningful.

The final sections of the chapter include the aims and objectives, my motivation for the research, the method and methodologies employed, and the structure of the remaining chapters.
Sir Fred Allen (All Black captain)
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

Aim to win. If you do win, park it quickly. If you don’t, use the failure. Take a positive out of it wherever you can. Reframe it not as a failure, but as feedback, as a necessary part of the process of winning (Sean Fitzpatrick [former All Black captain], 2011, p. 124)

2.0 All Blacks

The literature review is organized in a sequential order of priority to enable it to meet the aim of the research and to provide information to assist in answering the three research questions. It begins by providing some history of New Zealand rugby, its culture and the legacy of the All Blacks winning record. It then provides detailed information on organizational culture using Schein’s (2010) three level model of artefacts, values and core assumptions. This data is followed by a section on the forces of the macro environment and the processes of external adaptation and internal integration, used to embed culture in an organization. The importance of leadership and how leaders create culture is the basis of the final section.

2.0.1 History

The history of New Zealand rugby is a logical place to start a literature review on the organizational culture of the All Blacks for two reasons. Firstly, understanding history provides the background to rugby’s importance to the New Zealand psyche and secondly, according to Sahlins (1985), history is an important determinant of culture. Most modern sports in New Zealand are derived from the games and sports of the first major colonial settlers to New Zealand, the British (Trenberth & Collins, 1994). Cushman (1989) claims that sport, particularly organized sport was an aspirational vehicle for Britain’s early colonial objectives.

There is evidence that sport, and rugby in particular, did help establish value patterns and not just codes of practice, enabling them to be disseminated amongst the early settlers
in New Zealand. This view of the culture of the country is expressed by Crawford, (1986), and on many of its early values by de Jong (1991) and Cushman (1989), and on its sense of identity and pride by Nauright (1993), and on the myths of New Zealand rugby by Ryan (1993, 2005).

Ironically rugby was transposed from a sport of the elite in Britain, to a game for the male masses in New Zealand, suiting the social needs of the frontier and the uneven terrain which typically provided the field of play (de Jong, 1991). The amateur ideals of playing the sport for enjoyment and ‘mateship’ fitted the egalitarian ideals of the young country, as the majority of the early settlers were agricultural labourers, town craftsmen and domestic servants (Sutch, 1966). Many settlers wished to escape the social stratification of society and its pervasive class system as experienced in Britain, so it is ironic that they should turn to sports like rugby played in the prestigious public schools and universities of Britain, to establish their values.

Mallea (1972) identifies three values associated with sport present in Great Britain that were passed to the colonies. Firstly, there was humanism, with its balanced moral, intellectual and physical development of a sound mind and a sound body. Secondly, there was the gentlemanly tradition of physical prowess, fair dealings, and modesty in victory and cheerfulness in defeat. The third value was the tradition of manliness, courage, endurance, loyalty, cooperation and patriotism. Aspects of this trilogy of Victorian values still apply in New Zealand sport and society today. According to Schein (2004) the culture of a society is about its value systems, beliefs and core assumptions.

A New Zealand rugby team played its first test in Sydney in 1903 winning 22-3, and successfully toured two years later thus establishing the tradition of success (Palenski, 2003). Nauright (1993, p. 220) claims "most scholars agree that the 1905 All Black tour was crucial in cementing rugby's position in New Zealand's popular consciousness." Nauright (1993) challenges Crawford's (1986) claims of placing rugby at the centre of an egalitarian society, the myth or reality of male national identity, of better race relations and the role that women have played in rugby, as commentary on New Zealand society. Ryan (cited in
Watson, 2007, p. 783) also challenges a number of so-called facts about New Zealand’s early rugby dominance as being myths in his *Tackling Rugby Myths: Rugby and New Zealand Society 1854-2004*. His contention was that rugby was not a game played by virtually every New Zealand male, as the numbers of players participating in the mid-1890s was grossly exaggerated. He qualified the extent to which rugby could claim to be the national game, and he asserted that most All Blacks were not exemplars of rural New Zealand but predominantly came from the urban areas.

Despite these challenges emanating from historians, sociologists and anthropologists, rugby continued to maintain its on-field success rate (Appendix A-F), but not without some major changes. The perception that the separation of sport and politics could be maintained, from a New Zealand perspective came to an end with the African boycott of the Olympic Games in 1976 and the protests surrounding the Springbok Tour of New Zealand in 1981. However, it was the professionalization of rugby in 1995 that had the greatest impact for change on rugby in New Zealand.

### 2.0.2 The importance of history to culture

Culture in the enactment sense can be regarded as being either the perpetuation of an existing or prior state, which can be thought of as the culture of that organization to that point in time. Despite this continuous enactment process, anthropologist Sahlins (1985) argues that one cannot understand certain social phenomena without understanding both the historical events and the cultural meanings attributed by the actors to those events. Actors in the same social events bring to them some prior meanings, stereotypes and expectations that can only be understood in their historical context. In this example, culture is being described as if it were a “state” of the existing system. Because a system can be dynamic and perpetually evolving, culture can also be regarded as a process.

Schein (1999) observes that the direction or evolution of culture will be a product of several forces: technological, physical changes in the cultural environment, changes in the internal dynamics of the social system and historical circumstances that are fortuitous or serendipitous. Schein (1999) further states that when we have access to historical data we
should use it, and when we analyse organizational cultures we should reconstruct their histories and find out about their early founders and early leaders. We should look for critical and defining events in their evolution as organizations and be confident when we have done this we can indeed describe sets of shared successful experiences and shared traumas. Only then can we legitimately think of these sets of assumptions in the culture at a given time.

According to Martin and Meyerson (1988) there may be some very strongly shared assumptions and large areas of conflict and/or ambiguity within a given cultural state. Schein (1999) further states that it becomes a matter of choice whether one elects to focus research on building typologies of cultural states – categories that freeze a given organization at a given point in time – or analysing the moment-to-moment interactions in which members of a given social system attempt to make sense of their experience and in the process, reinforce and evolve cultural elements. Both in his opinion are valid methodologies. I have chosen to use a cross sectional case study method in this research because it freezes three distinct eras of rugby history where each era is influenced by differing macro environmental forces for change in society. This then enabled me to interview captains and coaches (leaders) of these respective eras thus getting their individual assessments and understanding of All Black culture in that time period.

2.0.3 The historical legacy of winning excellence

It has been said in the history of American sports, no coach has been mythologized as much as the Green Bay Packers’ Vince Lombardi who has been immortalized with many tributes and is renowned for his comments on the perceived fulfilment of winning and analogy to victory on the battlefield (cited in Maraniss, 1999). Lombardi also noted that if it doesn't matter who wins or loses, then why do they keep score? Sustaining its winning ethos is part of the All Black legacy.

It was the success of the 1905 team that established the ethos of winning and the importance of the pursuit of excellence as values that have become embedded in the core assumptions of every All Black team since. According to Phillips (1987) this tour saw the All
Blacks, solidify rugby in the ‘national consciousness’. Sinclair (1986) called the 1905 test against Wales (lost 3-0 by New Zealand), the only loss on tour, as ‘The Gallipoli of New Zealand sport’. The 1924 “Invincibles” All Black side toured Britain, France and Canada and won all their 32 matches and further consolidated the pride in achievement felt by the players and supporters in New Zealand. Less successful tours in 1935-36 and in 1953-54, interruptions to international matches due to World War 2 and travel difficulties (often by sea) pre 1953-54 still did little to dent a winning record and reputation.

The great rivalry that developed between South Africa and New Zealand started with a drawn series in 1921 in New Zealand and a drawn series in South Africa in 1928. In 1937 and 1949 South Africa began a period of domination which lasted until 1956 when the All Blacks were victorious for the first time in a series in New Zealand. It took until 1996 for the All Blacks to win a series in South Africa after the end of Apartheid, having lost series in 1960, 1970 and 1976. In an article headed: “Statistics don’t lie” former All Black, Grant Fox (2010), mentioned that out of the 68 Tri Nations’ matches the All Blacks had played (against South Africa and Australia), they had won 48, a 70% winning record. What is perhaps more remarkable is the fact that these tri-nation teams are invariably ranked first, second and third in world rugby annually (International Rugby Board, 2011). The All Blacks record against Australia, the four home unions (England, Ireland, Scotland & Wales), France and the British Lions over the whole timeline from 1903 has also ensured their winning ethos has been maintained (Appendix A).

How do successful teams and organizations like the All Blacks create a winning ethos which in their case has been sustained since 1903? In American sport, winning dynasties are talked about often, like John Wooden’s seven consecutive national titles with his UCLA basketball team and Chuck Noll’s eight years of success with the Pittsburgh Steelers. It is the sustainability of success in sport that is difficult to maintain because as Miller’s (1990) Icarus Paradox outlines, success generates complacency, which generates a downfall. Berman, Down, and Hill (2002) in extensive research on the NBA found there were many similarities between sports teams and business organizations, as they both compete
externally, cooperate internally, manage human resources strategically and develop structures and systems. They found that at some point in time if players were retained too long, knowledge ossification set in and there was a law of diminishing returns for that team, unless it was rejuvenated with new players and/or a new coach. In American professional sport the tenure of a coach is directly related to his/her percentage of wins; so acquiring high quality players and keeping them together long enough for significant synergies is most important.

In 1994 Collins and Porras wrote *Built to Last* about eighteen iconic, exceptional and long-lasting companies in USA, which they had studied in direct comparison to one of their top competitors. The All Blacks are one of the most recognisable and widely known sporting brands in the World and are similar to the companies studied by Collins and Porras (1994) because the team is iconic with a rich historical legacy. In their research Collins and Porras (1994, p.4) set out to find the factors that account for long-term success. The visionary companies as they called them, rather than successful ones, “faced set-backs, made mistakes but displayed a remarkable resiliency, and an ability to bounce back from adversity… as a result visionary company’s attained extra ordinary long-term performance.” Collins and Porras found that great companies are about “clock building” not “time telling” because the company itself is the ultimate creation and outlasts charismatic or visionary leaders or the myth of great ideas. This factor alone is directly applicable to the All Blacks where there have been a large number of different leaders over the years who may have introduced new ideas and methods, but the All Black team itself appears to be the ultimate creation.

The success of the All Blacks comes from underlying processes and fundamental dynamics embedded in their organization and not as the result of a single great idea or some great omnipotent leader. What the All Blacks stand for has outlasted great leaders, innovations, coaches, technological advancement and is bigger than the individual (which is why the individual differences are subsumed by the All Black collective). This is where the All Blacks are comparable to the companies held up as exemplars by Collins and Porras.
(1994). As a direct comparison to the All Blacks their book *Built to last* and the successful companies portrayed therein feature the ethos of winning and success, an ethos which appears to be integrated into the organizational culture of the All Blacks.

### 2.1 Organizational culture

#### 2.1.1 Definitions

There is a parallel in the way organizational culture impinges on the success of businesses and high performance groups like the All Blacks, particularly where the latter has maintained such a successful winning record for 109 years. This is because both are open systems, involving people and have a structure and a purpose so what is successful in business very often can apply to sport and vice versa.

Before deciding on Schein’s framework and methodology for examining the organizational culture of the All Blacks a review of many of the theories was conducted. My examination of organizational culture theory followed the path of its early domination by the scholars either steeped in psychology, sociology or anthropology. It began with an examination of the seminal work of Pettigrew (1979), Lewin, Lippitt and White (1939) and was influenced by Schein (1981, 1985, 2004 & 2010).

The research took into consideration the scholarly works of Handy (1985) and his categorization of organizational culture into four types - a power culture, a role culture, a task culture and a person culture. Deal and Kennedy (1982) coined the phrase “the way things get done around here” as a descriptor of basic assumptions. Sonnenfeld (1985, 1988) also categorized organizational culture into four categories - a baseball team culture, a club culture, an academy culture and a fortress culture. These scholarly contributions, together with Martin’s (1992) work on the three perspectives of culture,

- the integration perspective where there was one single unified culture,
- the differentiation perspective, where sub-groups have significantly different cultures
- fragmentation perspective, where organizations are full of ambiguity
and many more covered in the literature review, were used to finalise the intellectual approach to this research. In simplistic terms organizational culture has been categorised as “A system of shared values, assumptions, beliefs and norms that unite the members of an organization” (Bartol, & Martin, 1998, p.91). It is evident from the organizational culture research of Martin and Meyerson (1988) that whilst organizational culture has become a new ‘meeting ground’ between anthropology, sociology and psychology there are some limitations and criticisms as culture is not always cohesive but can be subject to conflicts and ambiguities.

Because the academic framework for this research is based on culture and organizational culture specifically, a clear and definitive understanding of the terms and concepts is essential. This does not imply that all cultures are strong and there are not some limitations in the study of organizational culture. As expressed by Martin (1992) all cultural manifestations are interpreted, evaluated and enacted in varying ways because cultural members have differing interests, experiences, responsibilities and values. For these reasons it is too simple to define culture as a unifying, harmonious state or process as sometimes there are bitter conflicts, ambiguity, paradox and contradiction in some cultural groups. Not all groups therefore are cohesive. Culture is a concept central to anthropology, which encompasses all human phenomena that are not purely results of human genetics (Tomasella, 1999). The seminal cultural theorist of the early 19th Century, German philosopher Johann Herder, believed that culture was:

To belong to a given community, to be connected with the members by indissoluble and impalpable ties of common language... Historical memory, habit, tradition and feeling, is a basic human need no less natural than for food and drink or security or procreation (Herder, 1744-1803, cited in Lukes, 2003, p. 87).

Culture refers to the cumulative deposit of knowledge, experience and beliefs. The concept of organizational culture, is a derivative from the concept of culture, and is widely accepted as a way to understand human systems (Schein, 1996). The concept of organizational culture, according to Schein (1988), was taken from the field of organizational psychology.
and developed with the growth of business and management schools that became increasingly influenced by sociological and anthropological concepts and methods. Since the 1980s organizational culture has received considerable academic attention in the study of organizational behaviour over a range of management and marketing disciplines (Chatman & Jehn, 1994; Deshpandé, Farley, & Webster, 1993; Deshpandé & Webster, 1989; Hofstede, 1983; Marcoulides & Heck, 1993; Schein, 1990; Trice & Beyer, 1984). A common hypothesis is that if an organization possesses a "strong" culture because of a well-integrated and effective set of specific values, beliefs, and behaviours, then it will perform much better than an organization that doesn’t (Denison, 1984).

Schein (1985) also describes organizational culture as being something an organization is, rather than something an organization has. He divides culture into three distinct levels, all contributing to the whole. These levels include the first level of artefacts and creations, which are visible or tangible but sometimes not decipherable. The second level is that of the values of the organization, and the third is the embedded basic assumptions that are preconscious and taken for granted by the members of the organization.

According to Schein (1999) culture and climate are organizational descriptors in the creation of new culture and the changing of a culture. Sahlins (1985) argues that one cannot really understand social phenomena without understanding both the historical events and the cultural meanings attributed by the actors to those events. This is one of the reasons why the research focuses on captains and coaches as specific actors in the All Black history. He also believes culture is produced through perpetual enactment and sense-making, but it is also true that the actors in those same social events bring to them some prior meanings, stereotypes and expectations that can be understood only in a historical context. Culture production in the enactment sense, is either the perpetuation or the change of some prior state (Schein, 1999). He further claims that the direction or the evolution of the culture will be as a product of several forces, technological and physical changes in the macro environment, and changes in the internal dynamics of the social system, and historical
circumstances that are fortuitous or serendipitous. Schein's claim in many ways is the essence of the thesis in terms of the All Black organizational culture.

2.1.2 Influence of the external environment

All organizations, according to Schein (2010), face problems of survival and adaptation to the external environment as well as the integration of their internal processes. From a research perspective one of the challenges for the researcher is how to understand and explain patterns and divergences in attitudes, perceptions and values; and how to make sense of language and symbols, balance continuity and change, and assess how cultural change has been achieved. It was the organizational climate studies begun by Lewin et al.'s (1939) work on climate and leadership, and developed further in the 1970s-80s with the failing performance in US business and the rise of Japan as an economic powerhouse. Just as business organizations had to adapt to the forces for change in the macro environment if they were to remain competitive, the All Black team has been faced with similar challenges.

According to Kalliath, Brough, O'Driscoll, Manimala and Siu (2009) the culture of any organization is to some extent determined by its country’s national culture. Societal values will infiltrate and then have an influence on the way the organization functions. Hofstede (1980), who did extensive research on the similarities in shared organizational cultures worldwide, concluded there were significant variations due to the national cultures within which organizational cultures were situated. These variations included five major characteristics that differentiate societies from one another - power distance ratios, individualism versus collectivism, uncertainty avoidance, masculinity versus femininity and time orientation. He also claimed that culture more often than not can be a source of conflict rather than synergy, so much so that cultural differences can be a nuisance at best and often a disaster.

Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1997) subsequently developed a model of culture with seven dimensions. There are five orientations covering the ways in which human beings deal with each other, such as universalism versus particularism or individualism versus collectivism, and whilst there are similarities to Hofstede’s five cultural dimensions
they both provide the researcher with a useful guide to analysing the behavioural and value patterns of the All Blacks within the New Zealand cultural context. Crawford (1986), for instance, claimed that rugby was a secular religion in early New Zealand. Statements like this and claims that New Zealand had a culture of “rugby, racing and beer” or Mitchell’s (1974) depiction of New Zealand as the “half-gallon, ¼ acre, pavlova paradise” may encapsulate some of the artefacts of New Zealand and the All Blacks’ organizational culture but caution must be applied as these tend to be superficial generalizations.

2.1.3 Influence of internal organization culture

Denison (2000) believed that organizations hold a system of norms and beliefs that support their capacity to receive, interpret and translate signals from their environment into internal behavioural changes that increase their chances of survival, growth and development. This trait he calls the adaptability trait. Without this ability to implement adaptive response (external focus), an organization cannot be effective. He further believed that organizations characterised as “highly involved” strongly encourage involvement and create a sense of ownership. Involvement is part of the internal focus and the indices of the trait are empowerment, teamwork and capability development.

Middleton (2002), Deal and Kennedy (1982) and Sonnenfeld (1985) are amongst a number of scholars who have categorized the complexities of organizational culture often using descriptive terminology. The terminology may differ as in the case of Handy (1985) and Sonnenfeld (1988) but both placed organizational culture into four types. Sonnenfeld’s four categories were:

1. A Baseball team culture – with high-risk decision making and fast feedback from the environment - involving talent, innovation, and where performance is valued and rewarded.
2. A Club culture - which is characterised by loyalty, and fitting into the group
3. An Academy culture - which hires young recruits interested in long term association and a slow steady climb up the organization. Each person gains high level expertise in specific areas.
4. A Fortress culture - which emerges in an environmental survival situation, where there is little job security or opportunity for professional growth while companies restructure and downsize to fit new environments.

Another academic theory that had relevance in this research was the “three perspectives” model of Martin and Meyerson (1988). The categories consist of the integration perspective - one single unified culture; the differentiation perspective – sub groups having significantly different cultures; and the fragmentation perspective – organizations that are full of ambiguity with co-existing counter characteristics. The three perspectives framework has been described by Inkson and Kolb (1995) as “a lens or prism through which to view culture, enabling one to see culture not as a single simple variable of organizational life, but as multiple levels of complex, often contradictory realities co-existing within a given organizational setting” (p. 353).

Martin and Meyerson’s research and the portrayal of culture as three different perspectives has been based on considerable organizational research which recognises factors such as interdepartmental conflict as well as the positives of well integrated focused organizations, and that internal conflicts can exist within an overall culture as subcultures. Having a knowledge of the Martin and Meyerson framework and the other theoretical assessments has proved useful in the overall analysis of the All Blacks, because it enabled the researcher to evaluate many of the different theories before making a decision as to the most appropriate model for the research. Schein’s three levels model of organizational culture was the model chosen following extensive review and my experiences of its application during my senior management and lecturing roles.

Schein (1999) raises the issue of whether culture should be defined as a “state” or static property of a given group/organization or as a human process of constructing shared meanings that go on all the time. He believed that both meanings had utility for theory building. For the purposes of this research it has been regarded as a state but it is also recognised macro environmental forces do change the dynamics and the processes needed to adjust, and this adjustment occurs via organizational learning.
2.1.4 Organizational learning

Culture formation comes from the shared values, assumptions and norms that are learned by the members of the organization, maintained and passed on to new members. It involves a learning process. Learning is simply acquiring new or modifying existing knowledge, behaviours, skills and values through the synthesizing of different types of information. It is a vital process in the creation and maintenance of organizational culture. There are many different types of learning including, associative learning, operant conditioning, behaviourism, classical conditioning, observational learning, play, enculturation, multimedia learning, E-learning and augmented learning, and rote learning. The ability to learn comes in a variety of ways, which includes education, personal development, and training. It may occur as a result of habituation, classical conditioning and happen consciously or without conscious awareness.

Experiential learning, is the process of making meaning from direct experience (Kolb, 1984) and social learning through reflection (Schön, 1987, 1991). The theory, as advocated by Bandura (1977), argues that learning occurs through the continuous reciprocal interaction of our behaviours, various personal factors and environmental forces. Schein (1981) points to the powerful link between culture and effective leadership. Leaders by setting values and objectives and giving them meaning are part of the learning process, which is essentially one of social interaction and experiential learning.

The learning culture and learning processes need to be accepted as part of the culture of the organization by the team members. “An organization’s current customs, traditions and general way of doing things is largely due to what has been done before,” (Robbins, Bergman, Stagg & Coulter, 2008, p. 97). Just as culture is created by founders, heroes, and villains in organizations, basic assumptions, values and beliefs are embedded and spread via rites, rituals and formal and informal communication. Deal and Kennedy (1982) identified several characters in organizations that play important roles in communicating, maintaining and extending culture. They identified them as storytellers – who recount how the organization dealt with issues in the past, priests – who keep the
organizations’ true values, gossips – who spread the word and maintain the grapevine, and spies – who keep leaders abreast of sentiments and reactions. This communication link between Deal and Kennedy’s ‘role’ playing organization members fits well with Schein’s model of organizational culture, as they provide the “mortar” which holds the artefacts and creations of culture together by providing consolidation and reassurance, through communication.

It is important in this research study to understand the linkage between, artefacts and creations (symbols, rites, rituals, stories), values (beliefs, attitudes) and assumptions when assessing the organizational culture of the All Blacks. It is also important to understand how organizational culture adapts to the forces of the external environment and undergoes a process of internal integration to continue to survive and succeed.

2.2 Artefacts & creations

Schein (2011) describes artefacts and creations as the tangible elements that one sees, hears and feels about the culture. They are the visible or audible products of language, technology, and creations of style: clothing, manners of address, myths, and stories. They are easy to observe, but often difficult to decipher as they are at times ambiguous. An artefact is a man-made or constructed object which gives information about the culture of its creator and users. The artefact may change over time in what it represents, how it appears and how and why it is used as the culture changes over time. An artefact becomes a cultural symbol when it is used by members of the culture to make meaning (Ortner, 1973). For example, a national flag becomes a symbol whenever someone salutes it, waves it or burns it. The difference between an artefact and a symbol could be explained as for example a sign is an artefact, however, the “Golden Arches” although a sign is also the symbol of McDonalds. Hatch (1993) states that a symbol is anything that represents a conscious or an unconscious association with some wider, usually abstract concept or meaning. The nature of organizational culture is inferred through symbols, stories, rites and rituals (Smircich 1983; Trice & Beyer 1993; Kinicki & Williams 2003). At the first level these visible factors that Schein terms artefacts and creations visible or tangible objects, acts, events or words are
used by the organization to convey meaning. I will endeavour to explain and illustrate Schein’s concept of artefacts and creations through the use of iconic All Black symbols like the black jersey with the silver fern.

### 2.2.1 Symbols

The black jersey with silver fern is an example of a symbol that has historic and important cultural meaning for the All Blacks, nurtured since the days of their first test match in 1903, as covered by rugby historian Verdon (1999). Schein (1990) specifically identifies symbols as the first layer of culture, comprising the observable artefacts that make up the sensory experiences of the organization. Gagliardi (1996, p. 568) concludes that symbols “enable us to take aim directly at the heart of culture.” A symbol is to refer to a thing that stands for an idea, as a dove stands for peace (Chevalier & Cheerbrant, 1994). Rafaeli and Worline (2000) consider symbols to be visible, physical manifestations of organizations, and indicators of organizational life. Symbols are things that take on meanings that are defined by cultural and social conventions and interactions that are noticed through sight, sound, touch and smell, and are powerful indicators of organizational dynamics.

Symbols as expressed by Rafaeli and Kluger (1998) are integral to organizational life. They give an organization’s members an active construction of sense, knowledge and behaviour, because organizational culture has been construed as a network of meanings and shared experiences and interpretations that provide members with a shared and accepted reality (Pettigrew, 1979; Schein, 1990; Trice & Beyer, 1993). As a first function, symbols provide a tangible expression of a shared reality (Dandridge, Mitroff, & Joyce, 1980). Symbols provide group members with meaning.

Carver and Scheier (1985) documented the impact of symbols in a series of studies that explored various aspects that control human behaviour. They posit that the second function of symbols is to act as a trigger of internalized values and norms. Research in social psychology has demonstrated that people often act out the roles in which they are placed (Katz & Kahn, 1978). Social learning theory suggests that people learn through association (Bandura, 1977). Behaviour therefore comes to be associated with symbols that act as cues
in the environment. When symbols like the black jersey and silver fern are associated with internal states or feelings, their physical presence can evoke the associated emotions and feelings. The idea that unconscious affective and cognitive processes guide our behaviour is also supported in environmental psychology (Kaplan, 1992). It can therefore be stated that the experience of symbols is a form of communication without verbal or conscious intervention, and just as with social interaction, interaction with symbols offers people meaning.

Goffman (1974) and Weick (1979) regarded symbols as frames for conversation about experience because studies of everyday life suggest that simply perceiving the world involves the activity of forming conjectures about what came before and expectations about what will come next. Kaplan and Kaplan (1983) stated that we construct what we see largely through expectations built upon what we have seen before, so that when the circumstances do not match our ideals, we are jarred and feel something is wrong or out of place. The third function of a symbol therefore is to make these frameworks outwardly visible and available for discussion by organizational members. Symbols help people to communicate and share ideals. According to Goffman (1974) the frameworks of a particular social group constitutes a central element of its culture and requires a mode of communication. There are four functions of symbols according to Rafaeli and Worline (2000) which are:

- The symbol as a reflection of organizational culture
- The symbol as a trigger of internalised values and norms
- The symbol as a frame for conversations about experience
- The symbol as an integrator of organizational systems of meaning.

The fourth function ties together the first three functions. By acting as an integrator, the symbol reveals codes that bind the organization (Rafaeli & Worline, 2000).

*The organization as a cultural system is created through the integration of socially shared interpretations of symbols, and its study precludes a simple focus on a specific symbol or a timeless individual* (p. 83).
2.2.2 Rites & rituals

Rituals and rites help to maintain the traditions and values of the organization. According to Bartol, Tein, Matthews and Sharma (2008), a rite is an elaborate, dramatic, planned set of activities that communicates cultural values to participants, like the haka before matches. Rituals are the standardized behaviours such as team meetings, and training session procedures that the team engage in regularly. The “back-seat of the bus” protocols of the senior players in various eras of the All Blacks, for instance, was an unofficial ritual that established values and behaviour patterns passed on to new members of the team (Haden, 1983).

Inkson and Kolb (1995) define a rite as an activity which participants must endure or complete in order to progress within a culture, and a ritual as a set of established behaviours, activities or procedures which can be indicative of cultural values in an organization. The All Blacks’ haka is a rite, but also has become a symbol throughout New Zealand and the world as part of the All Blacks’ accepted behavioural norms. The ‘back seat of the bus’ activity of the team however is a ritual but not a symbol.

Stories which are narratives based on true events, but may be embellished or subject to elaboration strengthen values held by organizational members. The stories may include the heroics of a Richie McCaw or Colin Meads; the villains may be unsuccessful coaches or match blunders and crisis handling. The NZRU 2003 loss of World Rugby Cup sub-hosting rights to Australia (which went on to be the sole host of the event) is such an example. It includes epic matches played as well as the personnel who may be heroes or villains, even where the truth may be stretched into a form of mythology. An example is Kevin Skinner dealing with the Springbok front row in the 1956 test matches (McLean, 1956).

2.3 Values

Kilmann (1981) defines values as objects, qualities, standards that satisfy (or are perceived to satisfy) needs that act as guides to human action. Connor and Becker (1994, p. 68) describe values “As global beliefs (about desirable end states or modes of behaviour) that underlie attitudinal processes...in particular; they serve as the basis for making choices.”
Because they are a way of talking about something social, cognitive and behavioural, values have meaning in both psychology and anthropology. According to Cooke and Szumal (1993) as values are social they reflect the history of experiences and understandings that characterize a group. It should be noted also that values in a society according to Zammuto, Gifford and Goodman (2000) precede those values of an individual. The fact that values are social and reflect the history of experiences of an organization is relevant when looking at All Black culture and the importance leaders may place on values such as winning and mateship.

Considerable research exists on the concept of values and its centrality to the organizational sciences and workplace relations (Blood, 1969; Brown, 1976; Conner & Becker, 1975; Rosenberg, 1957; Selznick, 1957; Sikula, 1971). According to Connor and Becker (1994) and Posner and Munson (1979), values also play a role in managerial decision making. Rokeach (1969, 1973) did a great deal of work on values distinguishing them from other constructs such as beliefs and attitudes. Whereas values are objective qualities and standards that satisfy needs, a belief is the psychological state in which an individual holds a proposition or premise to be true. An attitude is a learned predisposition towards a given object.

Much of the past research however has concentrated on the effects of single values, thereby neglecting the complex nature of value structures (Homer & Kahle, 1988; Schwartz, 1992). Values are the criteria people use to select and justify actions and evaluate people and events. Such structures deal with the conflicts and compatibilities among values (e.g. conflict between independence and conformity; compatibility between equality and helpfulness) (Zanna, 1992). Rokeach (1973; 1979) contends that values exist in a hierarchical, interconnected structure. That is, while all values are important and linked together, some values are more important than others. Williams (1968), suggests that a person's behaviour is guided over a considerable period of time by one and only one value, but more often, particular acts or sequences of acts are steered by multiple and changing clusters of values.
Values are key determinants of attitudes, which in turn affect work related and all other behaviour (Becker & Connor, 1986; Connor & Becker, 1994). Rokeach (1979) produced a list of values: 18 terminal and 18 instrumental, whilst Schwartz (1992, 1994) specified 56 specific values and a set of 10 value types. In this literature review I will deal with Rokeach’s classification as it is more relevant to this study, because his value survey is a classification system that has been used extensively in empirical work by psychologists, sociologists and marketers. Terminal values are personally preferred end-states of existence (e.g. you may value family more than career). Instrumental values are alternative behaviours, or the means by which we achieve our personal values or desired end states. If someone has an instrumental value of honesty, for instance, they are unlikely to cheat to accomplish a terminal value than somebody who does not value honesty. According to Rokeach (1973) two issues are considered central to the matter of changeability of values. The first pertains to the degree to which values in a society change at the aggregate level over periods of time, and the second concerns natural developmental alterations that occur in individual values as they age, mature, become educated and experience life.

As indicated by Peterson (1998) organization scholars use the term event to talk about the elements social actors abstract from social processes. The participants in any organization are influenced by interpreting events and the meanings other parties give them. Trice and Beyer (1993) base their analysis of organizational culture on ideologies comprising beliefs, values and norms through which events are given meaning. There is evidence of how leaders can influence a broad range of specific behaviours of individuals by influencing the context of values within which they work.

2.3.1 Attitudes
Attitudes can range from positive to negative and can be formed as the result of many influences – early experiences, family influences, peer pressures, stimuli such as advertising, and education. Attitudes have three components – cognitive, affective and behavioural (Neal, Quester & Hawkins, 2004). The cognitive component is an individual’s belief and knowledge about an object; the affective component is the individual’s feelings or
emotional reactions to the object: and the behavioural component is the tendency of the attitude holder to respond in a certain manner towards an object or activity. Neal et al (2004, p. 339) state that “an attitude is an enduring combination of motivational, emotional, perceptual and cognitive processes with respect to some aspect of our environment such as other people, places, ideas and products.”

Stackman, Pinder and Connor (2000) state attitudes are cognitive and affective orientations towards specific objects and situations. Values underlie and affect attitudes, which in turn underlie and affect behaviour. Therefore attitudes result from the application of values to concrete objects or situations. Researchers have tended to focus on the relationship between attitudes and behaviour ignoring the link with values (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). Stackman et al. (2000), state that two key issues are important to any understanding of the values-attitudes-behaviours relationship; observability and applicability. Behaviour is the most observable variable with attitudes and values successively inferential (Connor & Becker, 1994). Behaviour is the manifestation of a person’s fundamental values and corresponding attitudes (Schwartz, 1994). According to Feather (1992) both needs and values can influence a person’s cognitive–affective appraisal of a situation to means and outcomes.

2.4 Core assumptions
Assumptions represent taken-for-granted beliefs about reality and human nature (Hatch, 1993). Schein (1988) describes core or underlying assumptions as the unconscious taken-for-granted beliefs, habits of perception, thought and feeling – the ultimate source of values and action. Schein (2010, p.32) further states, “If you do not decipher the pattern of basic assumptions that may be operating (in an organization) you will not know how to interpret the artefacts correctly or how much credence to give the espoused values. In other words the essence of a culture lies in the pattern of basic underlying assumptions, and after you understand those, you can easily understand the other more surface levels and deal appropriately with them.” Core assumptions are derived from survival in and adaptation to the external environment and then the integration of the internal processes to ensure the
capacity to continue to survive and adapt. This is the culture formation process. This internal process of developing the core assumptions of the organization is covered in section 2.4.2 but involves the group establishing its assumptions about the nature of reality and truth, assumptions about time and space and assumptions about human nature, activity and human relationships.

2.4.1 External adaptation

How a group or organization adapts to the forces of the external environment is critical to its survival and success. According to Schein (2010, p.91) “the groups ultimate mission, goals, means used to achieve goals, measurement of performance, and remedial strategies all require consensus if the group is to perform effectively.” Conflict can undermine group performance but can also be a potential source of adaptation and new learning. How the external survival issues are worked out strongly influences the internal integration of the group. Most organizations operate as open systems so the manner of external adaptation and the internal integration are interdependent and intertwined. Schein (2010) further states that culture is a multidimensional, multifaceted phenomenon, which ultimately reflects the group’s effort to cope and learn and the culture is the residue of that learning process. The importance of leadership to adaptation is also highlighted by Schein, as it is usually a primary concern of the formal leader of the group. Failure to manage these external boundaries may result in the termination of a leader’s job, whereas internal dissent can be forgiven. Failure to win a Rugby World Cup for example tends to precede the end of a head coach’s position in All Black rugby, whereas dissent by an All Black over strategies and tactics that may cause the loss of a test match can be forgiven.

2.4.2 Internal integration

Internal integration is a complex, multifaceted process which enables the organization to achieve its purpose by defining boundaries for inclusion and exclusion, distributing power and status, developing a common language of communication, developing norms of trust and a system of allocating rewards and dispensing punishment. Every organization must learn how to become a group. Schein (2010) believes it starts with the development of a
common language and category system that clearly defines what things mean, so there is an understanding of work, teamwork, quality, respect, trust, rewards and punishment. The group must reach a consensus on what its boundaries are, and who is within and who is not. An important consensus to be arrived at is the one on power and influence, particularly where a leader is formally imposed on the group. Rules must be developed that define peer relationships and must develop clear assumptions about what is a reward and what is punishment.

Schein (2010, p. 113) states, “assumptions that develop around the internal issues constitute – along with assumptions about mission, goals, means, results detection and correction mechanisms – a set of dimensions along which we can analyse and describe a culture.” Leadership is important as the original source of interpretation of the environmental forces and often the generator of the internal processes needed to cope. In Schein’s theory, artefacts located at the surface of a culture are realisations of underlying values that are manifestations of deeper assumptions. Meanwhile as described within the interpretative view, meanings associated with cultural assumptions and values imbue artefacts transforming them via symbolisation into symbols. Hatch (1993) also states that manifestation occurs whenever specific values or behavioural norms are evoked perceptually, cognitively or emotionally.

Ashkanasy, Wilderom and Peterson (2000, p. 12) make the point that “many applications of organizational culture analysis suggest ways in which organization leaders can influence a broad range of specific behaviours of individuals by influencing the context of values within which they work.” There is evidence that analysis of meaning has affected the way we look at such classic management topics as motivation (Bandura, 1977), group process (Argote & McGrath, 1993), leadership (Smircich & Morgan, 1982) and socialization (Isabella, 1988: Louis, 1980). The relevance of these theorists and their processes to organizational culture generally and the All Blacks specifically is the impact they have on the deeper cultural assumptions of what is reality and truth. As expressed by Schein (2010)
reality can exist at the physical group and individual levels and will differ according to social consensus and/or individual experience.

External reality refers to things that can be determined empirically by objective test, whereas social reality refers to the things a group regard as matters of consensus that are not externally or empirically testable. Schein defines individual reality as what you have learned from your own experience and has a quality of absolute truth to you but not necessarily to others. So what may be defined as physical, social or individual reality is a product of social learning and is therefore a part of culture. To reach a consensus is the process of building a shared social reality. Groups like the All Blacks develop assumptions about information after they have determined they have enough information to make a decision. Whether it is based on a traditional moralistic perception of truth or more pragmatic criteria will depend on their shared knowledge and consensus.

Another important category of cultural analysis is how time is conceived and used in organizations. This is because time management imposes a social order and conveys status and intent and is the key to coordination, planning and organization, but is often taken-for-granted. Assumptions about the meaning and use of space are also important because as indicated by Van Maanen (1979) space has physical, social and symbolic meanings. Leaders unconsciously pass on their assumptions about time and space in the ways they manage their decision making. Schein (2010, p. 142) posits “How we define reality, time, and space becomes deeply embedded and fundamentally necessary to avoid uncertainty and anxiety.

Every culture has shared assumptions about human nature and the kinds of behaviours that are acceptable and desirable or undesirable. In the Western world these assumptions may be related to religion that dominates that cultural group. There has been an evolution of assumptions about human nature - rational economic actors, social animals with primarily social needs, problem solvers and self-actualisers with primary needs to challenge and to use their talents, complex and malleable (Schein, 2010, p. 144).
2.5 Leaders & leadership

Several times already the roles of the leader and leadership have been mentioned in this review of the components of organizational culture. It is no surprise, therefore, that Schein (2010, p.3) claims leadership is a fundamental part of organizational culture and that “culture is created, embedded, evolved, and ultimately manipulated by leaders.” His statement is based on many years of academic research and case study analysis of numerous major corporations which include, Alcoa, AMOCO, Apple, British Petroleum, Ciba-Geigy, Exxon, General Foods, to name just a few. What, however, is leadership? In the immense amount of academic literature on leadership, there is a whole range of different definitions and concepts. As Yukl (2010, p. 20) points out “leadership has been defined in terms of traits, behaviour, influence, interaction patterns, role relationships, and as occupation of an administrative position.” Peters and Austin (1985, pp. 5-6), for instance said, “leadership means, vision, cheerleading, enthusiasm, love, trust, verve, passion, obsession, consistency, creating heroes at all levels, coaching and numerous other things.” This is an acknowledgment there are many complexities in leadership. In addition, unlike management, leadership has the added dimension of dealing effectively with change – setting a direction, aligning people and motivating and inspiring them (Kotter, 2001). Alvesson and Sveningsson (2003) make the point that because leadership has so many meanings to people, some theorists question whether it is even useful as a scientific construct.

A key focus of this research is on the importance of leadership to organizational culture, which is a factor endorsed by numerous scholars on the subject including (Bennis & Nanus, 1985; Bass, 1985; Stogdill, 1974; Conger & Kanungo, 1988; Kouses & Posner, 1987; Greenleaf, 1973; Yukl, 2010; Schein, 1985, 1988, 2010; Deal & Kennedy, 1982) and many more. The importance of the influence of leadership on organizational culture is the reason for the interviewees in the research being restricted to All Black leaders.

As a result of over 25 years of research Denison created a model that is the basis for two diagnostic surveys, the organizational culture survey, and the leadership development survey. The model used in over 5000 organizations measures four critical traits of culture
and leadership (mission, adaptability, involvement and consistency). Each of these traits is broken down into a further three indices. Denison (2000) has some interesting parallels to Schein as both scholars have an in-depth knowledge of the organizational culture of the many international business organizations and major corporations in the United States and Europe they have consulted with. The views of Denison are compatible and consistent with those of Schein, as it was Schein who assessed leadership and organizational culture as being flip sides of the same coin, which Denison’s research further endorses.

An organization’s underlying philosophy, values and core assumptions are often established by the leader or based on the behaviour modelled by the leader. While there is no single “type” of organizational culture and these vary widely from one organization to the next, commonalities do exist, and some researchers have developed models to describe different leadership styles within organizational cultures. O’Reilly, Chatman and Caldwell (1991) developed a model based on the belief that cultures can be distinguished by values that are reinforced (by leaders) within organizations. The model was called an Organizational Profile Model (OPM), which was a self-reporting tool that made distinctions according to seven categories - Innovation, Stability, Respect for People, Outcome Orientation, Attention to Detail, Team Orientation, and Aggressiveness.

2.5.1 Leadership theories
An analysis was made of all major leadership styles, models and theories. “Great Man” theory (Carlyle, 1888) assumes the capacity for leadership is inherent and Trait theory (Stogdill, 1974) assumes people inherit certain qualities and traits that make them better suited to leadership than others. Behavioural theory (Lewin et al., 1939) is based upon the belief that great leaders are made, not born. According to this theory, people can learn to become leaders through teaching and observation. Participative leadership theory (Anthony, 1978; Cooper & Wood, 1974; Strauss, 1963; Vroom & Yetton, 1973) suggests that a variety of benefits can accrue dependent on who the participants are and how much influence they have. It also suggests that the ideal leadership style is one that takes the input of others into account.
Contingency theory (Fiedler, 1967) and Situational theory (Hersey & Blanchard, 1988; House, 1971) focused on particular variables related to the environment that might determine which style of leadership is best suited for the situation. According to these theories, no leadership style is best in all situations. Success depends upon a number of variables, including the leadership style, qualities of the followers and aspects of the situation.

Transactional leadership theory (Rosener, 1990), involving a system of rewards and punishments, is commonly used in business situations. Transformational theory (Bass, 1998), also known as relationship theory, focuses on the connections formed between leaders and followers and is also related to business situations. Leaders motivate and inspire people by helping group members see the importance of the task. These leaders are focused on the performance of group members, but also want each person to fulfil his or her potential. Leaders with this style often have high ethical and moral standards (Bass & Avolio, 1994) and are often associated with charismatic leadership.

"Charismatic leaders are visionaries who challenge people to perform above and beyond what’s expected of them – to pursue organizational goals over self-interests" (Kinicki & Williams, 2003, p.469). According to Conger and Kanunga (1998) the charismatic leaders gather followers through dint of personality and charm, rather than any form of external power or authority. Trust is engendered through a visible self-sacrifice and the taking of personal risks in the name of their beliefs. Sometimes leader popularity causes team members to stifle their own beliefs and values which may be in conflict with those of the leader. In these circumstances 'group think' may occur, even when they sense that maybe the direction they are heading is wrong (Conger & Kanunga, 2000).

A follower centred approach to leadership emphasizes a Collaborative Leadership perspective, advocated by Kanter (1983) and Chrislip and Larson (1974), which describes an emerging body of theory and management practice, focused on the leadership skills and attributes needed to deliver results across organizational boundaries, where critical business relationships that cannot be controlled by formal systems require a dense web of
interpersonal connections. Examples of collaborative leadership perspectives include collective leadership or distributive leadership as systems and processes that involve multiple people working together to make leadership happen, leading laterally across boundaries or in non-authority contexts, utilizing relationships as the key aspect of producing leadership (Chirichello, 2001). In their book “Collaborative Leadership,” Chrislip and Larson (1994) suggest that collaborative leadership shares several key ideas with other leadership theories and models, including: Burns’ (1978) transformational leadership, Greenleaf’s (1977) servant leadership, Kotter’s (1990) leadership as process, and Kouzes and Posner’s (1987) leadership practices.

One of the major controversies over leadership is whether it should be viewed as a specialized role or as a shared influence process. Collective leadership is still an emerging field, so there is not one common definition. It is about embracing and marshalling human, cultural, and technological resources in ways that enable the members of a group, motivated by a common purpose, to build relationships with each other that are genuinely respectful enough to allow them to co-construct their shared purpose and work (Chirichello, 2003; 2008).

The changing demands of globalization, the knowledge economy and information technology are some of the factors that have changed the nature of leadership required for success. It has moved beyond the mainstream view of leadership, that is, beyond a leader-centric approach that focused on how the characteristics or behaviours of leaders impact on the attitudes, behaviours, and performance of followers. As a consequence research has been conducted on the Servant Leader model developed by Greenleaf (1970).

Much of modern management theory on leadership seems to have evolved a lot like Greenleaf’s original work on Servant Leadership (1977). Spears (2005) identified ten characteristics that he considered to be of vital importance in a Servant Leader. In examining these characteristics one is struck with a sense of familiarity; as these characteristics, or ones very similar to them, seem to be included in most of the management books that have been written on leadership. These characteristics included the ability to listen, to heal, to
persuade, to have vision, be committed to the growth of people, to be able to empathize, to be aware, and to be able to conceptualise. This demonstrates the influence Servant Leadership theories had on management thinking over the last few decades.

Servant leadership is defined by the care taken by the servant -- first to make sure that other people’s highest priority needs are being served. The best test, and difficult to administer, is: do those served grow as persons; do they, while being served, become healthier, wiser, freer, more autonomous, more likely themselves to become servants? (Greenleaf 1977, p. 13-14).

2.5.3 Collective leadership groups

The creation of a collective leadership in which members play distinct but tightly-knit and complementary roles is a critical factor in achieving substantive change in many organizations. Chirichello (2008) defines collective leadership as about creating a culture in which followers become leaders and leaders know when to follow. Mutuality and synergy predominate over isolationism and individualism (Ah Nee-Benham & Cooper, 1998). Collective leadership supports a culture in which trusting relationships are valued and members of the organization experience a sense of self-empowerment. In other words, the focus is on "we" rather than "me."

Summary of leadership

In summary, whilst the term leadership has many differing definitions (Hemphill & Kuhns, 1957; Burns, 1978; Schein, 1992), most definitions according to Yukl (2008, p. 21), “reflect the assumption that involves a process whereby intentional influence is exerted over other people to guide, structure and facilitate activities and relationships in a group or organization.” There is however deep scholarly disagreement about identification of leaders and leadership processes.

One of the reasons there is so much conjecture over leadership theory is that no one definition fits all circumstances. Leadership therefore can be a process involving people, influencing what they do to achieve goals and the use of some form of power to assist in the influence process. For the purpose of this research I have looked at all forms of leadership
theory which I believed at some stage in the three eras investigated could have had some influence.

2.5.2 How leaders create organizational cultures

Schein (2010, p.3) points out that “culture is created, embedded, evolved, and ultimately manipulated by leaders.” Few if any organizations form accidently or spontaneously. It is the founders/leaders who not only choose the basic mission and the environmental context in which the organization will operate, but also usually choose the group members, thereby shaping the kind of responses the group will make to succeed (Schein, 2010). Culture beginnings and the impact of founders as leaders come from three sources, the beliefs, values, and assumptions of the leaders, the learning experiences of the group members as their organization evolves and any new beliefs and assumptions introduced by new members or new leaders. Whilst new beliefs, values, and assumptions are brought in by new members, the impact of the leader often described as the visionary or charismatic leader (Bennis & Nanus, 1985; Conger & Kanungo, 1998, 2000; Jacobsen & House, 2001) can be profound. The negatives, as mentioned earlier are due to the potential of creating a personality cult where leaders get caught up with their own ego and needs, causing team members to stifle their own beliefs and values, which may be in conflict with those of the leader and create 'group think'. In addition, they may focus on the leader to help them succeed rather than building the systems and self-fortitude to think and act independently.

The All Blacks as a high performance sports team exemplify the fact that successful organizations do not form spontaneously or by accident. The process of culture formation in business normally starts with creating a small group, where the leader with the ideas, brings in one or more people and creates a core group. They share a vision and believe in the risk. Others are brought in and a history is begun. Since their inception in 1903 there have been many different leaders who have become part of the All Black legacy or heritage, some of whom are the interviewees in this research. There are values and beliefs that are considered worth preserving to maintain a legacy. Inevitably macro environmental changes and different leadership will change aspects of the culture of the organization provided there is a
consensus of the individuals involved. In this way the successes of the past can be maintained. Culture once formed and embedded as shared assumptions in an organization, as Schein (2010, p. 32-33) points out “becomes a stabilising factor where it defines the character and identity of the group and can function as a cognitive defence mechanism both for the individual members and the group as a whole.”

2.6 Chapter summary

The literature review has been organized and structured to meet the aim of the research to evaluate the winning ethos and organizational culture of the All Blacks between 1950 – 2010. The review begins with a section on the history of the All Blacks and the development of their organizational culture which emphasized the historical legacy of winning excellence associated with the All Blacks. The next sections define organizational culture using Schein’s (2010) three level model as the framework for the research of artefacts and creations (symbols, rites, rituals and stories), values (including beliefs and attitudes) and core assumptions. Leadership and leaders are covered in the next section addressing what their relationship is with organizational culture. How leaders create culture is covered as are details on leadership perspectives such as servant and collective leadership.

Each of these sections provides important detail on what has been done academically in the field of organizational culture, and enables the identification of the gaps in knowledge which are in the area of learning culture and learning leadership in organizational cultures which is required to cope with an increasingly complex fast paced world that is more culturally diverse, and one that needs to cope with globalisation, technologically driven enterprises, the information age, and many other factors. The All Blacks, as an internationally successful sport’s team, have similarities to business organizations, but provide as a high performance unit involved in sport a unique opportunity to ascertain the reasons for their successful culture. It is hoped that the information gained will then be transferable into other sporting organizations.
Sir Fred Allen (All Black coach)
CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

The true worth of a researcher lies in pursuing what he did not seek in his experiment as well as what he sought (Claude Bernard 1813 – 1878)

3.0 Research design

This chapter provides background and justification for the philosophical assumptions of a qualitative approach to the research, the use of phenomenology as a methodology and semi-structured in-depth expert interviews as the main method to be used for data collection.

The research process can be summarized as follows:

- Epistemology: Subjectivism
  - Theoretical perspective: Interpretivism
  - Research approach: Inductive
- Research methodology: Phenomenology
  - Case study method
  - Time frame: Cross sectional
- Data collection method: Semi structured in-depth interviews from experts in their field (Gray, 2009)

This study involves research, which was only begun after considerable thought and time had been spent focusing on the subject taken from the “real world” in which the researcher had a passionate interest. Careful consideration was given to all the possible steps required in the research and the objectives to be achieved. The research design is a result of these deliberations which are explained and justified as follows:

3.0.1 Epistemology & subjectivism

Epistemology is defined as a branch of philosophy that considers the criteria for determining what constitutes valid knowledge. Quantitative research emanates from the viewpoint which holds that reality comes from an objectivist position; therefore reality exists independently of
the researcher. By contrast, qualitative research is more closely linked to the constructivist or interpretivist paradigms, which see truth and reality as constructed and interpreted by individuals (Gray, 2009). Subjectivism is an epistemological theory. It is a theory of knowledge, and how it is achieved. Subjectivism holds that knowledge is generated from the mind, without reference to reality. It holds that gaining knowledge about the world is done through introspection (Gray, 2009).

Qualitative methods are committed to understanding subjectivity. Researchers assume that an “appreciation of subjective reality enables a comprehension of human behaviour in greater depth than is possible from the study of objective and quantifiable variables alone” (Neimeyer & Resnikoff, 1982, p. 75). Qualitative researchers believe that multiple realities exist and different individuals interpret the realities in different ways depending on the researcher's perspectives (Crotty, 1998; Newman & Benz, 1998; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2005; Sarantakos, 1997).

Qualitative research is not solely about the perceptions or the subjective understanding of reality of the researcher. All interviewees have their own perceptions and understandings of reality, based on their experiential or social learning, which may be the same or differ greatly from those of the interviewer. These perceptions and understandings of reality then add a rich vein of data to the research. Whilst the researcher’s perceptions of reality may be evident in the framework of the interviews, it should not influence how the interviewees perceive reality. In analysing what they say and deciding what to pay attention to, and what to ignore, their reality is influenced by the interviewer’s reality, because that is based on their own individual perceptions and understandings. In the interviews it is not a question of putting aside the interviewees own preconceptions, it is all about truthfully expressing their own understanding of reality.

Theoretical perspective & interpretivism

Crotty (1998, p. 67) states that, “Interpretivism looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life world.” The reason why interpretivism is important is because firstly the phenomenological paradigm posits that the world is socially constructed...
and subjective, and therefore the researcher must focus on meanings and understand what is happening and what has happened. For these reasons and the fact that qualitative research methodology has an aim of theory building (Newman & Benz, 1998), and is non-deterministic and has no cause-effect linkages (Sarantakos, 1997), it was decided this met the design requirements of the research. The researcher and objects of study are viewed as dependent of one another. This means that the researcher interacts with those being interviewed by actively being involved in the data collection (Sarantakos, 1997),

3.0.2 Research methodology & phenomenology

Phenomenology has been chosen as the research methodology because it is a theoretical perspective that uses relatively unstructured methods of data collection. According to Gray (2009) it emphasizes inductive logic, seeks the opinions and subjective dialogue and interpretations of the interviewees, and relies on the qualitative analysis of data. It was chosen because it is not concerned so much with generalizations to larger populations but more with contextual descriptions and analysis. There is a belief held by phenomenologists that the relationship between perception and objects is not a passive one; through our consciousness we actively construct the world as well as perceiving it. It has been argued that social reality has a specific meaning and relevance for people who are living, thinking and experiencing it. Kerlinger and Lee (2000, p.9) define a theory as “A set of interrelated constructs (concepts), definitions and propositions that present a systematic view of a phenomena by specifying relations among variables, with the purpose of explaining and predicting phenomena.” The phenomenon of All Black organizational culture is the focus of the study and how it has changed through adaptation to its external environment.

Phenomenological analysis seeks “to grasp and elucidate the meaning, structure, and essence of the lived experience of a phenomenon” (Patton, 2002, p. 482). In the phenomenological paradigm the primary focus is on understanding the meanings of human experience of particular relevance to the context. The researcher is required to set aside, as much as is possible, their own preconceptions or biases, particularly with my past involvement in rugby, in order to become immersed in the interviewee's reported experience.
The qualitative research interview is the major data-gathering procedure used in phenomenological research. It differs from the survey interview in its epistemological assumptions. In the quantitative paradigm the survey interview is regarded as a “behavioural event rather than a linguistic event” (Mishler, 1986, p. 10). Phenomenology regards “the primary and distinctive characteristics of an interview as discourse - as meaningful speech between interviewer and interviewee as speakers of a shared language” (Mishler, 1986, pp. 10-11), in this case rugby.

**Case study method**

Case studies are strongly associated with qualitative research because they allow for the generation of multiple perspectives either through multiple data collection methods or, as in this case, through the use of a single method (Bassey, 2003; Stake, 2008). The case study method was chosen because it allows for the integration and contrasting of different perspectives which can give a detailed understanding of a context (Andrew, Pedersen & McEvoy, 2011; Gray, 2009). It also enhances the richness of the data (Collis & Hussey, 1997; Yin, 2009), hence its suitability for examining the All Blacks’ organizational culture through interviews with selected captains and coaches. The case study allowed the researcher to gain an in-depth understanding of the issues of interest, and to explore meaning from a number of angles and across different contexts (Merriam, 1998). The use of qualitative data analysis in this case study aimed to communicate understanding from the different interview responses (Stake, 2008). The nature of qualitative and case study research seeks to form a unique interpretation of events rather than produce generalizations, but it is expected that the analysis of their interpretations could be related to, compared to and contrasted with other high performance groups in both business and team sports.

In this case, the research uses a typology of three different eras in order to freeze All Black culture into three distinct snapshots of its history. Whilst there was some debate over whether this would be a longitudinal or a cross sectional case study, a cross sectional approach allowed a “snapshot” from three distinct eras in time. Schein (cited in Ashkanasy et al, 2000, p. xxiv) further states that,
Although it is undeniably true that we produce culture through perpetual enactment and sense making, it is equally true that the actors in those same social events bring to them some prior meanings, stereotypes and expectations that can be understood only in a historical context… culture production in the enactment sense, then is either the perpetuation or change in some prior state, which can be thought of as culture up to that point.

In other words, culture can be described as if it were a “state” of the existing system – even when one knows the system is dynamic and perpetually evolving. This means the direction of that evolution will be a product of several forces:

- Technological and physical changes in the external environment
- Changes in the internal dynamics of the social system, and
- Historical circumstances that can be fortuitous or serendipitous.

The cross sectional case study approach helps delineate each historical event of importance and the impact those events have on the All Black organizational culture within each era. It also makes it easier to identify the forces for change and the reasons why culture is maintained or changed.

Schein (cited in Ashkanasy et al, 2000, p. xxv) also states, “When we have access to historical data we should use it.” When we analyse organizational cultures we should reconstruct their histories, find out about their founders and early leaders, look for critical defining events in their evolution as organizations, and be confident that when we have done this we can indeed describe sets of shared assumptions. What we see at artefact level is biased by the perceptual and conceptual filters we bring to the situation because “a person’s interpretations will inevitably be projections of his or her own feelings and reactions (Schein, 2010, p. 25).

A further reason for choosing in-depth interviews as the method for collecting qualitative data was Ashkenazy’s (2000) objection to the use of questionnaires as in his view they force the researchers to cast their theoretical nets too narrowly – even researchers
using the 500 plus item personality scales such as MMPI (Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory). Questionnaires draw their initial dimensions from narrow socio-psychological theories and ignore broader anthropological models. The advantage of an ethnographic or clinical research method is the researcher can consciously train themselves to maximize staying open to new experiences and concepts (Schein, cited in Ashkanasy et al, 2000).

3.0.3 Data collection methods & semi structured in-depth interviews

The semi-structured interview was considered ideal for this type of subjective study, because it allowed for a probing of meanings interviewees ascribed to certain events and allowed for the expansion and clarification of responses in order to understand their opinions and beliefs (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe & Jackson, 2008). To minimize potential bias, as interviewer I tried to adhere to the framework of questions with an absolute minimum of deviation, keeping to the same sequential order of questions. The interviews were all relaxed and focused. Secondary data used in the analysis of All Black culture during these eras has been resourced from Academic Journals and textbooks, NZRU archive materials, the rugby books of the coaches and captains interviewed, and historical books on New Zealand. The primary data was obtained through the use of twenty semi-structured, in-depth expert interviews with past and present All Black captains and coaches. It should be noted that some interviewees covered more than one era due to their captain and/or coaching roles. Hence, a total of twenty-five interviews are noted in the findings sections of Chapters Four to Six (18 captains and 7 coaches).

The phenomenological approach of this research enabled the interviewee to ascribe a meaning to the phenomenon on which they were commenting. Some of these meanings may have hitherto been part of their implicit or tacit knowledge. It was the potential source of very rich veins of data that influenced the decision to use in depth semi-structured interviews. A list of potential interviewees covering the three eras of the historical typology was drawn up and an initial selection made to ensure all the interviewees were captains or coaches of the All Blacks in their respective eras and attempts were made to ensure ethnic diversity where possible.
The interviewees were contacted by telephone and then by letter (Refer Appendix G). On acceptance they were asked to sign a consent form from Massey University (Refer Appendix G). Suitable dates and times were then arranged by telephone or email. The interviews were conducted primarily at the homes or workplace of the captains and coaches throughout the North and South Islands of New Zealand. The interviewees were advised of their right to terminate and withdraw from the interview at any stage, the right not to answer any question they did not want to answer, and the right to ask for the tape to be stopped at any point.

**Researcher involvement**

The research is influenced to a great extent by the values of the researcher, in which he admits the nature of the study and actively reports his biases, as well as the subjective information gathered from the field (Creswell, 1994; Sarantakos, 1997). Qualitative authors construct a language distinct from the traditional positivist paradigm in order to stress the qualitative paradigm within which they work. Such words, for example are ‘understanding’, ‘discover’, and ‘meaning’. The language is personal, informal, and based on explanations that evolve during the study (Creswell, 1994).

Qualitative researchers use inductive logic, in which information is gathered from the respondents, rather than identified as a priori. The information gathered then leads to a pattern of theories which could describe a phenomenon (Cresswell, 1994). In addition, they use less structured techniques of data collection and analysis and they focus more on discovery and exploration rather than on hypothesis testing (Sarantakos, 1997). Qualitative paradigms have as their major premise the assumption that people create individual meaning structures, which determine and explain their behaviour. The main focus of a researcher, therefore, should be one of understanding or illuminating those meanings (Giorgi, 1994, 1997; Hoshmand, 1989, 1998; Kvale, 1994; Neimeyer & Resnikoff, 1982). Results from the interviews are obtained by the researcher having an open mind, and avoiding preconceptions, biases and prejudgements. This results in the interviewee speaking freely and honestly.
**Inductive research approach**

The inductive process allows for the collection of data and analysis to suggest relationships between variables, and allows for the establishment of facts on which theories or concepts can later be built. One moves from specifics to generalizations. In this research access to All Black captains and coaches supported an inductive approach. This does not set out to corroborate or falsify a theory, but through a process of gathering data it attempts to establish patterns, their consistencies and meanings (Gray, 2009).

**3.1 Schein & culture**

The research methodology used in this research has been influenced by the views of Schein (1985), who believes a difficulty in conceptualizing “culture” is whether we should think of culture as a “state” or static property of a given group or organization, or a human process of constructing shared meaning that goes on all the time. The problem can be exacerbated because from Schein’s perspective both meanings have utility. He suggests that to resolve the issue we should take a cue from Sahlins (1985) who argued that one cannot really understand certain social phenomena without understanding both the historical events and the cultural meanings attributed by the actors to those events. By reconstructing histories we can find out about early leaders, and look for critical defining events in their evolution as organizations thus establishing what the shared assumptions and common experiences both successful and unsuccessful have been. Culture as a state does not necessarily imply it is devoid of conflict, and as a human process of constructing shared meaning it may likewise be harmonious or have levels of conflict and ambiguity.

Schein (1988) also states that it becomes a matter of choice whether one elects to focus research on building typologies of cultural states – categories that freeze a given organization at a given point in time – or analysing the moment-to-moment interactions in which members of a given social system attempt to make sense of their experience and in the process, reinforce and evolve cultural elements. Both are valid methodologies, however, because of the nature of this research I have essentially based it on culture as a state, in that I have used three specific eras with their respective historical features.
According to Schein (cited in Ashkanasy, 2000, p. xxvii) an ideal research design would measure the present and desired norms and then check on the underlying assumptions (through interviews that get at those core assumptions). This research has a focus on analysing the culture of the All Blacks over the typology of three distinctive eras.

It is acknowledged that there are critics of Schein's model, like Van Maanen and Barley (1985) who dispute the Schein assumption of an organizational culture as a unitary or integrated entity. They envisaged small cultures (i.e. the subcultures), each a consistent, consensual, stable or whole, existing within the same organization. They defined a subculture as “a subset of an organization’s members who interact regularly with one another, identify themselves as a distinct group within the organization, share a set of problems commonly defined to be the problems of all, and routinely take action on the basis of collective understandings unique to the groups.” Raz (2006) criticised Schein’s model on two counts, firstly that it is hard to define when some kind of professed culture becomes a tacit assumption and, secondly, the term organizational attributes is too vague and general. These criticisms were taken into consideration in the planning of this research as was the three perspectives model of Martin (1992). These were the integrated perspective, where an organization has one single, unified and consistent culture; the differentiated perspective, where an organization has sub-groups with significantly different cultures, and the fragmented perspective where organizations are full of ambiguity and may have a co-existing counter characteristic culture at the same time. Martin’s (1992) use of the three perspectives has similarities to (Van Maanen & Barley, 1985) views about subcultures.

In a collection of work from each of these three perspectives, Frost, Moore, Louis, Lundberg and Martin (1985) argued that for a complete understanding of any culture, it was probably useful to consider all three perspectives. The integrated perspective would identify all that was common across the organization, the differentiated perspective would identify those groupings that operated as subcultures within the wider whole, and the fragmented perspective would make clear any ambiguities and contradictions.
Before finalizing the methods and methodologies used in the research, a review was undertaken of culture typologies and surveys to ensure that the chosen method suited the project best, while recognizing that my own cultural upbringing had taught me to make sense through conceptual categories embedded in the English language.

The use of surveys to determine organizational culture was discarded because it was recognized that culture is a shared phenomenon that only manifests itself by interaction, so whatever dimensions of the culture are measured by the survey they are bound to be superficial (Schein, 2010). Most surveys, in spite of careful sampling and testing against the total demographics, tried to describe the whole based on the sample. This would not work in the study of culture because the driving forces could be the executive subculture or leaders individually, and is one of the reasons for the focus on interviewing captains and coaches only in this research. This further highlights the importance of the cultural perspectives postulated by Martin (1992) who stated that culture as a state does not have to imply unanimity or an absence of conflict. She believed there could be some very strongly shared assumptions but also areas of conflict and ambiguity. Furthermore Martin and Frost (1996) remind scholars that part of the reason for the drive behind organizational culture has been dissatisfaction with structured and particularly quantitative analysis.

These were further scholastic views that influenced my decision to conduct a qualitative study based on in-depth interviews as the source of the data. This lead to a decision of building a typology of the cultural state of the All Blacks that froze their organization into three time periods, and in effect produced a snapshot of each era. This would provide me, as researcher, with the opportunity to analyse the aspirations and interactions of the respective leaders of the organization, their values, beliefs and core assumptions and how these may have changed through macro environmental forces over three distinctive time periods in All Black history.
3.2 Data analysis

The interview data (approximately 1-2 hours each tape) was transcribed and sent back to the participants to be member-checked (Stake, 2008). When this had been done the full transcripts were collated for analysis. The tapes have all been kept secure. Permission was also obtained from the NZRU to conduct the interviews (Appendix H), as some captains and coaches were contracted to them. A list of interview questions is provided in Appendix I.

Originally it was proposed to use NVivo the electronic form for qualitative data analysis but, after considerable investigation, it was decided to use the more painstaking system of manual data analysis, which rather than focusing on just superficial themes, was more in depth and used stories to reflect the core assumptions. Each interview conducted was broken down into subject headings and the key points were then recorded under that subject heading. This gave the data collection and analysis the rigour it needed, despite it being more time consuming. The systematic use of a master file for each interviewee, and then a series of individual subject matter files, enabled the researcher to effectively identify areas of agreement and contrast or divergence from the rich vein of data available in the interviews. It was these stories and narratives that provided an insight into the true culture of the All Blacks.

The data from the semi-structured interviews and case studies was therefore analysed according to Huberman’s (1994) well-established principles of qualitative data analysis. These are data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification. The credibility and dependability of the research was enhanced by triangulating the data (Stake, 2008; Yin, 2009) involving relevant documentation, the data collected from the interviews of the selected experts (captains and coaches), and the researcher with his previous extensive experience and involvement in New Zealand rugby. Where applicable, reporting of the descriptive verbatim responses occurred to convey the holistic understanding and meaning of the phenomena under study (Merriam, 1998).
3.2.1 Credibility, dependability & transferability

Phenomenological interview data is frequently retrospective data; an event is remembered or recalled in answer to the interviewer’s prompt. Brewin, Andrews and Gotlib (1993) state that the accuracy or bias of retrospective data is often treated with suspicion by both clinicians and researchers. This is especially so if the memories are of a negative environment. In reviewing the accuracy of retrospective reports Brewin et al. (1993) concluded that the central features of events are generally remembered well.

Kvale (1983; 1986, 1994; 1999) has written extensively on research interviews and has argued that what appear to be methodological weaknesses when viewed from a quantitative, objectivist’s standpoint can be considered strengths from the qualitative subjectivist point of view. The requirement of standardised objectivity yields to the aim of individual sensitivity and in a focused interview leading the interviewee towards themes in their experiences that enable the interviewee to express specific meanings about these themes or experiences.

The concept of content validity is generally more difficult to apply to phenomenological data. Content validity is generally understood to mean the extent to which the data collected actually represents the behaviour being investigated. In a phenomenological approach the understanding of the meaning of the variables being investigated actually emerges during the course of the analysis, in ways which may depend subjectively on the particular meanings which appear to the researcher to emerge from the interview data. The validity of such a determination will depend on the context. Interviewees may come to change their ideas during the process of reflecting on and explaining what they mean (Gray, 2009).

Validity is the idea that the research closely captures the real world. There is no real world other than one constructed through discourse. Although the term reliability is a concept used for testing quantitative research, the idea is commonly used in all kinds of research. In the broadest sense reliability and validity in qualitative research addresses issues about the quality of data and the appropriateness of the methods used in carrying out the research.
According to Eisner (1991, p. 58), a good qualitative study can help us “understand a situation that would otherwise be enigmatic or confusing.” Whilst Stenbacka (2001) expresses the view that if the reliability concept is discussed as a criteria for qualitative research, the consequence is that the study is of poor quality. Patton (2002) conversely states that validity and reliability are two factors about which any qualitative researcher should be concerned while designing a study, analysing results and judging its quality.

Credibility, dependability and applicability or transferability are the essential criteria for attaining quality according to Lincoln and Guba (1985). Seale (1999) endorses the concept of dependability, consistency and reliability in qualitative research. The consistency of data is achieved when the steps of the research are verified through examination of such items as raw data, data reduction and process notes (Campbell, 1996).

Credibility, dependability, confirmability or transferability are the essential criteria for attaining quality according to Lincoln and Guba (1985). They described the term credibility as a match between respondents’ views and the interpretations or explanation produced by the researchers. Transferability refers to the generalizability of the study, and in a qualitative study, it concerns only case-to-case transfer (Tobin & Begley, 2005). Stability of the data over time or how the researchers adapt to changes in the studied environment is the main description of the term dependability (Hamberg, Johansson, Lindgren & Westman, 1994). Finally, confirmability focuses on the need to show that the findings are derived from the data, and not from the researcher’s imagination (Crawford, Leybourne & Arnott, 2000).

Tobin and Begley (2005), refer to rigour as a means of demonstrating the legitimacy of the research process, or the way by which the researcher demonstrates the integrity and competence of the study. Other scholars (Arminio & Hultgren, 2002; Flick, 2006; Morse & Richards, 2002), believed that rigour could be ensured if a researcher takes into consideration the whole process of conducting research, from its design stage, actual conduct of the study, and on completion of the project. For example, Morse and Richards (2002) recommended that in the design phase, a researcher must be fully knowledgeable in the qualitative approach before embarking on a research project. In addition, the researcher
must conduct a proper review of the literature to grasp what is already known and to find gaps in current knowledge.

The literature review has been utilized as a general guide in conducting the research with no expectation on the part of the researcher that it would be reflected exactly in the fieldwork. Thinking qualitatively and working inductively are the third aspect in the design phase. This requires the researcher to constantly challenge the assumptions and the obvious, so that the hidden, the implicit and the taken for granted will be unearthed and demonstrated. As described by Denscombe (2003), the researcher should be reflexive by viewing the relationship with the social world not as an objective form, but aware that meanings are shaped by the researcher’s experience as a social being. Lastly, the researcher needs to identify the most appropriate method to answer the research questions for it will ensure rigour in the study.

I have endeavoured to follow the suggestions by Morse and Richards (2002) to ensure rigour during the actual conduct of the study. They recommended that a researcher stop using strategies that are not producing good and useful data. Semi-structured in-depth interviews have been used for this research, based on a structured process for collecting and distilling knowledge from a group of experts (All Black captains and coaches) by means of a series of questions designed to cover the key aspects of the All Black culture and leadership during the three eras.

3.3 Limitations

One of the problems affecting the completion of this research project was the need to do it part-time, as and when time permitted. This was frustrating and created a need to overcome the limitation of possible fragmentation. As Merriam (1998) points out the choice of case study method presents possible limitations of lack of time and funding in developing the rich description required in qualitative research. To overcome the limitations in funding I grouped the interviews in such a way as to cover as many interviewees as I could on each visit to Auckland, Wellington and the South Island as was possible. The time constraints were approached as pragmatically as possible with the commitment to work whenever possible.
From an epistemological and theoretical perspective interpretivism was chosen because “it looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world” (Crotty, 1998, p.67). The phenomenology paradigm was also chosen because it recognizes that the world is socially constructed and subjective, and that any attempt to understand social reality has to be grounded in people’s experiences of that reality (Gray, 2009). Hence phenomenology is an exploration through the use of personal experience of the prevailing cultural experience. Value is ascribed to both the interpretations of the researcher and the subjects of the research itself. Thus subjectivity can be both a strength and a limitation. For instance, the researcher’s 60 years of involvement in rugby provides a knowledge base on the subject, but does not necessarily overcome the limitation of bias. In this case study the researcher is the primary instrument of data collection which creates issues of subjectivity and problems of bias. The research is influenced to a great extent by the values of the researcher, in which the researcher admits the value-laden nature of the study, actively reports and reflects on his values and biases, discusses interpretations with supervisors, and acknowledges the value nature of information gathered from the field (Creswell, 1994).

Another potential limitation of phenomenological research when compared to other methodologies is the comparatively small number of participants used in the sample. In this case twenty participants, former or recent All Black captains or coaches, have been used, but it could be argued this is not a limitation because they are all considered experts in the field of rugby. They were also chosen because there was a good cross section of ethnicity and age, with all groups represented. Therefore, to accommodate the need for in-depth semi-structured interviews with the interviewees spread throughout New Zealand, this was a realistic sample number.

When compared to other forms of research, critics of qualitative research may question its limitations of reliability and validity. As argued previously, the most important test of any qualitative study is its quality and this can be attained by considered concepts such as
credibility, dependability, and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). It is my contention that the research meets these criteria.

3.4 Ethical considerations

Ethical approval for this low-risk research has been obtained from the Massey University Ethics Committee (MUEC). The Massey Research Code of Ethics has been followed, including:

- the fact that participation in the research is voluntary;
- that all responses have been treated as confidential;
- the results will be published in such a way as to maintain confidentiality;
- that all aspects of the Privacy Act 1993 have been observed and followed;
- that participants had the right to withdraw their participation at any time; and,
- the participants are entitled to receive a copy of the summary results.

All people involved in the research as participants in the case studies and in-depth interviews have had the purpose of the research explained thoroughly to them.

The key ethical considerations related to confidentiality and the anonymity of the participants. The research study deals with information gathered from prominent New Zealand rugby personalities (i.e. former All Black captains and All Black coaches over three eras). Whilst there is no known area of controversy, approval was also sought and granted by the NZRU in relation to the recent All Blacks players and coaches, to ensure there was no conflict where the participants are under contract to the NZRU. The data collected through the interviews was analysed by subject or the themes as associated with the particular era, rather than as discrete cases. By doing so their meanings are collectively represented in the analysis, rather than individually represented.

3.5 Chapter summary

The research design and rationale was implemented because it was regarded as the most suitable for the research objective, which was to evaluate the winning ethos and organizational culture of the All Blacks between 1950 and 2010. The paradigm was chosen
because the All Blacks are a phenomenon and analysis seeks “to grasp and elucidate the meaning, structure, and essence of the lived experience of a phenomenon” (Patton, 2002, p. 482). The case study method was accepted as the most appropriate because it is a method used in qualitative research to investigate different phenomena within their real contexts (Andrew et al., 2011; Yin, 2009). The research is qualitative because methods are committed to understanding subjectivity and have an aim of theory building. Semi-structured in-depth interviews have been used for this research, based on a structured process for collecting and distilling knowledge. The interviewees are All Black captains and coaches who can be considered experts in their field of rugby during the three defined eras. Finally the chapter covers the limitations of the research and the ethical considerations taken before approval to proceed was obtained from Massey University.

Seven Provincial Captains (All Blacks 1966)
When amateurism was mercifully put to sleep, few in the New Zealand rugby community spared it a thought beyond good riddance… Rugby in the first flush of professionalism is a little like a lottery winner coming to the painful realisation that being an instant millionaire isn’t all it’s cracked up to be (Paul Thomas, 2003, p.9).

4.0 Background to the era - culture

Falcous (2007) described the New Zealand of the post war period, the 1950-1969 era particularly, as a paragon of British values, purified by the challenges of geographical isolation, hardship and rurality and with an absence of class difference, affluent, affable, sociable with untroubled race relations. The deprivation and hardship of World War II had cemented awareness that New Zealand was a geographically isolated part of the Pacific and, together with Australians, New Zealanders realized their future security depended on their cooperation with the United States. The ‘Cold War’ alliances of the period saw New Zealand involved firstly in Malaysia and then in the Korean War. With New Zealand’s population reaching two million, the country entered a period of prosperity on the back of wool prices and primary exports to the British Isles (Wikipedia, 2012).

Socially and culturally New Zealand in the 1950s was a conservative traditional society, where the work ethic was ingrained and the middle class European New Zealand population aspired to job security, owning their own home and a car and perhaps a trip overseas (Johnson, 1977). In many ways there was some accuracy in Mitchell’s (1974) description of New Zealand as the Half Gallon, Quarter Acre, Pavlova Paradise. Whilst his book was written in the 1970s, it related specifically to the 1950-1969 era as the sports of rugby and racing dominated the weekly entertainment scene and the values of courage, endurance, loyalty, cooperation and patriotism were all part of the colonial legacy (King, 2003).
However, the seeds of discontent and the desire for change were sown in this era by world events along with domestic realisations of social inequality. This was the beginning of an age of anti-authoritarianism and minority rights protest. There was a desire for social equity and the potential solution to grievances - Maori rights, land and culture as well as the need to confront perceived injustices perpetrated by the New Zealand Government, in particular violations of the Treaty of Waitangi. The Polynesian Black Panther movement was also a radical organization spawned by the counter culture movement in the United States over issues like civil rights and the Vietnam War which resonated with many of the first mass university educated generation in New Zealand who were to come to positions of power in the 1970s (Rata, 2003). This was the cultural background in this era that affected attitudes towards rugby at a time when the game was strictly amateur.

4.1 Background to the era – rugby and amateurism

An understanding of amateurism, its ideals and strictures in comparing the three eras of this study, is important because amateurism is the major point of difference between the first era (1950 – 1969) and the last era (1990 – 2010). Amateurism, the system of operation for this era of rugby in New Zealand, had provided a controlling influence since the sport’s inception in the country in 1870 and had lasted until 1995 when the sport became professional on a worldwide basis.

According to Collins (2006), the earliest strictures against professionalism in rugby union, came in Yorkshire, where the MCC’s regulations on amateurism had been adopted in response to the influx of working class players to the area and their expectations of payment. These rules made it clear that a “gentleman” who found himself out of pocket could legitimately claim expenses. Because many of the clubs were either started by industrialists or well supported by them, players were often allowed to work and play on a Saturday without loss of pay. Inducements were made to players from other parts of the country to come and play for local teams, as the huge match attendances and public support for the game in Lancashire and Yorkshire resulted in larger audiences than for Internationals held in London.
Amateurism was a mirror of the social stratification of British society and the privilege of status. Working class sportsmen found it difficult to play top level sport due to the need to turn up to work. As professional teams developed, some clubs were willing to make ‘broken time’ payments to players, particularly as attendances at games increased, thus paying men to concentrate on their sport full-time became feasible. This was vehemently opposed by proponents of the amateur ideal. The Great Schism saw the establishment of the Northern League clubs. The acrimonious debate that brought the divide about was not a geographical one of North versus South but one based on class lines and differing attitudes to working class people by the administration of the game.

There were a number of ironies. Firstly that rugby, which was a game of the upper and middle classes in Britain, should be embraced by New Zealanders who had largely working class origins (Sutch, 1966; de Jong, 1993) and, secondly, its amateur principles would be accepted and adhered to. Tom Ellison was a Maori lawyer and one of the dominant figures of early New Zealand rugby. Firstly as a player in the 1888-89 New Zealand Native team, as captain of the first official New Zealand rugby team which toured New South Wales, and then as an administrator. He is attributed with creating the All Black Jersey and the Silver Fern logo amongst many other achievements. Even back in this period Ellison wrote of “the lack of realism in expecting a team and their players to embark on a long tour without adequate out-of-pocket expenses (cited in Verdon, 1999, p. 18).

An understanding of this early history and of the amateur ethos is important because it dominated the administration of rugby from 1871 until 1995, and was strictly adhered to in this era of 1950-1969. The International Rugby Board from its inception was made up of the four “Home” Unions, England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland (scarcely a truly International body). In spite of their success at international level New Zealand, South Africa and Australia had to wait, in New Zealand’s case until 1949 before gaining full membership. This staunchly Anglo-Saxon introverted body purportedly organized and ran World rugby, and so the principle of amateurism was strictly adhered to with bans and restrictions imposed on players who were paid to play. All administrators were volunteers. The New Zealand Rugby
Football Union (NZRU) represented its 26 provincial unions (later to become 27) with an elected Council in this era as it had done since its formation in 1892. The Central body had a paid staff of two or three people, whilst today in the professional era this has swelled to 82 permanent employees (NZRU, 2011).

Chris Laidlaw's (1973) criticism of rugby's amateur status, made in his book *Mud in Your Eye*, was made at a time when he had just ceased playing as an All Black and when the writing of books was considered by the game’s administrators as part of professionalism. Laidlaw’s criticisms also give an indication of an All Black player’s perception of amateurism and the game’s administration at that time. He went on to describe the New Zealand Rugby Union Council as a body:

> …which bears resemblance to the Vatican College of Cardinals whose pronouncements are equally doctrinal (p. 11).

This criticism was typical of those made by rugby players and officials of the time. Haden (1983) is equally damning in his criticism of the rugby administration of this period. The reason why both Haden and Laidlaw are cited here is because they were the first New Zealand rugby players to write books in a manner which challenged the amateur regulations, within which they criticised how rugby was lead and managed. Laidlaw was a product of the 1960s and refers specifically to that era, whilst Haden, a product of the 1970s continued the criticism. However, it was applicable to the administrative leadership of both the 1950-1969 era, and also the 1970-1989 era. Haden (1983, pp. 206-221), in a full chapter on rugby administration, regarded the NZRU as a remote obdurate, intransigent body with a status quo mentality. In his comments, which covered the various structures and processes of both the NZRU and the IRB, he was also critical of the lack of democracy, transparency and innovation.

Much of Haden’s criticism of both of the first two eras of the research was justified and is endorsed by the comments of Herald columnist and author Sir Terry Mclean cited in Chapter Five. It is contended that there were also inaccuracies over what was real and what was purely supposition; an example of which was the view that the Wellington based
executive controlled and dominated the Council – whereas in fact, the executive fulfilled an administrative role, as all decisions on any subject of consequence were made by the full Council. Adherence to the ‘Amateur Principles’ was regarded a mandatory requirement and non-negotiable.

4.2 The objective and method for this part of the study

The objective of this part of the study was to analyse the organizational culture of the All Blacks between 1950 and 1969. To achieve this objective semi structured in-depth interviews were conducted with 6 captains and 2 coaches of the era.

4.3 Findings

The findings use Schein’s three level model of artefacts, values and core assumptions to analyse the organizational culture of the All Blacks during the 1950-1969 era. In this era All Black rugby enjoyed success in a supposed national culture of ‘rugby, racing and beer’ when amateur sport prevailed and New Zealand culture was still influenced by its colonial heritage and the aftermath of World War 2. It is this cultural background which provides the basis for comparison with the following two eras analysed in Chapters Five and Six using the same model.

4.3.1 Artefacts & creations

Schein (2010) defines artefacts as including all the phenomena that you would see, hear and feel when encountering a new group. It includes all visible products of the group, its language, its technology, its leaders and leadership influence, its style as embodied in its clothing, its emotional displays, its myths and stories told about it and observable rites and rituals.

Symbols

The thrill of selection and the pride in wearing the black jersey and silver fern was a consistent factor in all eras of the research that has not diminished. For some it was the most important event in their lives, and for all interviewees it was a very important event. The following respondent’ quotes emphasise this point.
To be an All Black was every young rugby player’s dream... so to be selected was enormous... it wasn’t long before I realized how important it was to actually be a good All Black and get games... and that was probably the best learning curve for me as captain later on, knowing how it felt to be a team member... competition was intense and tradition had it that it was harder to get out of a test team than get in it.

It was a shock in some respects... so there we are... the biggest feeling on earth really.

I never envisaged being an All Black... so I just felt fortunate, saw it as a privilege and hoped above all that I could play to the level that was expected of anybody who was to wear the silver fern

**Rites & rituals**

Rites and rituals, often symbolic, are manifestations of the values and core assumptions of the organization and, through repetition, become deeply embedded in the individual’s psyche. A rite is an established ceremony or action undertaken by an organization. Similarly a ritual is a set of actions performed mainly for their symbolic value and may be done on specific occasions, or at the discretion of individuals or groups. Whilst the haka because of its symbolism is the most well-known rite of the All Blacks it was not always so. The ‘back seat of the bus’ was another ritual of real significance for many All Blacks, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

There are many different processes, activities and procedures performed in training, warm-ups, team and individual evaluations that could be deemed to be rituals, but are not necessarily indicative of cultural values. This comment is made to form a distinction between many of the management and training processes that all teams go through that could be deemed to be rituals, but because all teams do them they are different from the rites and rituals like the haka and the ‘back seat of the bus’ which were distinctive to the All Blacks only.
The haka

The haka is a traditional and historical cultural rite of the Māori people, considered the indigenous people of New Zealand. In Māori culture the haka is not exclusively a war dance or performed only by men, but is performed for various reasons - for amusement, as a hearty welcome to distinguished guests, or to acknowledge great achievements or occasions (McLean, 1996). The haka, (especially the Ka Mate haka) is now synonymous with the All Blacks today, and was first performed by the first New Zealand rugby team to tour overseas, when it played eight matches in New South Wales in 1884. The significance of the haka was limited in the period from 1905 until 1987 as it was only performed, and often badly, on tour and never in New Zealand. By the admission of European New Zealanders, it was performed with some embarrassment. The decision was made prior to the 1987 Rugby World Cup in New Zealand it would be performed before all matches and would be done properly.

The most well-known haka “Ka Mate” is attributed to Te Rauparaha, war leader of the Ngati Toa tribe, and is classified as a ceremonial haka (Pōmare, 2006). It was adopted by the All Blacks and performed by them at international matches since 1905. In accepting how important the haka has become as part of the traditions and legacy of the All Blacks, the captains of the 1950-69 era confirmed it was not always so:

The haka was a gesture really… It was almost, I wouldn’t call it comical because we did it so badly, it was a sort of add on… in those days it wasn’t a really emotional, meaningful moment that it is for players now and I think it is a bit overdone these days.

Sadly it was an extra which I could have done without… I did not understand the significance of it… I didn’t know what it meant and it wasn’t a natural thing for me to do… I still have some doubts about the haka as now it’s a showpiece - it’s a performance and I believe the All Blacks see it as a very important part of their build-up and part of their emotional output in preparing for a game… I wouldn’t say we
treated it as a joke… we didn’t because we did it and we did it as best we could – but we had no training and never ever practised it so it was badly done and really it didn’t mean a great deal to me which was sad… the haka now has gone outside the All Blacks, beyond the All Blacks as part of the wider culture of the country unquestionably I accept it now.

These comments are indicative of the reality and truth of the individual and where they become shared assumptions of the other players do so by social consensus. This shows a point of difference in the acceptance of the haka as a cultural rite of the All Blacks between the first and third eras of the research. Another captain also compared attitudes in his era to those of today:

The haka differed from today in that it was not understood like it is now…I even had to lead it on occasions overseas as there was no Māori in the team playing… It was only done on tour – not in New Zealand, and was reintroduced for the World Cup in 1987, and progressively done properly

Despite past views, this captain recognized the haka’s symbolic importance today:

There wasn’t a great deal of emphasis put on the haka in our day …now it is something that’s unique to New Zealand rugby …and I think people around the world now look forward to the haka.

Induction and the ‘back seat of the bus’

One of the rituals that developed in the 1950-60s era at least partially because there was little or no induction for players being selected to play for the All Blacks was the ‘back seat of the bus’ ritual. All Black teams playing a test match in New Zealand were forbidden to assemble together for that match more than 48 hours before it took place. Because of the absence of a proper induction, the senior players developed their own rituals to establish and reinforce their values and traditions. The following are comments from captains and coaches of the 1950 – 1969 era on both induction and the ‘back seat of the bus’. The lack of induction and management processes and functions compared to the professional era are pronounced as these interviews attest:
There was no induction - you learnt to be strong real quick… you learnt to be seen and not heard… you learnt, and I think that’s why many players over the years have only ever played one or two tests for New Zealand because they didn’t cope with the lack of communication… they didn’t cope with a whole lot of things… it was tough going… and you either sunk or swum… now, of course they have an induction ceremony when you have your first test, you get a cap - we didn’t get caps.

This tends to raise questions as to the knowledge, skill levels and competency of some of the management and coaching leadership of this period and those responsible for the selection, coaching and management of some of the All Black teams of the era. It was generally conceded a factor evident in some of the interviews that some All Black managers and some coaches lacked the man management skills of good leaders or had limited ability as coaches. Political appointments (rugby politics) did occur in this era, and the lack of a formal induction and a ‘sink or swim’ approach was alluded to by these captains:

*I had no induction whatsoever. You just got in the team and the guys said, ‘Gidday’ and ‘Congratulations’… certainly no one looked after me… you came in and you were expected to perform, full stop… it was a sort of ‘sink or swim’ approach. I got no instructions from anybody how to play the game. I wasn’t told why I was picked… later (a year later) when I got back in I never ever went into a game with the All Blacks without knowing what each one of us was going to do in scrums and lineouts, in those core positions and set plays… and we did that, we worked it out ourselves.

Whilst these comments are related to on field tactics and strategies they are also part of the value system of an All Black similar to those cited by O’Reilly et al. (1991) of stability, respect for people, outcome orientation, attention to detail, team orientation, aggressiveness and innovation. Another captain of this era commented as follows on induction:

*We never had an induction that I can recall… you were given a few lectures about the rights and wrongs of life and your social behaviour and those types of things, usually by the Chairman, or high profile people in rugby that usually spoke to us.*
The ‘back of the bus’ ritual drew differing views as to its value and benefits from the players of this era, but the values and team disciplines and tactics which were covered in the ritual influenced and affected both junior and senior members of the team and enabled them to succeed.

When we were there it was by an agreement… the right of the back seat - you had to achieve it… the captain had to sit down the front and the back seat was for the senior members of the team that were the captain’s lieutenants… we had our little rules and that sort of thing.

The value of the ritual, which was much more than just the right to sit in the back seat, varied according to perception and the subjective analysis of the player, but focused on team discipline and protocols, and even tactics.

When I first got in the All Blacks and consequently I was sitting in the front and didn’t actually know about the back seat… but the back seat in the form of the four guys, had a large part to play in terms of the discipline, the sort of things that we did as a team socially and more than that in some aspects… the back seat was a very, very strong protocol when we played and has continued and it’s still there today… it’s exactly the same as it ever was. I never got to the back seat because I became Captain so I got shunted up the front again… I was able to be a guest in the back seat on the way home from the games, which I enjoyed.

The protocols or rules expressed by this captain are an example of the core assumptions that develop over reality and truth, space and the nature of human relationships particularly with issues of identity and roles, power and influence and acceptance. The back seat ritual wasn’t highly regarded by all, as emphasized by the following captain:

No, I never wanted to be in the back seat… that wasn’t something that I saw as a necessary requirement… I had limited regard for those who considered themselves special and wanted to sit in the back seat… so that was it. I wasn’t a back seat boy in terms of my make-up and beliefs and behaviour… I didn’t despise them, I just saw it as a bit of a joke really, which went too far in some teams I think.
Senior players earned the right to become members of the ‘back seat of the bus’ not just by seniority but by consensus or recognition of need and at times not without physical remonstration. According to one long serving ‘back seat of the bus’ member:

It was subject to some changes...because I came back years later as a manager and there was always challenges for the back seat... but when we were there it was an agreement... the right of the back seat, but you had to fight your way into it... so you had to achieve it... but when I went back as a manager it was on seniority in the team and you know they all had their rituals.

Even where the player was not an advocate personally of the back seat protocols as the following quotation implies its existence was accepted as a part of All Black procedures and therefore an example of assumptions or ‘the way we do things around here’.

I don't know that it was ever that conscious - there was never a kind of discussion as far as I know about who should be in the back of the bus and who shouldn’t.

4.3.2 Values

From an organizational perspective espoused values often are represented by the philosophies, strategies and goals sought and realized by the leaders. These values must be supported by those embedded core assumptions of the general organization. It’s “the way we do things around here”, to use the phrase of Deal and Kennedy (1982).

Winning ethos & winning excellence

In all interviews and discussions with the All Black captains and coaches, the legacy and the importance of winning was passed on as an obligatory responsibility of each new generation. To maintain the honour and aura of being an All Black, it became ingrained into the psyche of the players both individually and collectively as a team responsibility. One of the captains of this era encapsulates the importance of winning with this statement:

Winning is everything... I think it is part of the All Black ethos... I think you gain that just as a competitive type player and a provincial player and of course only the best of the best, and the most competitive are going through to the All Blacks.
All Blacks quickly acquire an ingrained and inherited belief in the need to win. It is the value or standard set above all else. But a winning attitude also requires self-confidence, self-belief and a determination derived from values and is an enduring combination of motivational, emotional, perceptual and cognitive processes (Quester, Neale, Pettigrew, Grimmer, Davis, Hawkins, 2007). The importance of a positive attitude and self-confidence is borne out in the remarks of this captain:

*I never, ever thought about losing… it never entered my head that we would lose and that was ingrained… that was the heritage you picked up from the past... I mean coaches were good at that sort of thing… you’ve inherited something special was a common statement they made… that got into your system.*

The desire to win was a paramount part of the legacy, but was also an important motivating factor. Also part of the legacy was the fear of losing or not wanting to let their All Black predecessors down. Another captain further endorsed the importance of the winning ethos (or fear of losing) because it was in his eyes a matter of national significance:

*When we lost in our days it was a national disaster and you were scorned by people… I can remember once my brother and I got a taxi from the hotel and the taxi driver abused us. We got onto the train and the guard on the train reckoned we shouldn’t give you a seat, “you fellows don’t deserve one because you’ve just been beaten by the Aussies”… This attitude of New Zealanders I don’t think will change because it’s our national sport… people say we’ve got to learn to accept defeat, I don’t think we do, the moment we do, we’re going to lose something… it’s not a fear of losing, it’s a fear of letting your country down more than anything.*

This statement about the events of winning test matches is an example of Schein’s (2010) artefacts located at the surface of a culture (i.e., winning an event) being realisations of underlying values (i.e., not letting your country, predecessors or team-mates down) that are manifestations of deeper core assumptions which will be addressed later in this chapter. Another value mentioned by participants in this era was the importance of history as part of the All Black legacy.
The importance of history – the All Black legacy

The importance of history in the establishment and maintenance of organizational culture is endorsed by anthropologist Sahlins (1985) and reemphasized by Peterson (1998, p.101) who stated, “anyone who participates in an organization does so by interpreting events and influencing the meanings that other parties give them.” Schein (2010) also endorses the importance of history in the establishment of culture, which fits admirably with the use of his model for the research. History and recognition of its importance was a real point of competitive difference for the All Blacks as expressed by a captain of this era:

*History and tradition… in terms of national pride and the fact that you know you’ve got a higher proportion of population behind you makes a difference… you know we seem to have a competitive advantage.*

*I think tradition is going to carry us a long, long way… people used to talk about us in the ‘60s… we’d been let down by the ‘37 All Blacks and the Springboks thrashed us in ‘49…. we’ve got all this history… I can remember before the ’56 Springbok tour, the great Tom Pearce he came out with statements (and he was a great orator) but he said, “if we don’t beat South Africa it will be the ruination of rugby in New Zealand”… and of course we beat them and everything was fine and dandy… I think those things are going to carry on in life…. we were taught how great the ’24 team was, like they were the benchmark back in those days and it goes on and on and each new generation that comes through gets fed the same stuff and to me I think it is tradition that will see us through.*

For players in the first era of the research, the egalitarian principle of unity or pride in playing together for common goals irrespective of background, ethnicity, or economic status was ingrained. It engendered a pride in New Zealand and in the All Blacks that only became challenged with the counter culture movements of the 1970s. The importance of heritage, tradition and privilege was raised by this captain:
…those who had gone before have passed on this wonderful heritage of the fern on the black jersey and New Zealand rugby and the New Zealand psyche… you’re honoured to be there… privileged to be there and I felt that, really felt that.

The pride in being an All Black, maintaining patriotism, striving for excellence and retaining the winning legacy of the past, from a rugby perspective, were important values to be maintained (Verdon, 1999).

4.3.3 Core assumptions

Core assumptions represent taken-for-granted beliefs about reality and human nature (Hatch, 1993). It should be emphasised that core assumptions differ from values in that they are taken-for-granted without conscious thought because they have become accepted as the norm over a period of time by the group or organization. They are important because they are a manifestation of the socially constructed values of the team and determine its culture because they are an indication of their perception of reality and truth. Cultural norms or behaviours are powerful indicators of basic assumptions. In this era an important core assumption evident in interviews was one of mateship or camaraderie of playing together in the amateur era.

Mateship

This is one of the embedded core assumptions of the amateur eras that were a legacy of New Zealand’s egalitarian heritage. It was a basic assumption of this amateur era that you depended on and supported your mates as one of those team oriented espoused values. One captain of this era encapsulates the perceived difference between the amateur and the professional eras by referring to the egalitarian value of mateship:

"The point I don’t like about the professional era is they don’t have the friendships that we used to have… I’d go to the UK and I’d stay with players in South Africa… You meet up with people that are friends and I don’t think the modern player has that friendship in rugby… they try and tell you they do but I’ve been to test matches and at the after-match function; the All Blacks sat here and the Irish team sat way over there… whereas in New Zealand it was a tradition… you were meant to go and sit
with the guy you played against and have a few beers together and laugh and joke and tell stories about what happened during the game, in a nice way… you became friends and you had drinks together… I think of the French as the greatest social players, even though I couldn’t speak French, but by hell we had some fabulous dinners with them then… I appreciated it and you go back there and you meet up with these sort of men… and he gives you a hug and a kiss… I just don’t think they have those things now.

The mateship carried with it responsibilities not only on the field of play but also off the field as this captain explains:

Like on tour, we would never go out on our own… that was the golden rule, if anyone wanted to go and have a beer, right you wake your mate up… even if he doesn’t want to, and say “I’m going for a beer.” But you never went out on your own …so we had strict rules…you looked after your mates.

A fundamental part of every culture is a set of assumptions about what is real and how to determine what is reality. Social reality refers to things that members of an organization regard as matters of consensus (Searle, 1996). In addition to social reality we have individual reality which refers to what an individual learned from their experience and represents absolute truth to them. According to Van Maanen (1979) individual reality is a product of social learning and by definition is a part of a given culture. Reaching consensus is a process of building a shared social reality. As well as the odd non-conformist in the first era of the study and despite an embedded assumption of mateship that is acknowledged by the players of the era, Laidlaw (1973, p.27) also talks of the “sharp” division between the young and the old, the raw and the experienced on his first tour in 1963-64. Laidlaw (1973, pp. 25-27), by his own admission something of a nonconformist, which though contradictory to the feelings of mateship wrote:

Conformity is the cornerstone of New Zealand society… few individuals take the risk of separating themselves from the conformity of the “equal” society which New Zealand fiercely protects… All Blacks are the epitome of the faithful…a notable
exception was the irrepressible Tony Davies… a player of immeasurable talent, a confident extrovert and a born leader… he was a players player, never a coach’s and he expressed strong feelings wherever and whenever he felt the game or players were being done an injustice.

Whilst mateship was the behavioural norm of this era, non-conformity - the exception to the rule - could be a positive form of conflict for bringing about change in an organization like the All Blacks.

4.3.4 Leaders & leadership

Management/administration

The very nature of the amateur game and the rules it abided by, placed restrictions on the administration, coaches and players of this era. The 48 hour restriction on assembly before a test match, the non-replacement of injured players in tests and all rules pertaining to professionalism or payment are examples of some of the restrictions. A certain aura or mythology has developed around both the leadership roles and the abilities of those involved in this era. McLean (1959, p. 20) identifies some of the problems, reporting on the touring Lions conveying the Home Unions' views on the game, “great spectacles and sporting rivalry in international competition are important but must not be subordinated to the primary purpose of enjoyment and safeguarding the amateur spirit.” McLean is critical of the administration or leadership of rugby in New Zealand after lucrative tours by the Springboks in 1956 and the Lions in 1959:

The human impulse of administrators surveying such wondrous riches is to go on doing better… this unhappily is the blind spot of an increasing number of rugby administrations throughout the world… riches are not everything in the game… admittedly it has led to the betterment of grounds to the encouragement of first-class play in isolated districts… while the New Zealand Rugby Union Council too seldom concerns itself with the true spirit of the game, even where the All Blacks are concerned (McLean, 1959, p. 22).
Whilst this criticism may appear to be a case of *damned if you do and damned if you don’t*, it confirms the view that the Rugby Union management or leadership during this era was conservative, traditional and reactive rather than innovative or inspirational. Haden (1983, p. 206) in his chapter on administration, perhaps sums up the negativity of the administration of the first two eras of the research with his comment “the brick wall syndrome soon stifles progress.” Some of its failings could be read into Sir Fred Allen’s decision whilst an unbeaten coach in 1968, “I would have loved to stay on as All Black coach, but I sensed behind the scenes that people weren’t fully supportive of me” (Verdon, 1999, p. 145). These comments are a personal, subjective assessment made by Sir Fred Allen, and not necessarily correct, as it is hard to imagine a coach with a 100% success record being discarded. He made the same comments in his recent biography (Watkins & Sayers, 2011; *Fred the Needle: The Untold Story of Sir Fred Allen*.)

**Leadership – All Black Captains**

As Brien F O’Brien (1958, cited in Howitt, 2010) reported, the appointment of W. J. Whineray, later to become Sir Wilson Whineray in 1958 as captain of the All Blacks, began a period of leadership stability for the All Blacks who had had eight different captains in eight years until his appointment. He was followed by Brian Lochore who became Sir Brian Lochore at a later stage, and this culminated in one of the most successful winning periods for the All Blacks until the 1990s and 2000s. Both had different styles of leadership but each set high standards of integrity and participated in one of the All Blacks’ most successful winning periods ever. Quinn (1999, p. 75) firstly comments on Whineray’s great stature as a leader off the field then quotes him as saying:

> *The prime responsibility of a captain is to be a leader…I think I became quite a good one because after a number of years there wasn’t anything that could happen on the field that I hadn’t been involved in before.*

Whineray had the stature or ‘mana’ [authority, control, influence, prestige or power] with his players off the field as well by setting standards of behaviour as this captain expresses:
Under the Whineray era we didn’t really need those sorts of disciplines… standards were set by the manager, coach and skipper and while there were some outstanding All Blacks who were seen as senior players, they were part of the team… there were no celebrities in the teams that I played in, everybody was seen as equals… the skipper [Whineray] set the standards and we were blessed with somebody who had huge ability.

Conversely Brian Lochore who admitted to not enjoying the role of speaking at functions was an inclusive and participatory leader, summed up by Fred Allen’s foreward in the book Lochore (Veysey, Caffell & Palenski, 1996) when he wrote:

> I was fully aware of the controversy that would ensue when I was the principle architect in appointing Brian as captain of the 1966 All Blacks… He was chosen ahead of greats such as Meads, Tremain, Graham, Gray, Laidlaw and McRae… History has proved it was the right decision… he turned up absolute trumps as an All Black captain and then as an All Black coach

He came up ‘trumps’ because of his people management skills of inclusivity and the capacity to make all team members feel important whilst maintaining their focus on playing winning rugby, which they achieved.

One of the All Black captains of the era indicated that he had no training, but was inclusive in his leadership role:

> It was an enormous surprise to me to be captain over other experienced All Blacks… in the end, I grew into it… I had to really work hard initially… I think I was an inclusive captain… I liked to use the other people’s skills and experience as well as my own and by doing that I probably got stronger as I went along, as a captain… I’d like to think that I had the ability to communicate well with players and because I’d gone through, a real rough patch initially… I understood how some of the younger and less experienced players were feeling when they were in the All Black environment… I made a big point of helping them and at least telling them what they had to do… nobody had ever told me what I had to do to be an All Black.
Other captains also supported “Great man” or “Trait” perspectives of leadership, where leaders bring their own experiences and qualities to the role:

Leadership has never changed I don't think…it’s a mixture of personal quality and if you are the captain, the rest of the players must have respect for you… It’s a quality of personality I think as much as anything else and the ability to control when things get hairy and there aren’t many people who can do that… The captain was not a domineering sort of fellow but very intelligent, pretty clear and an exceptionally good leader in that respect.

Whineray, he was a born leader… he was a natural. It was easy for him, not just on the field but off the field too… he was a good orator, a good and clever guy, a very brilliant man…I think the greatest achievement they made was making Lochore captain. It was one of the great things because I think, there were about four of us in the running to be captain of that '66 team. I think I was of more value to the team not being captain because the captain is often restricted in what he can do… leadership is within the team.

This is a key statement from a senior All Black player who recognised the importance of informal collective leadership to the team in the 1960s era. Veysey (1974, p. 49) sheds some further light on this informal leadership of the 1950-1969 era with this comment about Colin Meads:

The side to Meads greatness, which many perhaps do not quite appreciate, is the contribution he makes in a side’s corporate welfare. Colin Meads is a humble man, a man of action rather than a talker about his actions, yet he is always the unofficial adviser, guide, assistant, leader of any All Black party outside the official leaders of the side…. Meads does not seek this position, the rest of the team simply place him in it.
Leadership – Coaching

From the rugby literature written about this era, whilst coaching was very limited in terms of scientific fitness preparation, and team strategic and tactical planning by comparison to the professional era, three coaches are recognized for their capabilities and were commented on positively by the interviewees and also rugby author Verdon (1999). The three selector/coaches were Dick Everest, Neil McPhail and Sir Fred Allen. They had some remarkable similarities. They were all successful representative players, Kiwi (New Zealand Expeditionary Force Team, selected at the conclusion of World War II) representatives or All Blacks, who served their country in war time, selected and coached successful Provincial teams, won and defended the Ranfurly shield and likewise had successful records coaching the All Blacks. As Verdon (1999, p. 123) indicated, “It was Dick Everest who provided the inspiration and the method for All Blacks and New Zealand Provincial sides when the 1956 Springboks trotted out for their first tour match.” Everest had a successful record with the All Blacks on their 1957 tour to Australia where they won both test matches. The views on the ability of R.A. “Dick” Everest were confirmed by one captain:

_I can remember Dick Everest, who was an astute coach… he wasn’t liked by the rest of the Rugby Union much, probably because of individuality and non-conformity and the rugby politics of the time, but he was an astute man._

Verdon (1999) indicated that McPhail should be hailed as one of the finest All Black coaches, with an outstanding record in combination with a great captain, Sir Wilson Whineray. One captain, whilst critical of coaching in this era, had considerable positive experience of Neil McPhail and commented accordingly:

_The coaches that I experienced… by and large it was a team talk that they were responsible for, the selection process which they got involved in and they would have developed a basic procedure with players… it wasn’t individualised… the individual approach right now is just remarkable compared to what we did… I got told very little at any stage what to do when I was playing for the All Blacks, particularly when I first got in and right through to 1962-63 when Neil McPhail took over…his information to_
... make sure you get your defensive areas right - scrum
defence, line out defence, back defence in terms of covering. Get those things right,
100% accurate, the rest bonus. Got it?

The criticism primarily covered the limited strategic and tactical approach to rugby but the
positives were over the stature of the World War II veteran, his general demeanour and
ability to command respect.

A great deal has been written recently about Sir Fred Allen, his remarkable longevity
and his success as an All Black Coach. Verdon (1999, p. 145), in acknowledging the
difficulty of comparing coaches of different eras, said, “Fred Allen is perhaps the most
successful coach of all time.” Phil Gifford (2010), in an article on Sir Fred Allen, extolling him
as our greatest coach ever, quoted Allen as saying, “I think I brought some of that Army
attitude with me… in my time, I was strict about discipline, and the player’s self-discipline. It’ll
never prove wrong.” McConnell (1998), from his survey of All Black players, found they rated
Sir Fred Allen as New Zealand’s best coach ever. As one captain of his All Black teams
pointed out:

I was very lucky that I was in an era where most of my time was with Fred Allen… he
just gave me enormous comfort and support, always… I think the greatest thing he
ever said to me was, “what you do on the field I will support”… that doesn’t mean that
he agreed with it of course, but in public he supported me and we used to talk… I
was lucky enough to be in a time when we had a Rolls Royce team. We had seven
provincial captains in our forward team so they all were thinking about the game.

The supportive coach plus a large number of provincial captains in the team, a ‘Rolls Royce’
team according to the interviewee, meant there were a high level of experienced decision
makers and an informal core of indirect leaders the captain could call on for help and
support.

Allen’s commitment to fifteen man rugby was an innovative change that produced
great rugby for players and spectators alike. Fred Allen was a disciplinarian, due perhaps to
the influence of his army background in World War II, but it was an autocratic form of
leadership (Gifford, 2010), as recognised by Lewin et al (1939), common in this era. Another All Black captain who played in Allen’s teams commented:

*Fred Allen was the dictatorial sort… wanting to spin the ball…and he convinced us that it was the way to go… he got onside with the players to get what he wanted.*

An irony or even paradox of the 1950s was the fact that in South Africa in 1949 the All Blacks were criticized for being out coached by Dr Danie Craven and the Springboks on technique in the forwards. They were also criticised ironically by the visiting Lions in 1959 for an obsession with coaching from schoolboy level to All Blacks, which according to the Lions, negated natural ability, innovation and skill (Thomas, 1960). As the interviews show, it was a myth that New Zealand coaching was superior or particularly intense in this era. The coaching was more of values and discipline:

*I had one special coach… he was a returned soldier and therefore had ‘mana’ as a person. He’d been a prisoner of war so he’d been through experiences that none of us had to go through and because of what he’d done we were in a good country… his values were outstanding in terms of all of the key values, integrity and honesty and commitment and strength and good faith, morality and discipline which was crucial in any human institution… those values are essential if that group is going to be a viable group that can survive under pressure… and let’s face it, All Black sides are under pressure every time they assemble to show those qualities and McPhail stood for most of those things.*

The same captain commented on coaches who possessed good qualities particularly intelligence or people management skills that helped in the learning process:

*I had a very good club coach (Neil Lawrence) way back in Auckland who had the same types of skills as J.J. Stewart (All Black coach) who made me think about defence on the side of the scrum,…so he’d talk about lines off the lineouts… so he was another man that I admired and he was a very good businessman and therefore successful human being, and so I could look up to his values, integrity and honesty and discipline again… although disciplining a university side was not easy.*
Strategy & tactics

The comments of this captain from the 1960s era explain that whilst changes to strategy and tactics have been beneficial some of the basics were well done in his era:

*Video analysis we didn’t have it at all… sometimes the coaches might have gone and had a look at another team perform if they were within close proximity and I guess when the Lions were here in New Zealand and other international teams, we got the opportunity to see them a few times but we never had video analysis like they have now… In some ways we were lucky because we were always conscious of defence of course and we spent a bit of time in practice practicing our defence but we actually went into a game to make our system work and surely that must be the best way to motivate and encourage isn’t it? If you’re filled up with what the opposition are going to do, are you ever going to make your system work? So you become the passive and they become the aggressive and I think that happens too often.*

The importance of innovation and being prepared to try new concepts and new technology is one of the cultural values developed over the period of the research and whilst less obvious in the 1950-1969 period it is substantiated by the commitment to 15 man rugby in the Fred Allen coaching era.

There was a very limited strategic and tactical approach to winning games in this era according to this captain:

*In my era with the All Blacks it really was remarkably limited… the coach would tell you that aspects of our game were not up to scratch, like perhaps the lineouts or scrum or second phase… the coach would talk about needing to do bits and pieces, which would improve things but most of it was done on the training field and it was limited even then as to what was tactical.*

To illustrate the point further he gave an example from his own experiences in South Africa in 1960:

*In South Africa I was asked to captain the side and I said I would “provided you let me do the tactics”… it was against Transvaal and we won and it was basically very*
simple... inside our half, any ball we won went back to D.B. Clarke and he booted it down the ground and out... we played the whole game with that tactical plan and we released the backs, nowhere else, but on attack... terrible when you think about it... but it was extremely successful and became part of the concept of how to play.

A further example from the same tour and same captain showed the limitations of tactical and strategic knowledge of some coaches of this era:

One of the most bizarre experiences I had was in the preparation for the third test in South Africa when they picked Red Conway and myself to play... we were both tail gunners (end of the lineout players) and we both wanted to play off the end... so I went up to the coach and said, 'Who is playing off the end?'... His answer was, “Whoever gets there last”... now that was, quite frankly, a bizarre statement... It just did not make sense that the coach didn't understand that there was a totally different requirement for seven and eight in the lineout.

One captain highlights the benefits of not having the ability to analyse themselves and the opposition using video analysis programmes:

I think it’s probably a mixture of good and bad... in our era if a team got some advantages through outstanding coaches without video it took the opposition some time to work out exactly what was being done because they couldn’t see it... when we played there were no videos... so today there can be a sameness about the coaching because you can look at all teams at provincial level right through to the All Black level... all of the professional rugby teams can look at other sides... so the game is very sanitized... there is some strength in this because we’ve seen some wonderful rugby by our teams in the last few years... but the Springboks would’ve looked at that, they’re quick to pick up new changes, they don’t muck around and would have worked out how to oppose that. So it does have benefits.

These comments highlight the fact that some form of tactical knowledge by coaches and/or captains was considered to be essential to help in the winning of matches in this era by
giving the team a competitive advantage, whereas nowadays the video analysis programmes that are widespread in professional rugby take away some of that advantage.

4.3.5 Adaptation to change in macro environment

In this section of the research, the purpose is to assess how cultural dynamics and the forces of the macro environment may have changed the organizational culture of the All Blacks during this era. As Weber (1978) acknowledges, the role of a charismatic knowledgeable leader can be vital, but the macro environment consists of forces that originate outside an organization and generally cannot be altered by the actions of that group or the leader. The organization may be influenced by changes within this element of its environment, but cannot itself alter the environment. These external influences can be political-legal, economic, socio-cultural and technological.

Political

The political dimension of the macro environment affects an organization’s ability to conduct its affairs from time to time as exemplified by government policies towards sport. Premier Richard John Seddon organized for the 1905 “Originals” to travel home via the United States, although the team wanted to return home immediately, however Seddon insisted (Tobin, 2005). Successive Governments from that time had an arm’s length relationship but supportive involvement with New Zealand rugby, until 1973 when the Kirk Government forced the New Zealand Rugby Union to cancel a planned tour by the Springboks by withdrawing visas for the team. In 1956 the Springbok Tour of New Zealand, which wrested rugby supremacy if only temporarily until 1960 from the Springboks, galvanised the whole of New Zealand in support of the All Blacks (McLean, 1965). The interest and popularity of the tour can be gauged from an account of the Springbok’s arrival by rail car in Palmerston North after an acrimonious match against Auckland the day before, as 8,000 people crammed into the Civic Square to welcome them. Mclean (1956) in his book “Battle for the Rugby Crown” acknowledges the popularity of the tour and the Springboks in general.

In 1960 before the much anticipated rematch between the Boks and the All Blacks in South Africa could take place, the decision to comply with South Africa’s strict segregationist
Apartheid policies by not selecting Māori players caused outrage in some sectors of New Zealand society and internationally. More than 150,000 New Zealanders signed a petition opposing the tour and others marched in the streets to voice their opposition. These movements however, failed to convince the Labour government to intervene. Prime Minister Walter Nash supported the rugby union, arguing that to include Māori ‘would be an act of the greatest folly and cruelty to the Maori race’ (Archives New Zealand, 2011, p. 1).

The tour proceeded and after a close fought contest the series was won by the Springboks to regain supremacy. In 1965 the Springboks returned to New Zealand. McLean (1965, p. 20) in his book “The Bok Busters” summed up the tour with these comments:

“So the tour of New Zealand by and large, was untroubled and happy. The fervour which had been aroused in the country during the tour of 1956 was never quite recaptured, even when the All Blacks were struggling desperately to prove that they had decisively supplanted the Springboks as the greatest Rugby team in the world… travelling around the country with the team, one did not encounter the compulsion to be present which had affected so many New Zealanders in 1956.

Much of the revisionist and anti-Springbok tour information written about this period is examined through the lens of a much later period in time. For example, the relationship between Māori and the Springbok team is interestingly covered by McLean (1965, p. 14) with these comments:

*From their third night in New Zealand, when they were welcomed at a giant and joyous gathering of Maoris, with among those present none other than the Minister of Māori Affairs, the Hon. Ralph Hanan, and the ariki of Ngati porou, Te Kani Te Ua, at a Poho-a-rawiri meeting house in Gisborne, the Springboks themselves used every means to give the impression that they regarded the furthering of friendship with the Maoris, as next to rugby, the prime object of their tour.*

It is McLean’s further remarks which underscore the political problems to come with sporting contacts with South Africa that are also illuminating:
Rugby in New Zealand had lost some prestige, to a slight amount because of its refusal to become involved in arguments about Apartheid and to a greater degree because of a vehement denial that matches should be direct telecast… Leaders among Maoris, eminent churchmen and the New Zealand Federation of Labour had been strange bedfellows, before the arrival of the Springboks, in deploring the engagement with a country which countenanced racial segregation. It had been known, before the opening of the tour, that the question of a return visit to South Africa in 1967 depended on the willingness of the South African Government to waive its separate development policy, the detested Apartheid, in order to permit the selection of Maoris in the team… of various propitious signs was the invitation of Mr. Ralph Love and Pat Walsh two distinguished Maori rugby personnel to attend the 75th Jubilee of rugby in South Africa in May of 1964 (Mclean, 1965, p. 14).

The political turmoil over South Africa and rugby contacts would continue and rise to something of a crescendo in the second era of this research. The tragedy of the 1965 tour was that after the year of goodwill with the Springbok team, particularly in their relationship with Māori people, Prime Minister Dr Verwoerd issued a statement saying Māori could not be included in the 1967 tour. “This had to be interpreted as a death blow” (Mclean, 1965, p. 15). The death blow referred to by McLean was to a proposed tour in 1967 which would have included Māori players. Until Verwoerd’s pronouncement Dr Craven, South African Rugby Board President, had at various press conferences stated that “negotiations about the inclusion of Maoris…would be satisfactory to all parties” (McLean, 1965, p. 15). Other than the South African issue no other political changes had a significant impact on the All Blacks in this era.

It should be remembered that the players and coaches of this time were involved in direct contact with the Springboks through the tours of 1956, 1960, and 1965. The approach from most players was one of sport’s participation divorced from any political issues. One captain directly involved until the 1970 tour commented:
Rugby deserves quite a lot of the credit, not just for creating or perpetuating the problem but for helping with a solution... there’s a whole lot of stories there that should be told, but probably never will be... but it certainly tainted rugby and made a lot of us in it feel really nervous about our loyalties... I felt that if you could drive the wedge in by levering... opening another door each time you played them then it was worth doing... in 1970 there was this big argument and my friend said, ‘let’s not do this’ you know, but the fact was, and I did it kind of without just instinctively feeling that if we could take a multi-racial team there that this is going to have some effect and everyone said ‘bollocks’... well it did... conversations with some of those politicians in South Africa afterwards, the next year we were back and following over the tracks... they made it clear to me that this was a wedge that did work well in terms of popularity with the rugby wider community... the politics has been leached out of professional sport.

Economic

The 1950s were a boom time economically for New Zealand on the back of wool prices, but this did not necessarily impact on rugby significantly. The rugby of this era continued to adhere to its amateur principles. The Springbok tour of 1956 yielded a profit to the NZRU of 100,000 pounds (McLean, 1959, p. 22) and the 1959 tour, in excess of 200,000 pounds which was generated from gate takings of 318,650 pounds from collective attendances of 798,750 spectators (McLean, 1959, p. 247). The New Zealand Rugby Union was wealthy by comparison to other amateur sporting bodies in the country. It did provide finance for many provincial unions to fund the erection of better grandstand facilities and other amenities. The perceived motivation, decision making and financial differences between this era and today are summed up by this captain’s response:

Things have changed from my days as a player... we could only afford beer anyway... I think we’ve lost something because we didn’t care because none of us were getting paid...You only wanted to achieve - your achievement was driven by wanting to be a good rugby player, nothing to do with being better paid... now the
motivation is quite different... it's about playing well to make more money... it's also changed... we were self-motivated and self-driven... it's an absolutely enormous change.

**Socio-cultural**

The socio-cultural dimensions of the macro environment consist of customs, lifestyles, and values that characterize the society in which the organization operates. Value change is an evolutionary process, which according to Hawkins, Best and Coney (1983) can be accelerated by (1) technological changes, (2) conflicts between existing values, (3) exposure to another culture’s values, and (4) dramatic events, all of which are influential depending on the situation at that specific time. In the 1960s the strict authoritarian principles of the wartime were being eroded by the graduation of an increasing number of people from tertiary institutions who challenged authority. They were opposed to the politics of the “Cold War” and with the American incursion into Viet Nam, and extolled the rights of women and minority groups. A more affluent and educated society had different aspirations and values which would have an effect on rugby.

The drinking culture developed from colonial times of hard manual work and limited forms of entertainment in a largely male dominated society. This was extenuated by the “6 o’clock Swill” era introduced to New Zealand in 1917 due to campaigns by groups like the Women’s Christian Temperance Union. Hotels or pubs were licensed and it wasn’t until October 1967 that operating hours were extended to 10.00pm closing. Rugby clubrooms were relatively primitive until the 1960s and, combined with the licensing hours, were scarcely attractive to women’s social participation. The drinking culture was primarily a reflection on New Zealand society but was aided and abetted by the culture extending into rugby.

**Alcohol culture**

A captain of the 1960s indicated that the social scene, timing of games and resulting alcohol culture of this era were very different in comparison with today:
It has changed dramatically… I think when I was playing we just drank a lot of beer after a game… you had a good night and then the next day you dried out and then you’d slowly wind yourself back to the point where you’re really full bore for the next game… and you always had a good night after a game… now a lot of the players just don’t drink at all, and there were very few that didn’t drink in our era… there are others who drink occasionally and when they do they go right over the top and it’s not only beer they drink… the big thing that has changed is the night games… we always played in the afternoon and by midnight we were starting to get a bit grizzly and tired it was off to bed… but having experience with the All Blacks in the last few years we often don’t get back to our hotel until half past eleven at night at the earliest and they’re not ready for bed… they’ve slept all day and probably the previous night as well and they’re wide awake and they don’t feel like going to bed until four or five in the morning and that’s where the difference is in my view and it’s been created pretty much by night time games.

Every culture has basic assumptions about what it means to be human, and what is acceptable behaviour. Humans are social animals with primarily social needs. Social interaction and involvement and the part alcohol played in this in the amateur era was an integral part of playing rugby and therefore was part of the basic assumptions of the time. This has now changed. Other captains and coaches had similar views and this coach commented:

The alcohol, issue has always been there… I think it has got to be managed… I think it is a societal problem. In terms of binge drinking, you know as a manager I’ve seen some of it, which is quite a concern and I think society has got an issue there, but I don’t know what the answer to it is to be honest.

In our day it was a different world… alcohol and today it’s of course with the rest of the world watching and the media ready and waiting to pounce with eyes and ears everywhere, players get into far less trouble than we ever did. I think the only
Value change is usually an evolutionary process but can be accelerated by conflicts between existing values and dramatic events. These comments allude to the values that were reflective of New Zealand society at the time, and how alcohol consumption continues despite the evolution of New Zealand society. In the first era the drinking culture was affected by six o’clock closing, the influence of government licensing of liquor outlets, the timing of games, the lack of media attention regarding alcohol-related behaviour of All Blacks and the more restrictive moral standards of the times. The beer drinking culture did not involve rugby only, but applied to the male members of society as a whole.

Women’s involvement

The image of beer swilling rugby players is one area of criticism of rugby in this era, but as Thompson (1988) alluded, women who later became prominent in their opposition to playing sport with South Africa, were also motivated by an anger at the perceived male exclusivity of the sport of rugby. As she stated they challenged the values, gender relations and power which was symbolised and reproduced by the sport. There is no doubt that women were treated poorly in the first two eras of this study, by today’s standards, through their exclusion from rugby functions.

Amenities apart, most rugby players and their wives were married in their very early twenties and had young families which inhibited attendances at rugby matches and the after match functions. Women in rugby are often portrayed as ‘slaving’ away in the kitchen to produce the food for after-match functions (Baker, 1981; Thompson, 1988). There are elements of truth in this view as women did bear the brunt of domestic and childcare duties as the roles of men and women were still largely segregated into public and private spheres and were yet to change significantly. One captain and later coach had this to say on the treatment of women in his era:

*I’ve never been a fan of having women excluded from the game… I think they’re absolutely vital to the game of rugby… I think our wives got badly treated when I
played as they were lucky if they were on a temporary seat somewhere on the goal line sitting out in the rain when all the people who went to a game probably once a year were sitting up in the main stand... I felt very strongly about it and I started playing in an era when women didn’t go into the after-match functions... during the period of my playing years they slowly became able to go to them to the point now where I think they’re absolutely vital... I think it’s vital to have the women folk around when possible... I don’t think they should be on tour with the players, but I don’t have any problems with players fraternising in their spare time with their wives and their girlfriends and to that end in ’87 with the World Cup I talked the Rugby Union into bringing the women in to as many games as possible.

The comment that women are vital to the future of rugby is stating the obvious - that to develop and maintain public and spectator support and encourage the participation of young players, rugby has to appeal to women as well as men. The interviewee, however, draws the line at welcoming women as wives and girlfriends on tour because at that level and in that context the inclusion of women is not considered optimal for winning rugby.

Ethno-cultural diversity

Based on the interviews conducted in this research, the published explicit comments of Sir Wilson Whineray (Chester & McMillan, 1978, p.16) and similar observations and comments made by Sir Terry McLean, and Chris Laidlaw as well as my observations over a sixty year involvement, there is convincing evidence that rugby in New Zealand has a “good” history of race relations:

No other institution has done so much to cross social, religious, racial, cultural and economic boundaries so comprehensively and with so little pretence...where else do Pākehā and Polynesian find such natural affinity...what has the game meant to the pride of Maori people whose people have always played the game so magnificently.

(McLean, 1975, p. 15)

The ‘good’ history referred to may be challenged on the basis of the non-inclusion of Māori players to South Africa (1928, 1949, and 1960) as it has by Māori academics, politicians,
authors and historians and former players (e.g. Mulholland, 2006), which resulted finally in an apology from the NZRU in 2011. There is no doubt or argument that Apartheid and the racial segregation policies that preceded it are reprehensible and morally indefensible, and that the non-inclusion of Māori players to South Africa is a “blight” on New Zealand rugby history, but this does not destroy a predominantly conflict-free history of race relations within the All Black culture.

The first era of this research is one that embraced a bicultural background where Māori and European New Zealand citizens played together in many different types of competitions. One All Black captain viewed this relationship as follows:

With Māori players…I never saw them as Māori players, they were just good guys who I had a huge regard for... they were very good players... they had the same incentives that I had and they did an honest day’s work and came to footy training and trained and played with us... I grew up on a farm and we had a Māori boy there who worked for Mum and Dad on the farm... a lovely bloke; he taught me all sorts of beaut things like horse riding and climbing trees and bird nesting, shooting hares and shooting rabbits and he was a great guy... I didn’t see him as a Māori at all, I just saw him as a good joker, a good man.... and when you mention Walsh and Nathan and Pryor and Emery and many others that you could name, they were just good New Zealanders who had the same joys and pleasures we had.

As well as Māori players, players of Pacific Island heritage have been involved in the All Black team since the 1920s. Walter Batty was a Tongan who played for the All Blacks in 1928/30, and Samoan Frank Solomon first played for the All Blacks in 1932 and was followed by his step-brother David Solomon who toured the UK with the All Blacks in 1935. B G William’s impressive debut as a nineteen year old in South Africa in 1970 followed Fijian born Arthur Jennings who toured the UK in 1967 as the next Pacific Island player to represent New Zealand in the All Blacks (Oceania Rugby, 2011).

The comments of the following captain were consistent with the views of all captains and coaches interviewed from this era:
In my day and in the All Blacks there was only one set of rules and everyone adhered to them... I don't care what ethnicity you were, these were the rules in the All Blacks and this is what you had to do, and that's pretty much the same today... I might add, that they are more conscious, and need to be more conscious clearly, of the backgrounds of the many players today... when I played we only had Māoris and Pākehās...we'd all been in New Zealand for years... we all knew one another terribly well...we all knew the patterns of the history of rugby and so on... now there are other ethnicities that are much newer in New Zealand and they haven't been here for 150 years so there is an adaptation period that you've got to be conscious of.

It should be noted that whilst the interviews in this era were with European New Zealander All Black captains, three Māori New Zealander captains were interviewed in the second and third eras. Their views were consistent with those of their earlier counterparts. The following comment is from a captain from the 1950-1969 era:

*The Māori renaissance again as we see it has created the friction that does occur now. I don't think, in fact I'm sure it has no impact on the rugby union...I think there is no differentiation between a Māori player and Dan Carter - they're just two New Zealanders playing for their country and doing their best as individuals.*

*I think we were all different, thank goodness... but I can't think of any player who was treated differently... we had to make allowances for odd players because of their personalities... but in terms of the team ethic and the team rules and that sort of thing... there was only one set of rules and everyone adhered to them.*

Treating everybody the same may imply particularly to the culturalist that one of the ethnicities was dominant and everyone adhered to that culture's values, beliefs and rituals. This research is about the All Blacks' culture which had distinctive features of its own. It subsumed other sub-cultures but adopted some aspects of Māori culture such as the *haka* (a Māori ritual performed in a non-Māori context), as well as the black jersey and silver fern.
as artefacts and rituals that reflect important values and assumptions of the All Black culture. With this in mind, the dominant perception among players and coaches of this era was that:

*There was no special dispensation for anybody... none at all...there was never a conscious race issue...... we judged them on their personality, as a person, and their playing ability as a player...nothing else.*

Although there was no perceived race issue, there were few activities that depicted Māori cultural values and beliefs integrated into the All Black culture at the time other than the ritual of the *haka*. The bi-cultural makeup of the All Blacks and underlying belief in racial integration and assimilation during this era created few if any explicit problems of acceptance or issues of inequality that the interviewed leaders were aware of. The observations of a leader (captain, coach and manager) across the eras, sums up the All Black attitudes to diversity accurately:

*I think it’s interesting, everyone, is more conscious of the racial background of the players now, which is good... I don’t think there’s any concessions made much but I think the players are more conscious of the backgrounds of their fellow players... so bearing that in mind, the All Black culture on its own is distinct and that hasn’t changed... not to my knowledge, not by my observation. What has changed is their backgrounds - the way they live, what their family values are, and what their country values are.*

In summary, ethnic and cultural diversity was not an issue during the 1950s and 1960s where assimilation and integration were the dominant social policies and ideologies of that time. Up until the 1950s, Māori and European New Zealander’s communities tended to exist in separate realms (rural and urban) in New Zealand society. Rugby, in that sense, provided one avenue through which Māori and European New Zealanders could integrate and where ethnic differences in terms of social class, occupation, wealth (or lack of) were overlooked in order to reinforce the ethos of egalitarianism, a central belief in New Zealand society in the 1950s and 1960s. The small number of Polynesian players involved in All Black rugby during this time were also integrated into a culture where being an ‘All Black’ subsumed all other
forms of identity, be they personal, professional, or ethno-cultural. The positive relationship is best summarised by the words of Sir Wilson Whineray in his foreword to *Men in Black* (Chester & McMillan, 1978, pp. 11-16). “No other institution has done so much to cross social, religious, racial, cultural and economic boundaries so comprehensively with so little pretence…where else do Pākehā and Polynesian find such natural affinity.”

**Technological**

Technology is another aspect of the macro environment an organization needs to understand and adapt to when developing its culture. Changing technology, for instance, may create new opportunities, or even threaten an organization’s ability to compete. Technological innovations continue to move at an increasingly rapid rate, and rugby is affected by these changes. Schein (2010, p.81) states, “the skills, technology, and knowledge that a group acquires in its effort to cope with its environment then also become part of its culture if there is consensus on what those skills are and how to use them.” The goal for the All Blacks has always been performance enhancement and creating competitive advantage as expressed by this captain of this era:

> I think everyone knows when you go out there…they want you to win and that was the whole beauty and joy of being an All Black…if you had a team that got it right you could win 80% - 90% of the time…You could win and that’s the challenge really, was to get it right as often as possible.

Acceptance of the need to keep abreast with technological advances will influence culture and in the 1950-1969 era technological changes influenced the All Blacks with regards to travel, media attention, grounds, and training equipment.

In rugby, the simple case of overseas travel shows that until 1953-4, all long-haul journeys were conducted by boat, making it a long and arduous trip from New Zealand to the UK or South Africa. When both the 1950 Lions and the 1956 Springboks came to New Zealand most of their travel internally was by train or bus. This is hard to imagine in our present age when the All Blacks and Super 15 players are constantly flying long distances to play matches.
The long travel though tiring did provide opportunities for the players to develop the camaraderie or mateship that was a feature of the amateur era. It is difficult to assess how important a part travel played in establishing values, practices and behavioural norms, other than to say it was just part of the process with senior players taking a leadership role.

The introduction of television to New Zealand in 1960 was the major technological advance of this era. The first live television broadcast of an All Black test match, however, did not occur until 1972. The NZRU’s opposition to live telecasts on the basis they would adversely affect local provincial union gate receipts created considerable ill will with rugby followers (Laidlaw, 1973). Ultimately after years of tenuous annual negotiations with TVNZ, television as it does today provided a lucrative source of income to the Union. The amateur regulations inhibited the sponsorship of rugby which as Romanos (2002) pointed out has escalated to the point where there is virtually no aspect of rugby that isn’t sponsored today.

**Equipment**

Playing equipment was also basic compared to the modern era as this quote from a captain of the 1950s-1060s era explains:

> Whilst there was no trouble in adapting, the balls we played with were not good… the worst was the Gilbert ball… when it got wet it was just like a pip… the balls the players of today have are so much better… sure, they might get a little more slippery when it’s wet but nowhere near like the balls that we played with…became excessively heavy as they absorbed water…In the teams that I played club rugby in, if you had three balls you were very lucky so you got to handle it about once every five minutes… now they have a ball per person… so they should be a whole lot better in terms of their handling skills.

From a cultural perspective changes in coaching and physical training regimes may have run into resistance at times during the first era of the study, but only to a limited degree, because the focus on winning brings with it an acceptance of the need for innovation often provided by new technological advancements particularly in the professional era. The impact of television on the players of the 1960s was limited. Interviews after matches and in sports
sessions would invariably be limited to the captain and/or coach but were spasmodic by comparison to the TV requirements of today’s All Blacks. All Blacks of this era were much more conservative and not given to flamboyant displays after scoring tries.

According to Crawford (1986, p. 5), the essential ingredients for survival and a feeling of shared purpose so essential in a young country were ‘clearly’ expressed in rugby. In his opinion “Team spirit and group solidarity were at the foundation of pioneer survival.” As depicted by Mallea (1972) the All Blacks that followed their earlier counterparts were expected to conform to the values of the archetypal Kiwi male who was purported to be tough, manly, and show sportsmanship whether winning or losing.

These values, expressed by Mallea (1972), had been inculcated for many years without the influence of television, but other forms of media representation (particularly print and radio) would have influenced the way All Blacks (their values, traits, skills and characteristics) were portrayed and developed. Television and general media coverage did, however, make the star players well known throughout the country but they were generally expected to conform as Laidlaw (1973, p. 25) stated, “Conformity is the cornerstone of New Zealand society… Few individuals take the risk of separating themselves from the conformity of the ‘equal society’ which New Zealand fiercely protects, and All Blacks are the epitome of the faithful.” One captain as a player expressed these views on some difficulties in conforming completely:

*It was a personal thing... I hate uniforms... it was wonderful to wear an All Black blazer but I didn’t particularly enjoy going along like a kind of paraded penguin... but of course some people interpreted that as not being loyal enough to the blazer, but there is no getting the blazer mixed up with the emotional dimension.*

**Physical fitness & conditioning**

It is in the area of physical conditioning and sports medicine that some of the greatest changes from this era have been made. In acknowledging these advances, most of which are scientifically superior to their own playing days, this captain questions whether all of them have been beneficial:
Physical conditioning and training are totally different... You’re looking at a different shape of the All Blacks... we were probably marathon trained - that’s putting it very crudely, and whilst there are a few players today that still maintain the old running the roads and running the hills and all that running... it’s very few of them... I think it’s a mistake... I think the game of rugby is still a running game and you have to be aerobically fit.... we were lean... all the forwards were lean, even props very often were... Ken Gray was a lean guy. If I played today at the playing weight that I played at when I was playing, I’d be the lightest All Black forward, so that’s how things have changed...our muscle mass was much leaner, our legs weren’t as big, we didn’t have big thunder thighs like they have now.

Captains and coaches from the 1950s-1960s recognized the advances made in physical conditioning and how it had become an area of rugby requiring specialized knowledge today:

There is no doubt the training now and the scientific approach to that physical conditioning is outstanding... I mean if you and I had had that type of conditioning and preparation how much better we would have played... so all that is superb. Our facilities were much poorer and all those parts of the game are now superb... far superior to our day... all those things are of real benefit.

Not all captains and coaches were completely enamoured with the physical conditioning regimes of the modern era when compared to their own.

How much bigger can these players get? I was looking at Piri Weepu the other day he’s 100 something kilos... big for a half-back compared to my day... there is a huge amount of preparation goes into today’s conditioning activities...there are suspicions, although the conditioning coaches will always deny this, that a player can get almost muscle bound and can suffer from a whole range of physical difficulties as a result of having muscle so toned that the rest of the body has trouble keeping up... What will these professionals who play 10, 12, 15 years of this sort of rugby look like at the age of 50, 60... I don't like the imagery.

One captain considered the modern physical conditioning regime could be a cause of injury:
I have always had the feeling that’s why there are so many more injuries today. When you have lean muscles and long, longer sinews you don’t get the muscle tears and things that they get today… there’s a few good examples…look at Luke McAlister, he does have massive big thighs… and I don’t think they’ve been built up in a gym, but he’s always pulling hamstrings, thigh muscles and so on and there’s other examples of that.

The general consensus of the captains and coaches is that the physical conditioning and the training regimes are vastly superior to their own era, but again there were some reservations:

There is a down side. I’m not anti the gym training because we were in our forwards particularly mostly farmers so they were physically active all the time - shearing, crutching, fencing, and feeding out hay… now there’s no farmers and I’m not having a crack at that either, but they have to go to the gym… I use the example of our current hooker Andrew Hore, now he’s the strongest of the whole of the forwards in the team because he’s farm-bred whereas townies don’t have to do that and everything’s symmetrical, like they get on a flat floor and they lift, everything’s perfect… well what are you doing when you’re haymaking? You’re throwing stuff around on different angles… and there again I believe that’s why they have pulled muscles.

This is of course a subjective perception and judgment which could be challenged but what these comments reveal is an underlying belief among some of the players from this era that ‘real’ strength that creates better rugby players with fewer injuries requires physical labour associated more with the amateur era, and a less muscular physique associated with the aesthetic of the time. This highlights the perhaps romanticised view of players from this era of the rural, outdoor New Zealand male that is often claimed to be the backbone of New Zealand rugby. Sports historian, Ryan (2005), challenged what he called the myths of New Zealand rugby; egalitarianism, innovation and rural pragmatism. He also challenged the myth of the high numbers playing the game and the rural origins of the founding All Blacks,
when most had come from the urban centres. The perception that physical injuries, particularly muscular tears, are more likely these days due to different physiques and training techniques employed now compared to then is unfounded but other issues to be considered include the volume of training in the professional era, and the increased physicality of the game particularly at the collision area.

4.4 Summary & conclusions

This chapter examines the 1950 - 1969 era of All Black rugby taken from the in-depth interviews with 6 captains and 2 coaches of the era. It starts with a background and descriptive explanation of amateurism, the major point of difference with the last era of this research.

Pride in All Black selection and the wearing of the black jersey and silver fern has never changed as a high point of achievement in the lives of the All Blacks. The symbolism of the black jersey and silver fern as representing New Zealand was mentioned frequently in the interviews. The *haka* was a rite that this generation of All Blacks only performed on tour and subsequently lacked the cultural and political significance it holds today. Because there was no formal induction for new All Blacks the informal and player-led ‘back seat of the bus’ ritual became a de facto method of instilling some values, beliefs and behavioural expectations in the team with which not all players necessarily agreed. In this era which embraced the egalitarian principle of mateship, to have a hierarchical group of senior players who because of their seniority and experience assumed an informal leadership role may seem a contradiction in principles. The major purpose was in establishing some informal, player-led values, disciplines and the behavioural expectations of the team.

The leadership of the New Zealand Rugby Union was traditional, conservative and status quo oriented. In spite of several successful coaches in this era, it was a myth that All Black teams were well coached from a tactical and strategic perspective compared to today’s standards, but they were still able to maintain a largely successful ratio of wins to losses. During the 1960s the All Blacks had two outstanding leaders as captains in Sir Wilson Whineray and Sir Brian Lochore. The leadership of captains of this era reflected the
values of the time, of pride in New Zealand, loyalty to one another and the pursuit of excellence in play that would win matches.

The values of the team mirrored those of mainstream society especially with regards to pride and patriotic loyalty to New Zealand, a strong work ethic, a belief in equality and a need to strive for excellence. The winning of test matches was everything as it maintained an All Black history and legacy of great importance to the nation. Amongst those deeply embedded core assumptions or the taken-for-granted beliefs about reality and human nature that organizations have, was the importance of mateship. This was a legacy of New Zealand’s historical past (egalitarianism) and involvement in WW I and II but it was also a critical part of the amateur ethos, which rugby maintained vehemently during this era.

Adaptation to macro environmental forces was occurring but few problems existed from an organizational perspective politically. Even the involvement of sporting contacts with South Africa, had not been a problem in 1956 or 1965 when the Springboks had toured New Zealand and few protested when the proposed All Black tour to South Africa in 1967 was called off. Keeping political ‘interference’ at arm’s length from rugby became more difficult as the era progressed and in 1960 when the All Blacks toured South Africa minus any Māori players more than 150,000 New Zealanders signed a petition opposing this tour. When the All Blacks finally made it back to the Republic in 1970, Three Māori and one Polynesian New Zealander were included but for the duration of the tour were classified as ‘honorary whites’. The controversial relationship between South Africa and New Zealand, however, did not seem to influence the All Black culture significantly in this era based on the responses from the leaders of the game interviewed for this research.

The economic reality for rugby was that in spite of bountiful gate takings on international tours to New Zealand, rugby was still an amateur sport and profits made by the NZRU largely were used to fund facility development in provincial unions. In a so called culture of “rugby racing and beer” New Zealanders attended racecourses in large numbers while many also made a regular trip to the local TAB.
The beer drinking culture socially existed as New Zealanders drank on average 71 litres of beer and stout per person per annum. (Statistics New Zealand, 1968). Up to 1967 a good deal of this was consumed during the 'six o'clock swill'. The interviews revealed the beer drinking culture, whilst it existed, was primarily a one day a week event after matches as top athletes could not afford to drink excessively and expect to perform well. Socially and from an All Black perspective, women were not catered for in this era in what was generally sub-standard rugby facilities considered to be inappropriate for women and families. The social emancipation of women was yet to come and with marriages and the raising of families occurring at a younger age women's participation in rugby was further inhibited, and confined to supporting male players by washing jerseys, attending injuries and support on the side-lines at matches. This era of New Zealand’s social history was regarded as predominantly mono-cultural or Eurocentric but leaders interviewed in this research considered it to be bi-cultural on the rugby playing fields involving both Māori and Pākehā. Although there were early examples of Pacific Island involvement in the All Blacks, the future multicultural impact on New Zealand rugby was still several decades away, and those interviewed considered the ethnicity of players to be superseded by their identities as All Blacks.

Technological advances in the form of exercise physiology, physical fitness training methods, sports medicine, nutrition, more scientific equipment and the quality of the grounds to play on were comparatively slow in coming in this era. Advances were made in long-haul air travel, and the development of television, both of which would have an increasing impact on how rugby would be played at the international level in later eras. Even the match strategies and tactics of this era were limited. On this basis adaptation to change was relatively easy because rugby was immersed in a status quo mind set. The importance of maintaining the All Black legacy as part of the traditions of the game was recognised by players and administrators alike.
Sir Colin Meads (All Blacks captain)
Shamateurism, as the term implies, was a deceit. The authorities turned a blind eye
to under the table payments in the hope of buying off the players with the proceeds
from their clandestine transactions… They could stall the push for professionalism
while still on the face of it preserving amateurism (Paul Thomas, 2003, p. 47). Furtive
and demeaning though it was, shamateurism worked after a fashion because there
was something in it for both sides (p. 50).

5.0 Background to the era - culture

The era of (1970 – 1989) was a turbulent one of counter culture and world-wide political
activism. This was a period of changing values (beliefs, attitudes), which need to be
understood when assessing the conflicts and turmoil that arose in New Zealand society
during this time. As indicated by Rata (2003), the change was one from the politics of class
to the politics of identity. At a time when New Zealand’s population reached 3 million
(Statistics New Zealand, 1973) “baby-boomers”, who had initially thrown their weight behind
left-wing class politics, supported the group identity politics of feminism, gay rights, and
ethnicised cultural rights and the issue-based politics of anti-nuclearism and
conservationism.

With these changes came a Māori resurgence in New Zealand, largely based on land
rights and, “bi-cultural claims for justice conceived as a power sharing partnership between
Māori and the Crown” (Pearson, 2001, p. 118; 2005, p. 37) as the Treaty of Waitangi signed
in 1840 leapt from obscurity to oracle status (Sharp, 2002). By the mid-1980s the
interpretation of the Treaty had shifted to one of a partnership between two specific entities,
the Crown and the Tribes. Government legislation and public policy during this period
institutionalised the principles of The Treaty into 28 Statutes. The Waitangi Tribunal was
created in 1975 and the Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act (1985) gave it authority to
examine claims back to 1840. The 1987 Court of Appeal decision likening the relationship between the Crown and the Tribes to that of a partnership gave the relationship credibility. The 1983 visit by the nuclear-powered United States Navy frigate "Texas" sparked off protests, and the election of the Lange Labour government in 1984 lead to the adoption of an anti-nuclear policy that in turn lead to the refusal of visitation rights for the American warship, the USS Buchanan. In 1989 anti-nuclear legislation was enacted (it resulted in the Australia, New Zealand, United States of America Security Treaty alliance being put 'on hold' when the US suspended its obligations to New Zealand). The Greenpeace vessel Rainbow Warrior was bombed and sunk by French DGSE agents in Auckland harbour on July 10, 1985.

Economically this period was a mixed bag, which saw Kapuni natural gas supplied to Auckland in 1970. The Tiwai Point Aluminium smelter began operations in 1971, continued supply of butter and cheese to the United Kingdom was secured in the same year, but then the European Economic Community (EEC) introduced import quotas for New Zealand butter set until 1980. The Closer Economic Relations Agreement (CER) was signed with Australia in 1982, the New Zealand dollar floated in 1985, and a Goods and Services Tax (GST) was introduced in the same year. In 1987 share prices on the New Zealand Stock Exchange crashed by 59 percent in four months. As a consequence in 1988 the number of unemployed exceeded 100,000 people.

5.1 Background to the era – rugby - amateurism - shamateurism

From a rugby perspective the 1970-1979 era is often associated with shifts in ideologies especially with regards to amateurism versus professionalism, New Zealand’s relationship with South Africa during their Apartheid era, and the inaugural World Cup tournament in 1987. From a performance perspective, the All Blacks narrowly lost both series in South Africa in 1970 and 1976 and lost a series narrowly to the British Lions for the only time in New Zealand rugby history in 1971. These results affected the All Blacks’ winning ratios in this decade. The apex of All Black performance came with the winning of the World Cup in 1987. It was still an amateur game but the demands on players in time commitment and
physical conditioning were increasing. *Shamateurism* was a reality in France and Italy through the late 1960s – 1980s, as acknowledged by Haden (1983) and Laidlaw (2010). Players during this era, through their comments and publications (for example, Mourie, 1982), were not satisfied with the leadership and direction of rugby and were more demanding in their search for change, particularly with simple issues like royalty payments for books or the acceptance of payment for sponsored advertising. Some players were already receiving payments for playing, a classic example of “shamateurism” in breach of the amateur laws. So the pressures for change to embrace professionalism were coming from players and public alike at an accelerated rate.

Above all else it was rugby contacts with South Africa that dominated the political, social and cultural events and activities of this rugby era. The 1976 All Black tour of South Africa caused a boycott by 28 nations of the Olympic Summer Games held in Montreal due to the refusal by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to ban New Zealand’s participation. As a result of international pressure, the New Zealand Government became a signatory to the Gleneagles Agreement on Sporting Contacts with South Africa in 1977. The Commonwealth Presidents and Prime Ministers agreed, as part of their support for the international campaign against Apartheid, to discourage contact and competition between their sportspeople and sporting organizations, teams or individuals from South Africa.

The separation of sport and politics in New Zealand prior to 1981 was considered possible as a significant number of New Zealanders were willing to accept that sport and politics should be separate, although an increasing number held a contrary viewpoint, and the events of 1981 surrounding the Springbok Tour were about to challenge this assumption. In the period prior to the Tour, the New Zealand Government, which had the power and the authority to make political decisions to align with the Gleneagles Agreement chose a stance of neutrality, leaving the NZRU to make the decision whether to allow the Springbok Tour to go ahead.

Ces Blazey, the Chairman of the NZRU, was vested with the sole responsibility of making statements on behalf of the Union. He made numerous statements on television
news, radio news programmes, through the press and by NZRU circulars to provincial unions. As he noted, the NZRU’s job was to administer rugby, not politics, and was doing so with the support of its 26 Provincial Unions. As a member of the International Rugby Board it was also fulfilling its obligations to the Board. It should be noted that the South Africans claimed their 1981 team was merit selected because it included a coloured player, Errol Tobias and a coloured manager, Abe Williams. In this way they and the NZRU could say they were complying with decrees of previous governments. In response to a question in an interview (Interview transcript, Tape 52, NZ Rugby Museum) Chairman Blazey answered:

_We’re fortunate in as far as New Zealand is concerned. It is part of our democratic system – the right to have a difference of opinion… it has developed to be part of our way of life._

Russell (1999, p. 11) stated that the right to have a difference of opinion has developed to be part of “Our way of life” neatly encapsulated the rugby culture of the time. Chairman Blazey also made the following statement:

_If we were to seek to change the political philosophy of other countries involved in rugby, where we disagreed with it, the time we would be able to devote to sports administration would be materially reduced... we would need to be able to decide in each instance whether the majority of rugby people in New Zealand were in favour or disagreed with the system. We have no wish or intention of becoming involved._

At a later date in response to another question Blazey said:

_Someone might explain to me sometime why it is that we have never heard any suggestion that we were supporting political systems of, for example, Argentina, Uruguay, Romania, France, Italy - or for that matter USA, Canada, Ireland, Australia - when we arranged tours with those countries._

Something of a “Mexican Standoff” developed between the Rugby Union and the Government with neither party prepared to call off the proposed tour. Government members Templeton, Chapple and others did suggest a majority of the National Party were prepared
to support the tour, or at least decline to ask the Union to call it off. Limb (2008, p. 985) describes the Protest Movement as:

A complex mosaic of bodies of diverse forms… there was never a singular, centralised organization… components included specific anti-Apartheid groups, some of them loose coalitions, others tightly focused, and broader supportive organizations such as unions, churches and NGOs… if activists came largely from left-wing, union, student, church and South African communities, supporters came from a broader social range.

Elizabeth Smither, poet and novelist commented about the 1981 Tour that:

There is separation of town and country, like egg-white and egg-yolk (Listener, 99:2176, 3 October, 1981, p.17).

It is difficult to find clear definitive expositions of the role of rugby in New Zealand in establishing a culture and identity in this period because so much of the historical and commentary material is from those specifically involved in the protest movement as either anti-tour protestors, sympathisers or liberal academics and have therefore had a strong bias of anti-tour support (Morris, 1982; Shears & Gidley, 1981; Walker, Beach & Wright, 1982). But, this was the major event of this era and it did effect the rugby culture and in particular the values (beliefs, attitudes) and core assumptions of the participants in rugby generally. Some light is shed on the pro tour supporters by Meurant (1982) whose book The Red Squad Story explained events from the perspective of the Red Escort Group (better known as the Red Squad) - an elite anti-riot branch of the NZ Police, of which Meurant was second-in-command. The book was published only a year after the tour, with the views a reflection of the pro-tour attitudes that many conservative communities held during the period.

Perhaps the impact of the 1981 Springbok Tour on New Zealand is best summarised by Richards (2009) the organizer and leader of the Halt All Racist Tours movement (HART), formed in July 1969 to end New Zealand's sporting relations with South Africa. Richards believed the organization pitted internationalist 1960s idealism against values shaped by two world wars and depression, by rugby and isolation.
The anti-Apartheid campaigns between 1971 and 1981 were supercharged and defining moments in New Zealand because ultimately, they were more about us than they were about South Africa (Richards, 2009, final paragraph).

The polarisation of the views of the tour supporters versus anti-tour protestors became more and more pronounced as time went on without any acknowledgment by either side that there may have been some merit in their opposing views. For example, there was never any acknowledgment from the protest movement that the rugby fraternity did not support Apartheid; instead they were accused of tacit support by continuing with sporting ties. Conversely some pro-tour supporters didn’t see merit or agree with the protest movement. Despite the obvious moral issues involved, most players of this era felt that participating in the games was just a re-affirmation of their basic democratic rights and freedom, and as expressed by Haden (1983, p. 200) “Like most of us in the All Black team political convictions were almost non-existent and rarely mentioned.”

One such player interviewed was Mark Donaldson, a very competitive and combative All Black, fighting for a regular place in the All Blacks at the time and he commented as follows:

*I hope Dave Loveridge [Donaldson’s opposition] follows Mouri’s lead and pulls out so I can play… I’m a definite starter* (cited in Russell, 1999, p. 38).

Bryan Williams a former All Black at the time also commented:

*Speaking as a player with coloured blood who has visited South Africa three times, I say I want the Springboks to tour* (cited in Russell, 1999, p. 39).

Winger Stu Wilson was not prepared to bow down to pressure not to play and said:

*I was not prepared to be told by people – many of whom had other more insidious axes to grind I am sure – where and with whom I could play sport* (cited in Russell, 1999, p.40).

Andy Dalton, who captained the All Blacks in the test series against the Boks, commented on the protest movement:
You have to ask yourself what is the motivation of a fraction of our population who would go to any lengths to get their own way... if the downfall of South Africa is their objective then it is only communism which can gain from that (cited in Russell, 1999, p. 40).

Strong views on the opposition were also expressed by Andy Dalton’s fellow front row team mates, Gary Knight and John Ashworth, who had jointly written a book, *The Geriatric Front Row*:

*We remain convinced that far more sinister elements were involved in the 1981 protest than just a group of idealists motivated by the injustices of Apartheid* (cited in Russell, 1999, p. 40).

Some outstanding All Blacks, because of their moral principles or beliefs, made themselves unavailable for the South African series and a later unofficial Cavaliers tour to the republic. These players included Captains Graham Mourie, David Kirk and Bruce Robertson. Their views were respected by the NZRU members. In addition, some players, on reflection, have questioned their decision to play the Springboks, as has become evident in interviewing captains many years later. Gary Whetton, who made his test debut against the 1981 Springboks made this retrospective comment,

*I love my rugby and I’ll play against the Springboks anywhere and anytime – but not at the cost of what it did to New Zealand (1981) and New Zealanders and to rugby* (cited in Russell, 1999, p. 38).

Thirty years after the event, the 1981 Tour was referred to in a New Zealand television programme *Rage* (Sunday September 4, 2011) as “the event which split a nation in half”, and some also claim it was a defining period in New Zealand history. It therefore needed examination as to its cultural impact not only on the All Blacks then and now, but also New Zealand society. Sylvia Ashton Warner, writer, poet and educator and trade unionist Sonya Davies were examples of women who were scarcely rugby supporters previously but were galvanised in their opposition to rugby and sporting contacts with South Africa on moral grounds. As Ashton Warner at the time said:
Don't look for peace now after the Springbok tour... with the vent blasted open there may be more to be expelled by a volcanic people (cited by Andre Russell, 1999, p. 17).

Considerable violence did erupt at the confrontations outside of the matches in the metropolitan centres, with both sides blaming the other.

The events associated with the Springbok Tour graphically show some of the socio-cultural changes that were taking place in New Zealand society and the role rugby played in this.

5.2 The objective and method for this part of the study

The objective of this part of the study was to analyse the winning ethos and organizational culture of the All Blacks between 1970 and 1989. To achieve this objective semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with 6 captains and 2 coaches of this era.

5.3 Findings

5.3.1 Artefacts & creations

Despite the turbulence of the era from a socio-political and economic perspective, one constant was the aura and status of being an All Black, which was unchanged as far as the players were concerned, but the public perception from the protest faction was anti-rugby and anti-All Black.

Symbols

All interviewees recognized they were part of a special group with an historical tradition and legacy that had to be honoured, sustained and passed on to the next era or generation. So the pride in selection and the wearing of the jersey and the silver fern was undiminished from previous times. The following examples typify the value placed on wearing the jersey with the fern by the captains:

Being an All Black was absolutely the most important thing that I ever wanted to achieve as I was growing up and getting a lot of disappointments along the way... my father was an All Black of course, not that he ever spoke of that, but I was aware of it, and probably from the age of seven or eight, as long as I can remember, I knew
about the All Blacks… I used to listen to them on my little transistor in my room at two or three o’clock in the morning in South Africa. So wearing the jersey was something special.

Many All Black teams were announced after trial matches at Athletic Park, Wellington as was the case for this All Black captain:

Mine was more of a traditional All Black announcement at the trials in Wellington and to wear the jersey and fern was something significant and meaningful from going to and watching countless test matches.

On occasions due to circumstance the announcement of the team was by national radio:

I heard it on the radio, and it was lovely to hear it with your family… then the phone starts ringing … a phone call from the All Black coaches and you’re running around like a blue-arsed fly trying to organise your life because you’d made it into the All Blacks… the wearing of the jersey - it’s very humbling. I used to wear it with total respect as it is a prized possession… you learn when you are an All Black that it is a special club - such a small club and there’s a lot of honour… there is pride in the jersey from all our Rangatira that have worn it before and so we’re basically the guardians of the jersey and you’ve got to give it your best shot to uphold those values.

The thrill of selection, the honour of wearing the All Black jersey and the silver fern, and the privilege of coaching this team were not diminished for captains and coaches of this era, despite the conflict and turbulence that occurred in New Zealand society at this time.

Rites & rituals

The Haka

The haka is a rite that came of age in the 1987 World Cup when the All Blacks introduced it on ‘home turf’ for the first time. It will be seen however from the comments of the captains of this era that the views regarding the haka were not necessarily ones of total support. For one captain, the haka had little meaning at the time of his involvement:
I had no connection to the haka whatsoever, and in fact I sort of think it was a wee bit like the Bledisloe Cup, it was a non-event at the time because we never used to do it at home and we didn’t practice it.

The memories are not all good for another captain:

I shudder when I look back and watch us do it because we weren’t anywhere near as good as these guys are today. But it was impressed upon us early on, I mean it was very much a part of the All Black mystique - but more so even than I suspect.

Some were critical of how the haka is now overdone to the point it may reduce the significance of it:

I didn’t think the haka or the Bledisloe Cup meant very much… it wasn’t in the picture as far as I was concerned as a rugby tradition… it is overdone… I think hakas tend to break out in all sorts of situations now that don’t make it special any longer… if you come third or turn up late to the Olympic village you get a haka thrown at you… so there’s a whole lot of stupid hakas done and I think that belittles the haka quite a bit… I’d like to see it get back to the specialness of it, and the symbolic status of it, and have it used in that sort of way… I think the haka can be fantastic for its uniqueness to New Zealand rugby but it has to be kept unique and special.

During this era, the ritual of the haka was yet to become firmly established as the significant All Black ritual it is today, and some captains and coaches feel that it may be overdone as a ritual in today’s sporting context because it is no longer exclusive to the All Blacks and rugby.

Induction and the ‘back seat of the bus’

If one accepts the fact that induction into the All Blacks in a manner expected in many businesses today was virtually non-existent in this era, then it is easy to understand how the senior players adopted the ritual of the ‘back seat of the bus’ as a means of setting values and rules of behaviour for the team outside the influence of team management, as commented on by a long-term senior All Black and captain:
It was symbolic as well and I think it was an important part of the internal disciplines of the team… I saw a transition from the ‘50s and ‘60s post war era and heard a lot about that era, and was probably thought to be a little bit maverick and new generational in the ‘70s and ‘80s but at the same time I was watching what was going to be coming in the ‘90s and 2000s being in the team…I thought that the stability of the internal disciplines of the side came from the back seat of the bus…it removed the captain and coach and management from the day-to-day part of the discipline of the team and the preservation of its traditions.

I thought that was a very important part of it… it did develop a very, very efficient and highly respected part of All Black rugby… I was in the back seat of the All Black bus for about 10 years so I’m sure that I wouldn’t have people going to the game or to training with their headphones on listening to rap music because you need to talk to the guy that’s sitting next to you about the weather conditions or things that are just cropping up on a frequent basis or things that just come into your head about the game that you’re preparing for and you can’t do that if he’s engrossed in rap music…

I think that’s wrong… it is something that the ‘back seat of the bus’ would deal with.

These comments illustrate changing values (beliefs, attitudes) from the second era (still amateur) to the next era which introduced professional rugby. This captain is comparing preparation in a 48 hour time period before a test match with recent players who have considerable time together and much more detailed preparation. With the influence of the senior players and the ‘back seat of the bus’ group, players were expected to be disciplined and focused even on the bus going to a match. The professional player has an entirely different build up and preparation even prior to the game on the ground so relaxation and the use of iPods etcetera are now permissible.

Another successful captain of this era confirms the value of the ritual from a team perspective:
I only ever got involved in the back a couple of times… I think the senior players were important in the back seat when they were responsible and did things properly…then it was a good tradition to maintain… my understanding of earlier teams like 72/73 where there was too much booze and too much dominance by senior players it was bad… I think that the coach and the captain don’t actually run the team, the senior players do…I think the coaches and the captains have the responsibility of setting the pathway for the senior players by getting them on board and getting the planning and the whole thing going in the right direction with the help of the senior players.

The use of rites and rituals to establish values and processes by the All Blacks is more understandable in this amateur rugby era in the absence of a formal induction process. The rituals of informal leadership like the ‘back seat of the bus’ ritual, and the emphasis on winning is indelibly emphasised by the words of Sir John Kirwin (2010, p. 42), who played in both the second and third eras of this research, regarding the influence of senior players:

*When I first made the All Blacks the older guys were pretty tough on me, as they were for all newcomers. They said, "You know, if we lose on Saturday it's your fault"… They said, “It's the man in the jersey, not the jersey”...That's the whole attitude: take the responsibility first…and while that might sound particularly hard, it's actually true.*

**5.3.2 Values**

Because culture in the enactment sense is either a perpetuation of the same state or a change to a new one in response to the forces of the external environment, it is relatively understandable that the forces for change occurring in New Zealand in the 1970s and 1980s would alter the All Black organizational culture in this time frame. This did occur and will be commented on, but some values remained deeply embedded in the core assumptions of the team. The first of these, unchanged from the previous era, was the importance of history and of winning.
The importance of history – the All Black legacy

Whether coach or captain, all the All Blacks of this era felt the embrace of history and tradition and were part of what to them was a special club. One captain sums up the importance of history with the following statement:

I think tradition is going to carry us a long, long way… we keep telling each new generation that comes through about the past All Black teams and their success… to me I think it is tradition and legacy that works.

Another captain reaffirms how important being an All Black was:

In those days you never actually got asked to be Captain you were told... it was a bit of shock really... because I was only 23 at that stage so it was a fairly daunting prospect for a country boy... as you got older there is always that further responsibility, because you became a senior player, that you wanted the team to be as good as it could be every time that you went out there.

One of the coaches of this era used his own experiences of appointment to illustrate the importance of the All Black traditions and legacy:

For me becoming an All Black coach was a greater achievement than being selected as an All Black... it's part of our history and traditions just as being an All Black is... but coaching is much tougher than playing... with coaching you have to learn and know every facet of the game, whereas as a player you don't... when I became All Black coach there were two things that came into my mind.... one was, I now had the weight and expectation of not just the rugby community but the whole of New Zealand on my shoulders... it is so significant that the economy relied on it and the general well-being and the mood of the country relied on it... I was responsible for setting a standard of hard work and achievement. I had to maintain the history and traditions of the All Blacks - a wonderful challenge.

Winning ethos & winning excellence

All coaches of this era expressed similar views on the importance of winning reflected in this comment:
I think it’s fundamental… I just look at these guys going on to Eden Park on Saturday night - we haven’t lost a test at Eden Park since 1994 and that’s pretty huge… on Saturday night, the winning ethos is so fundamental to the culture and I think it’s been ingrained for years… that’s what I think has been passed on for years and years and it just keeps going on… I think the wonderful thing about the All Blacks is the tradition and its history… the belief of players in what happened before and so winning was something that was an absolute focus because that was part of it.

I think everyone knows when you go out there, particularly the higher up you go, they want you to win and that was the whole beauty and joy of being an All Black…if you had a team that got it right you could win 80% - 90% of the time…you could win and that’s the challenge really…to get it right as often as possible…I think good coaches don’t actually talk about winning. they talk about how you are going to do things and why you are going to do things and what the outcome will be.

Another captain expressed it differently but with the same intent:

It was the fear of losing more than the importance of winning…and the fear of losing was working out who you played this game for…an All Black coach - and they all used to go on about the same thing…it’s not the name of the team or the colour of the jersey, but the people around you and that’s what I think All Black sides worked out that they were playing for a very tight group.

**Changing values**

The event that highlighted the changing values at least for a large portion of New Zealand society was the 1981 Springbok Tour and the build up to it over almost two decades. This response from an All Black captain involved during the Springbok tour is an example of the changing values after a long period of reflection:

In ’81 the Springboks were here for three tests…we all put our hands up and played… I don’t think anyone realised what was going to happen…it just basically divided the whole country… it divided my family… it divided my friends… I and a lot of guys wouldn’t have played, if we knew… hindsight is great, but no one would have
done that… who would’ve known there was going to be one big brawl after brawl just over a game of football… and it was divided…it was either for or against… there was no middle ground.

The following comments by an All Black captain cover many aspects of the controversy but also explain the reasons behind some changing perceptions and a belief he was part of change:

As a player, I’m pleased to say that I was part of the first multi-racial All Blacks side that went to South Africa and I totally believed in that… there was no real change during the time I started until the time I finished really because we did tour South Africa and it was really after I finished playing that things became much more difficult.

5.3.3 Core assumptions

Mateship

In the All Blacks, the egalitarian principle of mateship of being part of an exclusive club and dependent on your mates continued as a core assumption unaffected by changing values and a legacy of New Zealand’s past. A common view of the captains of this era was expressed as:

There was great “Esprit de Corp” in all the teams I played in…you relied on your mates and they did on you…issues of money never clouded things as you played for the pride of representing your country.

Playing in the All Blacks and for my province in the amateur era gave me mates whose friendship continues today.

Mateship also reflects Hofstede’s (1980) low power distance ratios as part of the national cultural characteristics of New Zealanders. The feeling of mateship is probably best encapsulated for all eras of this research, but particularly for the amateur era by current captain Richie McCaw (despite himself being a product of the professional era), at the funeral of former All Black captain and NZRU Chairman Jock Hobbs (18th March, 2012) when he said to the family and all the rugby luminaries present:
The All Blacks’ cap stood for courage, commitment and mateship… he had saved the game of rugby, but if that was put to one side I think you’ll agree we’ve lost a mate, just a genuine good bugger.

5.3.4 Leaders & leadership

Management/administration

The New Zealand Rugby Union management or leadership during this period came in for constant criticism, for its remoteness, obduracy and reluctance to be innovative. The following quotation in the DB Rugby Annual by editor Howitt (1978, p. 8) in his season’s review highlights some of these criticisms and issues:

*Probably no administrative body cops more criticism year in and year out than the New Zealand Rugby Union… the guardians of the national game have been targets for abuse on endless topics from relations with South Africa to dirty play, to expenses for players to live telecasts… as amateur administrators men like NZRU chairman Ces Blazey must sometimes wonder if it is all worth it* (Howitt, 1978, p. 8).

In the same review Howitt raises a number of the issues which distinguish this era from its predecessor and the last era. One such issue was the ‘threat’ of professionalism as it related to player expenses, the costs of setting up a professional rugby competition and royalties for writing books. Howitt’s comments regarding royalties were enlightening with regards to the farcical nature of trying to ensure the game maintained its amateur status:

*The hot topic of players who write books having royalties paid into trust funds surfaced following Sid Going’s retirement and the publication of his best seller “Super Sid”… when Colin Meads wrote his book, he was allowed to have the royalties paid into a trust fund, administered by his family solicitor… so if Going goes ahead and takes the money he forfeits his status… he is finished playing, so that doesn’t bother him… but it means Rugby can never benefit from his coaching or administrative talent* (Howitt, 1978, p. 9).

This was a turbulent period of changing social attitudes which rugby author McLean (1977) in a book aptly titled *Winter of Discontent* after the Lions Tour in 1977 pointed out the
shortcomings in rugby administration and the growing difficulties in trying to secure volunteers to keep the game afloat. His criticisms included the calamitous financial situation of many small unions, the problems of parochialism, small mindedness and a lack of moral courage in dealing with national issues, which he regarded as “gnawing at the stout timbers of the game” (McLean, 1977, p.50). He was also critical of the methods of central administration.

Haden (1983) in his book *Boots’ n All* in a chapter “Administratively Speaking”, lambasts the New Zealand Union for its lack of foresight and innovation, a view commonly held throughout New Zealand at the time. Haden was still an All Black at the time of writing his book. One comment probably says it all:

*Whoever said a camel was a horse designed by a committee must have had the New Zealand Rugby Union in mind* (Haden, 1983, p. 212).

The comments of Howitt, Haden and McLean are an important assessment of the leadership and administration of rugby in this era. As a member of the NZRU Council from 1973 – 1986 I can confirm their accuracy. The administration and leadership, as distinct from the All Black captains and coaches, was fragmented both internationally and nationally in this amateur era. Administration, as the word implies, is devoid of any innovation as it focuses on maintaining its existing processes and the status quo. For both New Zealand rugby and its International Board counterparts’ the process of maintaining the status quo became more important than any innovative outcomes that would have helped rugby develop and progress.

As a member together with two other New Zealanders and three Australian representatives on the original Rugby World Cup committee, I can vouch for the fact that what could appear like an innovative move by both Unions, from a New Zealand perspective, arose more from pressures from the external environment. South Africa were not involved in the initiatives. The NZRU continued throughout the period to maintain its financial position with no fall in income from tours and the playing strength in secondary schools was maintained as an article published in 1985 points out (Rugby News, August 28, 1985). But
there was an underlying opposition to the rugby union for a combination of factors created by a changing external environment which national rugby was not well geared to cope with which will be discussed later in this chapter.

**Leadership – Captaincy**

Despite the weaknesses of New Zealand’s rugby administration during this period, exceptional leadership, at the coach and/or captain level was critical to maintaining All Black success during this era. The views expressed by the captains of this era support the “Great man or trait theory” of leadership, which are interesting in view of the criticism of rugby administration and some of the coaching during this time. A captain of this era made the following comment on leadership:

*I never aspired to be a leader… I sort of had it thrown at me… I had captains who were supposedly good captains… a lot of the time their style of leadership was my style… the thing I enjoyed about the leadership role was that I like winning, and I liked things to be done well, so that gave me the opportunity to actually be in a position where I could influence what happened and what was done by other people.*

It was evident that most of the captains of this era were appointed because of the leadership traits they possessed and displayed. In accordance with Stogdill’s (1974) theories, these traits, depending on the requirements of the situation, may have included intelligence, alertness to the needs of others, an understanding of the task requirements, self-confidence, initiative and persistence. Notwithstanding the traits possessed by each captain, they all spoke of the importance of experiential learning in becoming a more effective leader. All captains interviewed were modest in their own self-assessment of their abilities:

*Having been captain [at the provincial level] I’d had that experience and I guess they saw in me the fact that I could lead these guys… the selectors thought I could do the job… it wasn’t difficult given that there were good leaders within that squad who were generally very supportive… I believe the skills I brought to the position were the values that were expected… and I had some experience in captaincy… I never had a mentor because I was always, for whatever reason made captain of the teams that I*
was in so even in Counties I got thrown in... I had to learn my way through and relied heavily on senior players and the organization to help me... right through my times as a captain I drew on those senior players a lot.

This is an example of a leader being appointed based on the personality traits he possessed and an assessment of his experience by the selectors. It also further reinforces the contention that experiential learning and assistance from senior players helped leadership effectiveness. One captain of this era when talking about his responsibilities as a captain had the following to say on the issue of playing the South Africans:

\textit{In '76 I would have gone to Africa but being captain in the intervening period, I felt I had a greater responsibility than just to myself and just to play... and from a rugby perspective it was going to be pretty disastrous for rugby and from a New Zealand perspective was going to be pretty disastrous for New Zealand... I think all of those judgments at the time, I think in retrospect was the right decision.}

\textbf{Leadership – Coaching}

The coaches and players interviewed from this era acknowledged there was a big difference in the calibre, experience, and strategic/tactical capabilities of some of the coaches appointed, compared to the professional era where they go through an exhaustive selection process. The coaching varied from an almost \textit{laissez-faire} style to successful coaches like Jack Gleeson (1977-78) and Sir Brian Lochore (1985-1987) whose team won the 1987 World Cup. These coaches possessed the traits, skills and attributes necessary to be successful. Personality traits included self-confidence, emotional maturity and stability, and whilst both men had a background of successful provincial coaching experience, they were highly motivated by self-actualisation needs and values. Both coaches possessed good technical skills; Jack Gleeson’s related specifically to back play and Sir Brian Lochore’s to forward play. Both had good interpersonal skills and conceptual skills as evidenced by Gleeson’s complete change of tactics to beat the French in 1977 and Lochore’s tactical and strategic approach to winning the 1987 Rugby World Cup.
In periods subject to the *laissez-faire* style of leadership, the All Blacks still maintained their success ratios largely due the informal leadership of senior players. The *laissez-faire* approach is acknowledged in the comments of one captain of this era who said:

*There was just no question at all that the players were in charge and that’s not putting the coaches in a negative way.*

Another coach and former successful captain’s assessment of some coaches was:

*We have had All Black selector coaches that had never taken provincial teams… they’d never coached… and came into teams that really coached themselves… the coaches just stood under the goal posts… I couldn’t believe it.*

One very successful captain of this era had no compunction in destroying the myth that all New Zealand coaching has been visionary and skilled with the following comment:

“They’ll probably get upset by me saying it, but there was no question senior players ran the show… I mean we had Jack Gleeson, a very astute coach, and Ron Don was his manager and there was just no question at all that the senior players were in charge and that’s not putting them in a negative way… Ron was in charge of the cheque-book and Jack was in charge of the on-field activities, but in terms of setting standards, behaviour and expectations… no question it was the senior players.*

Another captain and long term All Black acknowledged some of the coaching deficiencies of the era but not all was bad as he explained:

*In our era yes there were coaching frailties, a lack of ideas, a lack of specific knowledge and there was virtually no positional input… no one could help with feet position of front rowers or jumping techniques of second rowers or anything like that… so in today’s game there are a whole raft of experts that are handling these sorts of things… I don’t think they should be present when the game preparation is on because that’s too late at that stage… those are the sorts of things that you do a long way before that but in terms of the leadership and the way that the team was operating, if you had good strong man management, a good strong leader and were clever enough, then I think the rest of the things fell into place because everybody
became contributors… then in the most unlikely set of circumstances up would come the most imaginative ideas… we did have some good moments of intelligent coaching… have a look at the short line-outs we pulled against the French after we’d been totally smashed by them in Toulouse a week before… they were begging the referee to stop the game and start it again because this was not a game that they wanted to be part of… so at that point we knew we’d won that match hands down.

A more benign assessment of All Black coaches of this era came from another captain who was looking at coaches more from an overall national game perspective when he made the following comment directed at the future success of rugby:

All my coaches coming through were very good coaches, teaching catching and passing, and tackling… I think at lower club level there’s a lot of people putting their time in for nothing and that’s fantastic… it’s never going to change but we just have to get the clubs within themselves to be more proactive in teaching our youngsters better skills… you’ve got to have enthusiastic coaches, coaches that can communicate, coaches who can have fun with them… coaches who are good enough to teach the skills of the game.

Whilst captains and coaches acknowledged the difference in coaching from this era to the present day, and acknowledged too that some coaching was of a mediocre standard, from the results of the All Blacks during this period, some things must have been done right despite the 1970s being a period when the All Blacks narrowly lost test series to South Africa (1970; 1976) and the British Lions (1971). An example of a respected coach of this era, now deceased, was J.J. Stewart who was favourably commented on by a number of captains:

I was involved with a top coach of this era… J.J. was a guy that the last time he had been involved at a New Zealand level I think was about 15 years previously with the New Zealand Colts to Sri Lanka… he was a guy that could be coaching rugby today… he was an absolute character and factotum of knowledge… I think those good coaches had an ability to stand and bring people together and he had this wonderful ability and great sense of humour and he brought all these guys together
and he selected a whole lot of experience if you like, to support him and the players he picked.

The need for innovation and the flexibility to try new things has been a feature of All Black rugby over the period of the research and is one reason for the resilience of the team in countering adverse results. Whilst the approach to tactics and strategies may differ from team to team, the focus is always the same, to adopt a winning formula that puts pressure on the opposition. The following is a game plan approach and use of special tactics through the eyes of another All Black captain which indicates the commitment to innovation:

Well we had what you could call a game plan… we knew how we wanted to play the game… we might have a few specific things we wanted to do… a gratifying example at the time was when we had a “silly kick off” and Joe Morgan’s try against South Africa resulted from this move… those sort of things weren’t the rule; were more the exception but we knew exactly what we wanted to do around the paddock… J.J. always had things on like you know standing with our backs to the opposition and the ball was passed along the back you know you would only do them at training standing in lines behind one another and running off… doing things but it made guys think and we wanted to play an expansive game… which was a wee bit different to most teams at the time.

The importance of strategy and tactics, as part of an overall coaching and leadership philosophy, involves innovative and new methods of play, as illustrated by the remarks of this captain:

The first thing is you have got to have an understanding of where you are going in your planning… somebody had to make decisions… one of the things that actually really influenced me as a leader was talking to the guys and finding the previous All Blacks had not settled on a specific philosophy… so the first thing was here’s where we are going, and that was my role… certainly with some of the other coaches we had, you wouldn’t get any direction at all… so the players in the team had to set the goals because if you had people that actually develop the ideas and process the
ideas you were more likely to be successful... so certainly while I had, always met with the senior players and we would have a fair idea of where we wanted to go, it was pretty important that the ideas actually came from within the team and that there was agreement... the players actually run the team, even the players now... I think Graham (Henry) has probably got to the point now where Richie (McCaw) and the senior players have a huge say in what goes on.

The same captain gave an interesting example of the importance of tactics and why it is vital to success for a captain to be able to change them during a game when the original plan is not working:

As far as changing tactics on the field is concerned, this requires intelligence, understanding and confidence... we would always have our plans done before so if things were not working... this is what we are going to do... again particularly the senior players are important in the decision making process... you need to have a tactical understanding of the game... so having those mental checklists gives you a tactical base and a school of knowledge to actually work on and that enables you by just talking to players to change the tactics successfully.

According to this captain, strategy and tactics are vital to success – he used the 1977 match against the French as an example:

Strategies and tactics win games. I remember in '77 in France we got absolutely brutalised in the forwards in Toulouse, my very first test, All Black number 772. And within a week we had to turn it around and Jack Gleeson said, “Boys we’re going to hit and run, we’re going to snipe all day in the second test because we’ve got to admit that we’re not big enough and ugly enough and basically thugs... we did and won.

The importance of strategy and tactics is graphically accounted for by this captain using the same French match example:

I felt probably very fortunate that I had had Barry Bracewell (Counties) who was tactically a very astute coach... and then Jack Gleeson in combination with Andy
Haden, Bruce Robertson and Graham Mourie. . .they set the tactics and strategies, and the team bought into it… that’s probably the biggest change from the first test to the second test that I ever saw and identified tactically how important it was to go in with a new approach to the game… it’s not always the best team on paper that will win… we proved that in that second test, they were a much better team than we were.

5.3.5 Adaptation to change in macro environment

Political

By New Zealand standards 1970-1989 was a period of political turmoil dominated almost entirely by the issue of sporting contacts with South Africa. Much of the comment and criticism of rugby relations with South Africa is done through a retrospective lens using the values and standards of today with the benefit of hindsight and doesn’t acknowledge some of the difficulties and factors involved at the time. It is accepted, and was at the time by the NZRU, that there is no moral justification for Apartheid and the racial segregation policies that preceded them which were reprehensible and morally indefensible. But it was the selective morality used by the protest movement who ignored many other political and human rights abuses in Africa and the rest of the world when attacking South Africa as the pariah state that rankled with those who wanted to play rugby against South Africa naively believing sport and politics did not mix.

The following are a selection of comments from captains which highlight their decision-making processes with regards to participating or not participating in games against South Africa during this era. Their comments reinforce some of the same debates, difficulties and complexities that New Zealand was experiencing as a nation. The first captain chose not be involved with South Africa via rugby:

Obviously I didn’t play against South Africa in ’81 and I mean that was a pretty tough decision… I had been captain for four or five years at that stage… so that was a pretty tough call and to me the philosophy wasn’t just the political Apartheid thing it was actually the knowledge that I had from extensive reading… I was pretty much in
the know about what was going on, so I had very good information about what was
going to happen.

One captain that toured South Africa in 1976 became disillusioned with the perfidy and
hypocrisy of politicians and journalists regarding the issues that arose as a result of the
Springbok tours:

The thing that disappointed me the most was the then Deputy Prime Minister at the
time Tizard when I just asked him, will you interfere with the tour?... his reply to me
was no and then they lied... he lied to me... he could’ve said yes and I was always a
supporter of his Party at that stage... politics is only like a game of rugby isn’t it... I
never take politicians seriously now... but it was made all that more difficult with the
walk out of the Olympic Games... the thing that we couldn’t get our head round was,
Mauritius who led the walk out had volleyball teams or badminton teams in South
Africa at the same time as us... we were getting the Keith Quinn comments about
him being embarrassed to be a New Zealander at the Olympics and then he comes
over and joined us to get interviews for TV.

This captain also expressed, by his own admission perhaps naively, the view that New
Zealanders should have the right to play anybody in sport provided they played by the
sporting rule:

Clearly the South African issue was the major one that we had to work through... and
where I came from (and still do) is as long as the person and the team is playing by
the rules of the game I’ll play against them... the minute you start picking who you’re
going to play against you leave yourself widely exposed as a sportsperson... I
acknowledge things have changed in South Africa (some for the better, not all) but
the minute you start picking who you are going to compete against I think you leave
yourself very exposed... so my stance has always been that I will play against
anybody, just as long as they abide by the rules.. .the government intervention, I
struggle with because it’s not from a sporting perspective... but maybe I’m naive.
The long arm of the government is expressed by this captain’s account of retribution he received having gone to South Africa with the Cavaliers, as well as having played for the All Blacks:

*I think that politics is in sport… we knew it back then as well, but to take away the dream of a young player to actually play rugby in South Africa is pretty tough…the reason I went [with the Cavaliers] was selfish… it was for me… and I was probably going to get dropped from the All Blacks or reprimanded… but I was willing to take that chance… the greatest thing in my era was to be able to play against the Springboks and this was my chance… I missed it in 1981 and the thing is they didn’t play another Springbok team until 1992 so I did that because I was quite selfish… I wasn’t worried about the politics of it all… I didn’t really worry too much about the family because I walked out of my job as well… after I came back, the government became involved by blocking my coming back into the military, which is quite sad that they got involved… we also were stood down from playing a couple of tests when we came back… but when I applied for my job back again they wouldn’t give it to me and gave me a limp reason, but it was actually a political directive from government.*

Another captain played in 1981 but has since reflected that had he known the disruptions and divisiveness it would cause would not have played in hindsight. He makes some pertinent comments on the 1981 tour and how they dealt with the situation:

*What we did as the tour developed and we saw the trouble and the crap that was happening in this country we thought… hell, there’s only one way we can get out of this with our noses reasonably clean…we’ve got to beat them… so if you took away from the trouble around the periphery of the tour, the actual test series as a rugby series, one all going to the third, was a classic, you couldn’t write a script that good…unfortunately there was the madness at Eden Park… madness…a dive bomber and flour bombs and a huge big fight outside… a lot of the “gangies” got together because there was a good chance to beat up a cop and get away with it… it was just a war zone, afterwards… so, we re-retrenched… if that’s what they want*
we’ve just got to knuckle down, keep out of the heat, don’t go out, we’ll lock down…
we’ll just go into lockdown like jail… cops all around us, no one could get in or out…and you know to go to a rugby match with cops on board the bus, cops in front of us and cops behind us in cars, you know it’s just not us, it’s not us… it might be Belfast back in the early 70s, but it’s not New Zealand [applied to the Police shields and batons and New Zealanders rioting in the streets]….so we just made a huge decision to knock’em over, send them home, repair the damage, which took years, it didn’t happen overnight….and 2-1 in the test series was the only good thing we could take out of it, to be honest.

**Economic**

This era preceded the professional era, which did not start until 1995. Whilst there was a gradual introduction of shamateurism, and players were disgruntled about expenses and book royalties, most of the captains and coaches interviewed focused their remarks on the differences that professionalization has made economically to the game. One captain had this to say:

> I think it’s good… I’m surprised how quickly it came in, but there were a few forces out there that shoved it through pretty quickly… outside forces are always great to create some action and to get some people thinking… well we could have lost all these guys and our game would have been buggered… so when they were threatened they did actually react.

This captain then went on to highlight some of the difficulties with professionalism as experienced by rugby league:

> I think professionalism is the way… I think we’re very naive at times, whereas League has been doing it for years…they understand salary caps, even though some teams do cheat on them…their game is run pretty well and they do have horror stories every Monday morning… David Gallop must wake up every Monday morning with the NRL in Australia and think ‘what’s coming today? It’s a tsunami every
weekend and we get one or two incidents and our country just goes into despair…
anyway I think professionalism had to come.

Other aspects of professionalism, pointed out by another captain, include the player and
coaching drain overseas, and the leeching off of New Zealand rugby’s intellectual capital:

It is a problem when we can’t compete financially and I believe absolutely we should
receive transfer fees and they should come in at provincial level first… if someone’s
come through the system from the primary schools, secondary schools and club
rugby and is then snatched away then some of the money should compensate those
bodies… and the same should happen with the All Blacks… apparently there are 45
All Blacks playing overseas at the moment… and that’s not including the second tier
below Super 15 players and ex All Blacks… it’s hundreds playing in second and third
division in Britain and France and Holland and Portugal.

Another captain, however, was supportive of players going overseas as he only saw benefits
arising for the game in New Zealand:

It is a drain on our resources and it is leaching off our intellectual capital but I would
like to see them then come back and be a part of developing the next tier… so
bringing back a guy who’s been involved in All Black rugby who dropped out at the
age of 24/25, and goes overseas until about 28/29 and then comes back and plays
club rugby and maybe rep rugby for the next two or three years, like Tana Umaga
has done I think is beneficial for New Zealand rugby… some onus of responsibility
needs to be placed on players who go overseas.

However, the complexities of professional rugby often offset some of the benefits, as another
captain pointed out:

It’s a challenge for New Zealand… I think it will sort itself out in time… I think the
marketing simply determines the payment of players… I think it’s critical for all
involved in the game that we can still make it an attractive game for the sponsors as
well as the fans… it is the fans who will drive the sponsors so we need to make sure
that we are producing a shining spectacle and the players need to buy into that…we
are extremely young in terms of professional sport, so there’s still a lot of learning to go through.

Other problems with the professional era were raised by this captain regarding the impact on club rugby and the lack of ‘hard graft’ players now experience:

Well I think the transition from amateur to professional rugby hasn’t been easy for us… it has created huge holes within our club system solely because we don’t get to see the top guys play at club level any more… players are leaving school at 18 and 19 and they’re Super 14 players at the age of 19 and 20 and really haven’t done any hard graft in the system… talented they may be but they haven’t really honed all their skills and they still haven’t had to do any hard graft….it’s too easy… sometimes you can destroy a kid’s career by bringing him in too early when they’re not ready for it mentally or physically and I think that that’s the part that we’re still learning… I left home when I was 17 and made the All Blacks when I was 27, ten years later… ten years in the workforce… so what was in my head as a 27 year old becoming an All Black was different to an 18/19 year old becoming an All Black when he’s just come out of school.

This quote reflects the amateur ethos of rugby during this era, with regards to doing the ‘hard yards’ and working outside of rugby as the ideal development for a rugby player versus the perception today that if you want to be a professional rugby player you must work as a rugby player.

Socio-cultural

The socio-cultural changes in this era were pronounced, as has already been noted. In New Zealand similarly to the rest of the Western World, the values which began in the 1960s of increasing political awareness and economic and political liberty for women continued. The “Hippie” culture of the 60s waned, but the opposition to the Vietnam War and nuclear weapons continued with an increasing advocacy for world peace and hostility to the authority of government and big business. Most industrialised countries experienced economic recession and an oil crisis caused by OPEC (Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting
Countries). A number of right wing governments came to power in this period and the “Me Too” generation (Wolfe, 1976) was considered to be self-indulgent and materialistic. Furthermore the socio-cultural changes taking place ultimately would affect the All Blacks as the values (beliefs, attitudes) of society changed. The most noticeable visual change in the All Blacks was from the clean shaven image of the past to an age of more hirsute moustachioed, bearded and long-haired players as seen in their team photos, perhaps a symbolic statement of individualism and anti-authoritarianism.

The appearance of the All Blacks is an artefact (i.e., visible and tangible) and as implied by Bassett (2002) for anyone in the baby boom generation, the term countercultural inspires reminiscences of the '60s and '70s, and anti-establishmentarian grooming (basically hirsute), dress (heavy on beads and headbands), behaviour (sex, drugs and rock 'n' roll), and politics (anti-war). This affirms my contention it was a visible sign of individualism and anti-authoritarianism in spite of the team collective wearing the same style.

Alcohol culture
The drinking culture was well ingrained in New Zealand society by the 1970 – 1989 era. New Zealand’s overall drinking culture was affected by the relaxation in drinking hours at hotels, taverns and restaurants. This was still an amateur playing era and the socialising and drinking, essentially beer, after games continued as it did in the previous era. Access to alcohol, however, was easier and team drinking sessions did continue. Norm Hewitt, a product of this era, very honestly in his book Gladiator: The Norm Hewitt Story (Laws, 2001, p. 32) focuses on the problem of alcohol abuse for some players and particularly young ones:

The Tech club celebrated its season opener in the usual manner – with a noisy leer-up in the clubrooms, where the 19-year-old indulged in all the drinking games… he quickly became a binge drinker, trying to match his consumption against his older and more experienced club mates, and failing dismally he would stagger home pissed… The Colts actually started me off… We’d have drinking sessions after training, another one after the game… it was just rugby… drink… rugby… drink…
teenagers they are immortal anyway and I was no different… It was - still is – a booze culture.

The drinking intensity would depend on the individual and his attitude to drinking and moderation, but there were isolated incidents where players had to be disciplined. The media coverage was far less intense than it is today. In the first two eras of this research attitudes to alcohol consumption didn’t change much. It was an amateur era where players played the game for enjoyment and socialising within the team and with opposition players was the accepted norm. Where alcohol induced indiscretions occurred like the Murdoch incident in Wales in 1972 the player was severally penalised. Murdoch was sent home amidst considerable publicity. A captain of this era had the following to say about the drinking of alcohol:

Every player is different… there are some players we’ve played with that should never touch alcohol… they can’t handle liquor… if you’re going to drink and get angry or get vicious or anything you shouldn’t drink… I’ve seen one or two players that became All Blacks and drank alcohol and shouldn’t have, and therefore didn’t stay All Blacks. I think that the image has changed… in our days because most players drank and had a few beers after the game, a few beers in the dressing room afterwards and all that sort of thing…. nowadays they’ll be having bananas and sandwiches and a cup of tea and things whereas we never, it was unheard of the culture has changed… Whereas after every game we had a few drinks and invariably you had a few drinks with your opposition because in all the games we played on tour there was always a dinner afterwards.

Women’s involvement

There is an irony in the fact that New Zealand, the first nation in the world to grant all women the right to vote in 1893, should be swept up in the worldwide emancipation of women ushered in by the counter culture movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Thompson (1988) in an article titled “Challenging the Hegemony: New Zealand Women's Opposition to Rugby and the Reproduction of a Capitalist Patriarchy” challenged the hegemony of male
patriarchy in rugby in New Zealand and “challenged the values, gender relations and power which was symbolized and reproduced by the sport” (p. 205). The Springbok Tour controversy provided a catalyst and a vehicle for feminists to address wider issues of gender discrimination such as wage disparities, political representation, and domestic violence. Thompson (1988, p.205) stated, “women were mobilised in their opposition by a compelling frustration with and resentment of the sport of rugby.” The statement of Hartman (1981, cited in Thompson 1988, p. 206) indicated that “rugby has thrived as a set of social relations between men which have a material base… which establish or create interdependence and solidarity among men that enables them to dominate women.”

There are some elements of truth in the claims by Thompson (1988, p. 206) that, “the socialisation of New Zealand women into their roles as mothers, sisters, wives and daughters has been very powerfully influenced by an ideology which accepts and glorifies rugby…and that the chores done by women for the benefit of men and boys who play rugby…includes providing meals, catering for visiting teams, shopping for, laundering, mending and ironing team uniforms, transporting sons to practices and games, waiting on the side-line, attending injured bodies and egos.” These matters were also highlighted by Baker (1981) and Deem (1982). Such was the vitriol outpouring (justified or not) targeted at rugby, a sport that women had for years been on the margins of. Under the guise of protesting against race discrimination in South Africa, some women addressed what they perceived to be gender discrimination in New Zealand as symbolised by rugby union. The tour may have had a divisive effect on Māori and some men of all classes but as Thompson comments (1988, p. 209) “it brought women together.”

The interviews conducted with captains of this era who experienced the tour first-hand all confirmed their greatest difficulty was how to cope with the women opposition, as this captain encapsulates:

*They were the worst, women, because the guys couldn’t handle them, well there was no way you could handle absolutely vicious personal abuse right up in your face, almost sitting on you and it was really, really tough. It was a terrible time actually.*
In her conclusions, Thompson (1988) cites Dann (1982) and Campbell (1985) to justify the fact that rugby in the 1980s no longer held the same position of unquestionable importance in New Zealand society that it had in previous eras. Whilst there was a polarisation of New Zealanders by the South African sporting contacts issue, particularly with many women being vehemently opposed, the core support for rugby was never lost as the financial results of the NZRU during this period and the number of participants at secondary school show (Rugby News, 1985). Post 1981, rugby continued to be considered New Zealand’s national sport, and the efforts of the 1987 All Blacks and their coach at the time had a huge part to play in placing rugby back in the good books of New Zealanders:

The first time I’d really got the team together in ’87 I could see some light at the end of the tunnel…I said, “to win this World Cup we have got to:

- look like a team that cares about one another;
- we’ve got to always present ourselves absolutely brilliantly, socially, off the field and on the field. Socially we’ve got to be nice people;
- we need to play a game that’s going to change people’s attitude to New Zealand and get their support; and,
- then we’ve got to win…just to give you an example, when we started in that World Cup year if the guys were going down town they would never wear anything in which they could be recognised as All Blacks because they’d had their backsides kicked for so long by so many people…abused…at the end of that tournament they were quite happy to walk down with an All Blacks jersey on you know, something that signified that they were an All Black….so that was part of the pride thing.”

Feminists in New Zealand used the 1981 Springbok Tour as an opportunity to shed light on the issues facing women in New Zealand at the time, and slowly but gradually over time, some of these issues were addressed nationally and within rugby. Provincial Unions that previously had not been inclusive of women were providing tickets to matches, allowing
women to enter the supporter’s clubs and including them more centrally in aspects of the game. Women like long serving secretary Kath McLean of the East Coast Rugby Union (honoured in 2001 by receiving the International Rugby Board Chairman’s Award for her services to rugby) has now been joined by many other women administrators as well as those who have become involved in coaching, refereeing and playing women’s rugby. Whilst the problems were not overcome in this era rugby’s resilience enabled it to adjust to the changing role of women in society and as a result be more inclusive of women in rugby culture.

**Ethno cultural diversity**

An examination of diversity, and how it specifically affected the All Blacks in this era, was important because the issues of sporting contacts with South Africa was a divisive issue (especially along the lines of race and ethnicity) that affected cultural values (beliefs, attitudes) of the whole of New Zealand society in this period. It also coincided with a renaissance in Māori language and culture and an increase in the immigration of Pacific Island individuals and families to New Zealand. In the previous era the research showed captains and coaches felt there was no differentiation between Māori and European New Zealanders in the All Blacks. In fact the respect for each other and enjoyment of the game was paramount to the culture of the All Blacks irrespective of ethnic identity. Despite socio-political activities which brought ethno-racial relations to the fore, the position of captains and coaches in this era was similar, but the issue of Pacific Island rugby players and the impact they have had on New Zealand rugby was mentioned by some of those interviewed.

One New Zealand captain, with experience of coaching at a later stage in his life, had some interesting comments to make on the issue of ethno-racial diversity and inclusion in the All Black teams that he played for:

*Well to me in my playing career a Māori was a New Zealander, there was no distinction at all… I think we were all just New Zealanders playing a game of rugby… there was certainly no discrimination against anybody.*
This view that there were no discrimination problems regarding race or ethnicity in this era between Māori and European New Zealanders was expressed by all other captains and coaches. Perhaps the most enlightening comments from this era regarding Māori-Pākehā relations came from a captain of Māori heritage:

*It's considered politically incorrect these days to say anything that could be regarded as a racial slur but I grew up being called ‘darkie’ and ‘things like that… we didn’t take it seriously in those days, it was just a bit of jib… we gave back as much as we got…the thing is now people take it really personally and I think that we’ve got to be very careful of what we say… we’re becoming a little bit too precious at times… I’d have to say that within New Zealand, there would be no full-blooded Māoris in New Zealand. …they will always have some foreign blood in them… so the thing is, don’t be too precious… at the same time with our European culture which is predominantly English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish and our Māori culture we are now having to deal with all the other cultures that have come in… so we have just got to get it together and I can see that but a lot of people can’t… there are a lot of things that will happen within New Zealand over the years and I think Whina Cooper was one advocate for Māori, being very pro-Māori and she said, ‘It doesn’t matter about what’s going to happen because by the time that I’m gone and your children, have gone, we’re going to be such as inter-mixed race here that everyone is going to have Māori in them anyway’… we’re going to be very much a hybrid race down the line.*

This comment suggests the ethnicity of players was commented on (i.e., darkie) but this was perceived as being affectionate or in jest rather than a racial slur or act of discrimination. Interestingly, this player also refers to the impact of other cultures besides Māori and Pākehā, on New Zealand, and some of the coaches and captains commented on the impact of Pacific Island players in particular on rugby. One of the captains who believed there was no discrimination between Māori and Pākehā players in his playing days, became very aware of cultural diversity as a coach in later years:
I saw some of the difficulties first-hand when I became a coach and coaching at the higher levels... there were the Samoans, the Tongans and Fijians and then the Māori and Pākehā New Zealanders... the difficult job I found was getting the Tongan and Samoan to understand one another because I always saw the Tongan wanting to be a wee bit better than everybody else... I don't know why that was so, but someone tried to explain to me it was because of the King.

The same coach also praised another coach for his ability to work in a multicultural environment:

I think one of Graham Henry’s greatest strengths is that he knows Polynesians well from having taught them at school... I saw him with an Auckland Colts team whilst I was coaching Wellington Colts... he had great ethics and boy he got them all thinking... I think in a multi-cultural environment that one of Graham’s greatest strengths apart from having a good rugby mind is the way he deals with the ethnic mixture in All Black rugby.

In response to questions about Pacific Island involvement in New Zealand rugby one captain responded:

The Polynesian impact on New Zealand rugby I think it’s huge... I don’t think there’s anything wrong with that... I just think that we have to manage it... it’s only going to enhance our rugby... but at the same time I think in another generation or two you’re going to get the South Africans coming through... some 30,000 South African immigrants live on the North Shore of Auckland.

The comment that the impact of Pacific Island players on rugby needed to be managed was not a criticism about their ability but more about their impact on clubs in Auckland and on school boy competitions where their size in comparison to both European and Māori players was affecting overall player numbers (see Jackson, 2004).

Another captain of this era welcomed the Pacific Island contribution to New Zealand rugby and had a message for concerned parents:
For the Polynesians that live here, (we’re the biggest Polynesian nation in the world) and I think it’s fantastic for New Zealand… we just have to manage it well and manage our rugby so it’s actually organized correctly… and I think one of the things that we have to do…and again we’re pretty precious… we say things about ‘Oh, we can’t have little Johnny playing with these big Island boys… we have to teach them how to be tough too… we’re breeding that out of our kids.

Another captain commented on the rugby system in Auckland with its huge Pacific Island demographic base:

We would be in trouble without our Polynesians so I certainly welcome them… I think that there are different challenges with it though, particularly where we are bringing up these young kids… they are so much bigger and stronger and they develop a lot quicker than the little white honkey boy… unfortunately that limits their skill development because they can hold onto the ball, tuck it under their arm and just run through people… it gets found out as they move on and suddenly come against someone as big as they are… so we are really pushing hard to develop those skills but at the same time making sure that the late developers are getting an opportunity and are not getting knocked out of the game… so here in Auckland we’re changing our whole current ID system for under 14, under 16, under 18 age groups to widen the spectrum and get more players involved… to give them the skill development and make sure that we keep an eye on those late developers coming through the system.

There was general agreement from captains and coaches that Polynesian players can play structured and disciplined rugby as one captain acknowledged:

The All Blacks have proved over and over again that the Polynesian players in their ranks play successfully to the team plan.
Technological

This was an era that saw the start of technological advances that would ultimately impact on New Zealand rugby. They came through the advances being made in sports medicine, exercise physiology, injury prevention, and kinesiology. There was a greater emphasis too on coaching standards and the use of conference techniques and a sharing of knowledge. Research was being conducted on ground improvements, and equipment such as scrum machines, tackle bags, rugby jerseys, and boots. One such All Black coach who had an extensive apprenticeship at both club and provincial level had this to say:

It is ironic but while I was coaching my club side I introduced some new coaching techniques and we used to just call it ‘skills practice’ and we would do a warm up and then I would spend 10 minutes doing basic skills like passing, falling on the ball, you know trapping the ball, kicking accurately, this sort of thing, that I had never had as a player... then I did that for the three years that I was the senior coach at my club and we took a significant step forward against most of our opposition in the Dunedin competition with that and obviously carried that on...then during my time coaching. At Otago I got Jim Blair (Physical Fitness expert) involved as he had been with the All Blacks and Canterbury... using his drills players would handle a ball 50 times instead of 20... other improvements came from observing Australian League and the use of skill and saturation practice...then because the University was in Dunedin I was assisted by the head of the phys-ed school with weight training and their advanced bio-mechanics division and high performance division... so training became scientific as against - just run your guts out.

There is a good deal of admiration from players of this era for the modern player and their physical conditioning, adherence to nutritional regimes and the general physicality and speed of the games they play. The following comments of a captain of this era highlight the differences:

I don’t reckon people have ever been fitter than guys who play today... I didn’t know what the inside of a gymnasium was like and I didn’t know what a weight room was...
never did it... for pre-season training I used to run up and down the beach and over the hills. ..I never wore sand shoes at training I wore big heavy work boots… that was my physical training. I never had any problems… I was only 13 ½ - 14 stone… so were Mourie and Graham Williams.

Video analysis

The technological advances made in all areas of the game were complimented by all captains and coaches of this era, even though they had played in an era that preceded them getting the benefits. Video analysis is an obvious example of an important technological advancement that has proved so useful for coaches but, in the opinion of some captains and coaches, also has some potential drawbacks. The following represents a comment made supporting the use of video analysis:

It’s added a new dimension to the game nowadays, possibly to the extent that there’s too much of it I suspect… but again it’s improved the game, particularly in terms of defence patterns and again it’s a positive influence.

It’s a great thing to able to critique performance through the use of video analysis according to this captain:

It’s a great thing to be able to critique your own performance… and that doesn’t happen a lot if you’ve won so you tend to have a look at opposition victories when really you can learn a lot out of your losses… conversely because a team will replicate, even though the opposition might be different, they tend to replicate a trait and you can prepare against that trait so one must be careful to use the technology wisely.

Another captain lauded the use of video analysis, but preached caution if it is at the expense of innovation:

I think obviously it must be great for the likes of Wayne Smith at the elite level… the video analysis has taken coaching to another level... sadly I think that’s good at the elite level, but it has taken an awful lot away from our game in terms of every province having their own style of rugby… now one coach could coach every team in
New Zealand they are playing exactly the same sort of football... the two teams that have been different - the Crusaders I think that has been their strength they haven’t conformed to the norm and play different football and you will see the Highlanders do it now... we've always been innovators not imitators and I believe the danger is we become imitators.

This is a very relevant comment because one of the great strengths of the All Blacks over the period of the research has been their ability to be innovative and different in their playing strategies. If teams become clones of one another by replicating the way they play, then it will destroy innovation.

The opinion of this captain is that video analysis is a means of assistance but should be balanced against the ability to think spontaneously and use good skills, endorses an important value and underlying assumption of All Black teams:

*I think there has to be a balance... you can overdo it. I mean you can have all the best stats and all the best video analysis in the world but refereeing decisions and the bounce of the ball can negate everything you had planned... so you still have to go back to the human element, the skills and that's what wins you games... skills and the mind.*

Physical fitness & conditioning

The coaches of this era who became influenced by the research being done on exercise physiology in Universities were the trailblazers of better physical fitness from the previous era. It was an evolutionary move that started with the appointment of physios to tend to injured players and then extended to physical conditioning experts. Most captains of the era recognize the benefits even if they were only marginally affected by the changes, as expressed by this captain:

*I think there have been massive gains, I mean the first time I went into the gym was in 1987 in the World Cup... I played around with weights a bit but I ran the roads and I would get out on the farm and throw a few sheep around crutching them or something... and that was probably the reason I did last as long as I did as I maintained a level of fitness where I was fitter than most of the other players that I*
played against… I worked harder than them, but in terms of strength and speed, the technology has just moved in leaps and bounds ahead of where we were.

These comments highlight a very tangible difference between the amateur era and the professional one.

One experienced All Black captain believes in the Southern Hemisphere, not withstanding the advances in physical conditioning made world-wide, we start with an advantage, but a focus solely on the gymnasium may reduce this:

*I think we have a distinct advantage in the Southern Hemisphere because we were a type of people, in New Zealand, Australian and South African, descendants of pioneering, colonial, rugged, and naturally physically endowed specimens and so beefy, meaty Poms were fair fodder… in my opinion we had that distinct advantage and now as with the gymnasium products of the Northern Hemisphere, we are doing the same thing… so it is no longer a great advantage. so the physical conditioning wasn’t terribly scientific but Pine Tree with his fence post over his shoulder was just as effective as some guy with a 300 kilo bench press.*

These comments highlight the increasing competition at the international level of all teams and the difficulties of maintaining a competitive advantage when, with the use of gymnasium and other physical conditioning regimes, the All Blacks will lose former fitness advantages they may have had.

5.4 Summary & conclusions

This chapter examined the 1970 - 1989 era of All Black rugby taken from the in-depth interviews of 6 captains and 2 coaches. It starts with a background and descriptive explanation of the turbulent age of counter culture, changing values, beliefs, and attitudes that saw the shift from class politics to those of identity. From a rugby perspective, the citadel of amateurism was being frayed at the edges by issues of shamateurism, payment of royalties for writing books and player expenses. The All Blacks had a less successful decade in the 1970s but overall still maintained a 71.5% ratio of wins to losses. The lack of success
was due to losing a series to South Africa twice and the British Lions against a small base of matches when compared to today’s schedule.

The findings indicated that again some aspects of the All Black culture were unchanged from the previous era. In particular, the All Black pride and tradition of the winning ethos – the All Black legacy continued. As a result, the pride in selection and the wearing of the black jersey and silver fern was still obvious in this era. Rites and rituals like the *haka* continued, but its wider cultural significance didn’t develop until after the 1987 World Cup. One important ritual, that of “the back seat of the bus” remained, mainly because the team had no formal induction system for new All Blacks. This informal ritual became more significant as a means of setting values, standards of behaviour, disciplines and strategic and tactical objectives.

Leadership at NZRU level where the management was classified as conservative, obdurate, intransigent and status quo oriented was efficient by New Zealand sporting standards, but lacked innovation until the late 1980s when the NZRU along with Australia helped to bring about the inaugural Rugby World Cup in 1987. Process appeared to be more important than outcome, and during this era leadership at the governance and administrative level attempted to maintain amateurism and a stance that politics and sport should not mix. Coaching leadership also fell short of consistently high standards, but this was offset by several outstanding coaches and a core group of senior players (i.e., those on the ‘back seat of the bus’) who helped to maintain the standards of excellence the All Blacks were known for both on and off the field. The on-field leadership of the All Black captains, whilst it varied in quality, also produced some outstanding leaders – some who chose to lead by example, and some who chose to lead according to their principles.

As with the previous era, the All Blacks had to adapt to changes in the macro environment. Sporting contacts with South Africa dominated the politics of the era and also affected the All Blacks collectively and individually in a variety of ways. Some All Blacks chose to play, others didn’t but all agreed that the Springbok tour in 1981 changed the status of rugby in New Zealand and created a challenge for the All Blacks to win back the hearts of
many New Zealanders. In an amateur era, which was starting to fray at the edges under pressure, no great changes occurred but there was a ground swell of support for change that did not eventuate until the 1990s. The socio-cultural changes were a different matter. Attitudes to the role of women in society and issues of equal pay surfaced as did those of human rights, gay rights, anti-nuclearism and conservationism. The 1980s saw a move toward sport and academic advances through the University system. These advances were the precursors of change in rugby with regards to sport medicine, exercise physiology, fitness training and nutrition. The benefits, however, were not be apparent until later. Pressure continued on coaches to improve their methods and maintain their results, whilst advances in turf management and travel enhanced the touring and playing experiences for All Blacks. With regards to ethnic diversity in the All Blacks, relationships between Māori and Pākehā players were perceived to be positive, and the influence of Pacific Island immigration to New Zealand in the 1960s and 1970s started to impact on rugby and the All Blacks in a way that was noted by captains and coaches in this era.

All Blacks vs. South Africa 3rd Test 1981
CHAPTER SIX
1990 – 2010 ALL BLACK ERA – Professionalism

With professionalism has come a cloying bureaucracy, a suffocating mass of red tape, the stunting of player lifestyles and a hundred other challenges that threaten to drown rugby in its own politically correct pea soup (Laidlaw, 2010, back cover-page)

6.0 Background to the era - culture

This era saw rapid change from a political, economic, socio-cultural and technological perspective. From a political perspective in 1990, Dame Catherine Tizard became New Zealand’s first woman Governor-General, to be followed at a later stage by New Zealand’s first woman Prime Minister Jenny Shipley, who was replaced by another woman Prime Minister in Helen Clark. From an international perspective, New Zealand sent troops to the first Gulf War of 1991, as part of a multi-national force and, with the renewal of French nuclear tests, a flotilla of protest ships including the navy ship ‘Tui’ sailed for Mururoa Atoll in 1995. A 1993 referendum favoured the introduction of a Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) electoral system. New Zealand’s first MMP election (1996) brought in a National and New Zealand First coalition government. Political change in this era also included the controversial Foreshore and Seabed Act passed in 2004, which resulted in the formation of the Māori Party. Further dissatisfaction between Māori and the government and within the Māori Party saw the establishment of the Mana Party in 2011.

Tough fiscal constraints and a tightening of government spending, particularly on welfare, were introduced by Finance Minister, Ruth Richardson with her “mother of all budgets” released in 1991. Labour relations were strained with the introduction of the Employment Contracts Act in 1991 resulting in the number of unemployed exceeding 200,000 for the first time. In 1994 the Government proposed a $1 billion cap plan for final settlement of Treaty of Waitangi claims, which was vigorously opposed. In 2001, the Air New Zealand bailout occurred when the government purchased a 76.5% share in the company and then in 2002 formed Kiwibank. During this era, from an economic perspective state-
owned assets, now formed into Telecom and NZ Post, were sold for $4.25 billion, and the Pay Television Network Sky TV began broadcasting. In summary, there was the selling of state assets and promotion of privatisation but the government also was forced to ‘bail out’ other corporates like Air New Zealand and the Bank of New Zealand.

In 2002, the population of New Zealand exceeded 4 million symbolising a change in composition from being a predominantly bicultural to a multicultural nation. This increase is best illustrated by the demographic survey of the greater Auckland region (conducted by Statistics New Zealand, 2007, as cited in Bromell, 2008, p. 35) because it exemplifies change. Auckland is New Zealand’s most ethnically and linguistically diverse region with 56.5% of its population identified as European, 18.9% as Asian, 14.4% as Pacific Island peoples, and 11.1% as Māori. It is the influx of Pacific and Asian peoples to New Zealand over the last twenty years that has brought about this change. It should be explained that the pan-ethnic group ‘Pacific’ is made up of several Pacific Island nations (e.g., Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, etc.) that have distinct cultural differences as well as some pan-ethnic similarities. So, whilst this group is made up of an amalgam of smaller groups, the terms ‘Pacific’, ‘Pacific Island’ or ‘Polynesian’ are frequently used when referring to them collectively. This demographic change has impacted on rugby as demonstrated by a quantitative analysis of Auckland senior rugby by Jackson (2004) that showed that 72% of senior teams consisted of Pacific Island players with the balance 18% European and 9% Māori.

Multiculturalism has been defined by Modood (2007, p. 64) as, “involving active support for cultural difference, active discouragement against hostility and disapproval, and for the full inclusion of marginalized identities.” The growth of the Pacific Island demographic in New Zealand over the last twenty year period is reflected in the multicultural makeup of the All Blacks and other high performance New Zealand rugby teams. The 2011 initial All Black squad for the Rugby World Cup, for instance, consisted of 30 players - 19 European New Zealanders, 3 Māori New Zealanders and 8 Polynesian New Zealanders (All Blacks, 2011). No cultural research conducted on the organizational culture of the All Blacks could
ignore the influence of ethnic diversity, not just because Boston and Callister (2005) state diversity creates many challenges, but because it is a reality of being an All Black.

6.1 Background to the era – rugby – professionalism

The class-based, ideological concept of amateurism held that one played for fun and it was therefore ungentlemanly if not downright unsporting to take it too seriously… an anachronism in a rampantly materialistic age, isolated, ridiculed and undermined from within by its own contradictions, amateurism began to fray at the edges… until 1995 when the citadel of amateurism collapsed like the walls of Jericho (Thomas, 2003, pp. 46-50).

During this period rugby made the most momentous change in its history when it became professional with the Paris Declaration (1995) and News Corporation’s initial sponsorship package of US$550 million. The threat of professionalism in rugby, however, had been around since the 1970s. A proposal to start professional rugby in NZ in 1977 didn’t get off the ground because players in Europe told the European organizer they could earn more money as amateurs playing in Europe than they were being offered to be professionals. Haden (1988) in his book Lock, Stock’n Barrel extensively covers the moves to professionalism having had firstly to defend his own actions of accepting royalties for his book Boots’n All published in 1983.

The pressures increased in 1983 when David Lord, Australian journalist, writer, early pioneer of player-managers, and potential entrepreneur, had the ‘intent’ signatures of 208 players from eight major countries to play in a professional rugby competition (The Roar, 2011). These signings included almost the entire All Black team. It was in the period before pay-TV in Australia, but unable to find the necessary backers, the whole deal collapsed. Lord’s near-fruition creation of a professional troupe sent cold shivers up the spines of rugby’s administrators, so much so it can be said to have led indirectly, perhaps even directly, to the inaugural Rugby World Cup held in 1987.

New Zealand rugby during this period was also losing players to professional rugby league in Australia so again the scene was being set for change. One of the signatories to
Lord’s scheme was Haden (1983, p. 239) who said, “While the current IRB attitude prevails, the threat of professional rugby will intensify… I have no doubt the public would support professional rugby.” A television commissioned Heylen poll in New Zealand in July 1983 (Haden, 2003, p.239) reinforced that opinion. Some excellent diplomatic work by future NZRU chairman Jock Hobbs, who at the time was not on the NZRU, Sir Brian Lochore and others saved New Zealand rugby from a professional ‘circus’ but the dye was cast. With the eventual signing of the Paris Declaration in 1995, rugby’s ethos was changed (if not completely) forever as amateurism was de-legitimated and de-institutionalised (Oliver, 1992), whilst the isomorphic diffusion of professionalism brought about its legitimation (O’Brien & Slack, 2003). Clearly this action differentiates and delineates this rugby era from the previous two in this study.

The benefits of professionalism are readily apparent to most rugby observers and supporters in the way the game has become faster and in the main more entertaining. Played on vastly improved grounds and performed by athletes who are bigger, fitter, faster and more skilled than their predecessors who attempted to prepare for rugby while working predominantly full-time. It is no surprise, therefore, that in this professional environment the All Blacks maintained their high standards of success and winning ratios. Not everyone, however, has embraced professionalism and its impact on rugby union in New Zealand.

Romanos (2002) in his book *The Judas Game: The betrayal of New Zealand rugby* has some scathing comments to make on how money has changed the game. The criticism continues as Thomas (2003, p. 14) puts it, “analysis takes a back seat to blame.” Both Romanos (2002) and Thomas (2003) are critical of the state of New Zealand rugby and how the transition from amateurism to professionalism has been managed. Romanos depicts professionalization as the betrayal of New Zealand rugby. Thomas’s book *A Whole New Ball Game*, confronts what he calls “the myths and realities of New Zealand rugby.” Another amongst those unhappy with the conversion to a professional game is former All Black and author Chris Laidlaw (2010) who poses the question:
Where does rugby now take its cue from?... not any longer from its colourful origins, still less from those who continue to derive pleasure from watching it... the game is steadily drifting away from those precious connections, not intentionally, or with any evident desire to break free from the past... on the contrary it’s trying mightily to keep the past and present in the same purview... but the past is slowly slipping into obscurity.

Romanos (2002) decries the fact that rugby has sold its soul and cites examples to support his views:

Every aspect of rugby that can be sold has been... there was a time when Christchurch’s main ground was Lancaster Park, when the national rugby team was the All Blacks, when the top teams in the country played for the National Provincial Championship... now it’s Jade Stadium, they’re the Adidas All Blacks and it’s the Air New Zealand NPC (Romanos, 2002, p. 20).

Often the negatives of professionalization are highlighted, especially when romanticizing rugby as it existed in the amateur era. According to Laidlaw (2010), for instance:

Somebody stole rugby... it now belongs to the multinational corporate sponsors, the media companies who dictate what gets played, where and when, and the heavily corporatized national unions that run it as a business... where before there was a fierce sense of egalitarianism, professionalism has ushered in a new form of elitism... many in the corporate sector who now effectively call the tune are equally convinced they are doing the right thing by the game and their sincerity is mostly very real (p.14).

Laidlaw (2010) also believes that whilst the beneficiaries of professionalism are the top players, not every sector benefits:

The game has divided into the haves and the have nots... with the two dimensions drifting inexorably apart... this is having a highly corrosive effect... rugby must take radical steps to secure its sovereignty (p. 15)
Romanos (2002), in his introduction, was also very critical of some of the changes brought about by rugby going professional, which is summed up as follows:

*The dislocation of rugby’s grassroots structure, with falling player numbers, a reduction in the number of clubs which are either amalgamating to survive or closing down, falling numbers of fans and supporters at club and provincial games and provincial unions getting into financial strife as they try to cope* (p. 11)

The dire financial situation of the Otago Rugby Union (Houlahan, 2012) was an example of this when it entered liquidation having unveiled a loss of $862,000 at its 2012 annual meeting. With debts having escalated to $2.35 million, the union could not operate. This calamitous situation had already adversely affected other provincial unions showing some of the difficulties of balancing professional rugby with the amateur game.

Laidlaw (2010) talks about finding a way of keeping the umbilical cord intact between the amateur and the professional arms of rugby as becoming a primary preoccupation of most of the world’s rugby unions. It should be explained that whilst the top echelons of New Zealand rugby, the All Blacks, Super 15 players and some ITM Cup players are fully professional, club players who make up the bulk of those playing rugby are not. Their support (as volunteers, participants, and All Black fans and consumers) is critical to the success of rugby in New Zealand so the amateur ethos, at least at the lower levels of rugby, needs to be preserved.

In New Zealand the professional game subsidises the amateur game. Not so in Europe, where the big clubs which attract the sponsorship or patronage on a large scale have parted company from the have-nots or amateur aspects of the game. Under the current professional regime, the NZRU employs the players at All Black and Super rugby level, appoint the coaches for these teams, approves the Super rugby franchise directors, sets the international and super rugby programme for the season, and then retains administrative control over the franchises in a variety of ways. Many provinces, some of which operate along semi-professional lines, are very dissatisfied with these arrangements, so the
professionalization or corporatisation of rugby has not had total acceptance in New Zealand (Romanos, 2002; Thomas, 2003; Laidlaw, 2010).

Most rugby supporters don’t begrudge players earning big money and going overseas to do so, because New Zealand lacks the critical mass to be able to compete financially with the European nations. The number of players in Japan, the United Kingdom (UK) and France has now reached almost ‘epidemic’ proportions – something over 1,000 New Zealanders play rugby overseas (NZRU estimates, 2010). If the players on average earned NZ$200,000 this would amount to NZ$200,000,000 - a tidy sum, The status of being an All Black is one of the major factors in keeping promising players in New Zealand, because as All Blacks or ex-All Blacks, players attract higher salaries overseas. However, in an editorial in New Zealand Political Review (2003, cited in Thomas, 2003, p. 9), political commentator Chris Trotter lamented the fact that, “the professionalism of the All Blacks had totally - undercut the egalitarian ideals that fuelled rugby’s abiding legends.”

The reality is that money in rugby has changed the ethos of the sport, as was to be expected. The move may have initially alienated many of the old rugby players and supporters who saw the modern player as egocentric and disloyal to a sport they loved, but the change was inevitable and potentially impacted on the organizational culture of the All Blacks.

### 6.2 The objective and method for this part of the study

The objective of this part of the study was to analyse the winning ethos and organizational culture of the All Blacks between 1990 and 2010. To achieve this objective semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with 6 captains and 3 coaches of the era.

### 6.3 Findings

#### 6.3.1 Artefacts & creations

Traditionally, in the previous two eras, All Black teams selected to tour overseas were announced under the stand at Athletic Park by the Chairman of the NZRU, and this represented for most players a dramatic and memorable event. In the current age of
professionalism and corporate sponsorship, the same pride in selection remains, but the announcements are stage-managed on TV, to give sponsors maximum exposure whilst at the same time satisfying the requirements of the fans and the media. The All Black 30 man team for the 2011 World Cup, for instance, was announced in Brisbane on August 23\textsuperscript{rd} 2011, when the team was returning from a Tri-Nations match in South Africa as they prepared for the final game of the series against Australia in Brisbane. Players now are contracted for varying periods and whilst this ensures payment over the contract period, it doesn't necessarily mean automatic selection for a test.

**Symbols**

Despite changes to how selections are announced, the aura of being an All Black and wearing the jersey and fern remains the same as it was, for example, in 1924. McConnell (1998), who in describing an interview with Jock Richardson captain of the 1924 All Blacks in their test matches some seventy years previously, revealed that Richardson expressed similar beliefs about the ethos of being an All Black as the recent players in the 1990–2010 era. The comments of an All Black captain of this era, encapsulates what it means to be an All Black and the pride in the jersey, which has never changed:

*I listened to it on the radio with my parents and I had just played and won the NPC the day before so it was pretty special... but I think the feeling of being named in the All Blacks and actually getting on the field were two different things... so I had to wait from the day I was named until we got to Ireland about 10 days later before I got a chance to actually say I am an All Black... you have all the gear but until then it is not quite real, but pretty awesome... one thing I always get asked by kids is what's my best memory in rugby... and I don't think you can go past playing your first test... there are a lot of good ones, but that sits just a bit above... it's a cliché but you know you dream of being an All Black... I used to pretend about who I was as a young fellow running around and the thing that was most surreal was that I used to watch guys like Andrew Mehrtens, Anton Oliver and Jonah Lomu, all on TV as heroes, and then suddenly here I was standing in the changing room... standing in a line before*
the anthem with these guys and this is my team… that is the bit you had to pinch yourself over… but I think after you play your first test, when someone says welcome to a pretty exclusive club, being the All Black club is special… a lot of people want to be there but there are only those that are invited who get there… that’s when it hits home… and I think the Haka, the anthem and the All Black jersey they are the three special things.

Other captains of the era expressed similar views to those cited, so the magic has never diminished even with many more players making the teams than in the early amateur era. Remarks such as these three succinct comments from different captains say it all:

*From a sporting point of view it was the greatest thing that had ever happened to me.*

*To be an All Black was every young rugby player’s dream … so it was a proud moment… it was the biggest feeling on earth really.*

*It was the biggest thing ever to happen to me.*

**Rites & rituals**

The two rites and rituals explored in this research have been primarily the *haka* and the ritual of the ‘back seat of the bus’, or the informal leadership process. Captains and coaches of this era indicated that their perceptions of the cultural assumptions as expressed through these rites and rituals have been maintained and even embellished and also outlined the changes that have taken place.

The *haka*

The increasing importance, relevance, meaning and acceptance of the *haka* as a symbol of New Zealand identity and All Black pride became very evident in this last era of the research compared to the two previous eras, as explained by this player and coach:

*For me as a player the haka was simply a bit of history and a good warm up motivator before the game… I enjoyed doing it but it wasn’t motivation… it didn’t form any part of the long-term motivation for excellence or standards… for me it was the
history, and great players like Meads, that was the most significant icon to think about prior to a game and the responsibility to those that had gone before and laid this foundation or legacy... the challenge today is not to let the haka get on top of you and affect your first few minutes, so we have had to put a bit of time into ensuring that the haka is something that grounds us and helps us with our first 10 minutes rather than overhypes us and hurts our first 10 minutes.

His further comments illustrate the changes that have taken place and their significance:

The haka is very meaningful and I think you've probably noticed that there's a lot of work that has gone into it... this particular team has produced its own haka, so we've got two hakas, and they take the haka and doing it particularly seriously. It's a tradition of All Black rugby in New Zealand and I think it's very important... whether it helps us play better football, I think is questionable because I think it takes some focus away from the start of the game, but I think it's very important because it's part of our legacy, part of what New Zealand is all about... opposition has come in Australia at times and recently in Wales... they wanted control and the Welsh in that particular game wanted control when the haka was going to be performed and we didn't agree with the protocols they wanted to set up for that particular game... it was against tradition, how the haka was performed in previous encounters against the Welsh and they tried to change it to say it was incorrect... we don't do the haka for anybody else but ourselves... so we did that one in the changing shed.

Induction and ‘the back seat of the bus’ ritual

In the two previous eras there was little or no induction for new All Blacks, and the ritual of the ‘back seat of the bus’ performed a de facto process of setting values, areas of discipline, strategies and team tactics for the players. Changes began in the last era with a new breed of coaches and a need to change and adjust to environmental forces and a need for the formalisation of processes like induction. One of these forces was the impact of education through the universities where there was an increasing focus on management skills, sport science, nutrition, the use of technology and coaching. This emphasis on better knowledge
increased the demands for more skilled coaches and managers. As a consequence, human resource management techniques of structured inductions were introduced lessening the importance of the back seat ritual as indicated by this coach:

There was “my” induction and then there was the All Black induction, where the players got their test tie and the back seat boys or the player’s committee, the leadership group that we had, would spell out in no uncertain terms the responsibility that these players had just taken on… My induction was, and there’s some pretty good stories around about this, about me finding out how much bottle a player had… and him finding out what he was in for… that trainings were going to be harder than a game could ever be… and about what All Blacks had to go through.

This shift in focus from an informal ‘back seat of the bus’ induction to a more formalised induction process reflects one of the greatest cultural changes in the history of the game - a paradigm shift in thinking regarding professionalism and what it meant, as this coach of the era points out:

The first thing I thought when I got appointed, because I’d done a lot of study on professionalism in the NFL, the NBA and soccer, I could see a huge void between our knowledge of professionalism in New Zealand sport and internationally… so I actually spent a tremendous amount of my time in the early part of my tenure actually starting to prepare the players and the management team for a professional era and the expectations of it… one of the things was to hold a forum for about 45 players who I saw as potential All Blacks in that year, and we had a day’s seminar on professionalism and what it meant… I bought an NFL star who was a New Zealander to speak to us… I had people like Paul Holmes speaking and I had business people speaking about sponsorship and their expectations… because I thought there was a lack of understanding from the players of what was now going to be expected of them… for the professional era to survive the sponsor of the game, the money they provided was important… it was probably too much in the sense that I tried to cram
too much into a day… and some of these guys weren’t used to being able to sit and
be lectured or talked to, but it was very worthwhile.

These comments highlight the recognition on the part of this coach that the professional era
brought with it a myriad of other issues and problems, making it different from the amateur
era, which would need to be addressed. So the professional era was immediately different to
its predecessors in many ways and the expectations of people in the existing rugby
infrastructure. Changes would need to be made against resistance from those wanting to
maintain the status quo in administration. There was also the problem of how players
handled the money and adjusted to a new life. As this coach explains the mind-set needed
to be changed as well as the methods of operation:

I spent a lot of time just working on saying we’ve got to be professional… like the
game is professional… I think I came from a background … where I thought we were
very professional, although in an amateur sense… I think we acted as professionally
as we could so I was comfortable with it… but a lot of players took a while to adapt
and I’m talking more so from a financial point of view… I remember a young guy like
Glen Osborne, who was a back-blocks boy from Wanganui… no money… he was on
the dole… then all of a sudden he was earning $180,000 and he was buying cars
and things… some of them struggled for a while to cope with the change… others
like Anton Oliver, the Fitzpatrick’s and the Brooke’s, who had been All Blacks for
some time did pretty well because they were pretty professional already… for some
of the young guys it was a huge, steep learning curve for them… and I remember
saying to them… look, I don’t care what you get (and I never knew what they got
because I took a position that I didn’t want to know the contracts)… because I
thought as the All Black coach as soon as you know, you’re impacting on the
decision making… you know if someone doesn’t get picked he doesn’t get this or
doesn’t get that, so I didn’t want to know.

This final comment shows that there could be differences in attitude towards professionalism
between coaches and players.
6.3.2 Values

The headline “Passion what AB’s rely on for victory” (Robson, 2011) preceding the All Black versus Wallabies Tri-Nation’s test in Brisbane is a very important indicator of the emotions, intensity and attitudes of the players in their test build-ups. The article was based on the comments of All Black centre Conrad Smith who had said, “That’s what wins games – your intensity, your attitude” when building up to play Australia. Smith’s statement demonstrates how core assumptions like the importance of winning become deeply embedded through a combination of values, beliefs and attitudes.

**Winning ethos, winning excellence, setting high standards**

The importance of winning is a value and belief that has been inculcated in the All Blacks since 1903, and has been maintained ever since. The change from amateurism to professionalism brought about a changed attitude to the importance of money, security and the ambitions of being an All Black. The changes were cognitive, emotive and behavioural, but the core values of pride in selection, pride in wearing the black jersey and silver fern, and the importance of winning have never changed. This desire and the motivation to win have never changed as illustrated by these comments from a coach in this era:

> I said losing is like “a death in the family” but I got criticised for that once… it can’t be that bad actually, but it is… like it’s a major, you’ve got to handle it… I think it focuses people but I guess it’s part of the game and I think since I’ve been involved with the side we’ve won 78 out of 91… something like that.

> Everyone who comes into the All Blacks understands that that’s what they are about… I think the expectations that we are going to win have created the success of the All Blacks since 1905 and without those huge public expectations and self-expectations I don’t think we would have anywhere near the record we have… so I think it’s a real positive thing… it puts pressure on but we think it’s a positive pressure… and every player who comes in understands that the bottom line is as an All Black you have to win… since 2004 we have only lost two in a row twice which
says something about when you lose how you don’t want to strike the All Blacks in the next game… the two that we lost were in 2004 when we first started in Australia and then in South Africa,… and at the end and in 2009, twice in South Africa which was been pretty well documented… every other time we lost we have won the next game and that says something about mind-set and desire and hunger to be successful… I think it’s the thing that’s been the common thread since 1905 through the All Blacks.

The same coach explained how there seems to be more onus of responsibility on players to win in the professional era:

I think there’s a lot more onus on the players to perform because they’re getting paid… and of course there’s a lot more concentration on things like nutrition and hydration and recovery and doing everything to win, playing to win and doing it correctly… so there’s no room for any grey area… the players need to be focused and mentally prepared on everything they do and that’s a ‘train to win’ attitude and you can expect that and you play well and you expect that when you’re playing for your country.

The importance of history – the All Black legacy

The recent All Blacks are very much aware of the importance of history and tradition and maintaining the All Black legacy as they call it themselves. To help facilitate this objective they have innovatively formed ‘Club All Black’. This ‘club’ provides a link back to the grassroots of rugby, whilst at the same time reinforcing and preserving the All Black heritage. It is used to introduce a social element as well for team spirit reasons. One of the recent coaches explains some of the background and purpose:

I think the acquisition of ‘Club All Black’ has been a real positive as far as pulling the guys together is concerned and having a lot of fun… it is a means of getting back to the grassroots of New Zealand rugby where they can have a good laugh and it’s really significant…. we can drop in the odd serious thing in there… we’ll say the notice boards are there and mention the game on the weekend in a relaxed
environment so it’s not all heavy…I think the players driving the standards off the field is particularly important.

### 6.3.3 Core assumptions

With changing attitudes from the previous eras (through the influence of professionalization), it is inevitable that deeply embedded values that are learned from membership in the All Black group will modify and change. The egalitarian value and assumption of mateship, for instance, is different in this era. Whilst the players of the professional era are still reliant on one another to produce top class performances, and this comes from a closeness and confidence in one another developed from inclusive communication and empowerment, there are differences from the amateur era. As the research shows the recent players respond to communication based on logic and feedback which produces the instant gratification they seek. The focus on building understanding, self-awareness and an ability to solve problems inevitably brings about the closeness that creates a new form of camaraderie and mateship.

What has been lost, according to captains of the amateur era who have been involved in coaching and management capacities in the professional era, is the genuine social friendship free from any ‘taint’ of money, where players mixed socially and have continued to do so years later. It is the professional requirements of recuperation after games and the loss of social functions which has also contributed to this. The other factor is the diverse demographics of the team, which whilst not an issue as far as impacting on the overall All Black culture and performance does affect some relationships because of cultural differences regarding socialising. For instance, a coach mentions that the natural desire is to gravitate toward people we know and how sometimes this can have an ethnic element to it that is not harmful to the team dynamics:

*I think naturally guys tend to gravitate to the people they know and we don’t make a big fuss of it… but we like them to get to know everybody and to have a relationship with everyone… so if they gravitate into certain groups it may be a provincial thing or it may be an ethnic thing, but generally speaking it is pretty good…I’m not saying it’s*
perfect but I think generally it’s pretty good… But as I say, in any group of people you are going to have a migration towards those who know each other well and ethnically it may be a bit of that as well… I don’t think it’s an issue for the team.

The players perceptions of reality and truth together with cultural assumptions about human relationships and human activity help determine the culture of the All Blacks. Whilst the differences acknowledged by this coach exist at times, the All Black culture subsumes these potential sub cultures. Close contact in training and reliance on one another in test matches develops a dependence on one another and a mutual respect. Another coach made these comments:

You know, once upon a time you’d see the Polynesian boys from one franchise sitting together and the Pākehā boys sitting together… there is very little of that now and that’s come about through acknowledgement of it, and working to overcome it, rather than just ignoring it… and I think it’s been a really positive development in the team…. I’m sure there’s never been racism or anything like that within the team but there have been differences in acknowledging that is important.

The role and contribution of senior players has always been important as they had the experiential knowledge that could be passed on to new members of the team, and so they formed an important hierarchy in the formal and informal leadership of the team. The development of a learning leadership and learning culture from 2004-2010 has recognised the need and importance of senior members as a means of creating a superior form of social interaction and inclusivity in the dynamics of the team. The major focus is on the strategies, tactics and the preparation for winning test matches but still recognising the importance of interpersonal relationships. This interaction produces a shared understanding of the values and core assumptions of the team, whilst at the same time contributing to camaraderie or mateship. A captain in the recent era said:

Senior players in the team are hugely important… that has taken a long time for people to perhaps get their head around that rugby is more than a 15 man game… nowadays it is just a reality that there are injuries and you’ve just got to have a squad
of 22 for each Saturday but it is wider than that…about 30 that are good enough to go out and play are needed and the key is to make sure that they all feel like they contribute…so the guys that aren’t playing have got to be ready to go as well…it’s all a team and everyone’s contribution is important…the guys at training put the pressure on the fellows that are playing so that they are better on Saturday… they are the tiny little things that make the difference…the reality is that when you are playing 12, 13, 14 tests a year most guys in that squad are going to get a crack…so each player has got to make sure he takes the chance to perform well…that requires a closely knit bunch of players who look out for one another.

The social elements of the All Blacks activities are recognized as an essential ingredient in the creation of this team spirit and mateship, as a recent coach explains:

We have our own rugby club which I think is a huge acquisition to what we have been doing…the boys come along in their club jersey, whether it be Auckland Marist or Christchurch and Canterbury…they’re all in their club gear and they might have a beer or they might have a Coke, and there’s usually two or three speakers at every club night and they talk about their club and the people involved with their club why their club’s important to them, and the All Blacks from that club…we have life members of this All Black club and we have notice boards where all the players are on the notice board and the number of test matches they’ve played and how many Tri-Nations they’ve won and how many grand slams they may have won and so on…I think that’s a major acquisition…it’s a social scene which has got some relevance and shows the grassroots of rugby but also we have a lot of fun and a lot of laughs…the senior players, the leadership is made up of an on the field leadership group and an off-field leadership group…who mainly control the off-field and they will set the parameters on a Saturday night…”tonight fellas we’ll be in bed by 2 o’clock and there won’t be any drinking…or we won’t be in the hotel but we’ll meet and have a chat in the team room or tonight the curfew is 2 o’clock and we’re going out to so and so and make sure you’re on the bus to get home at so and so.” So there is
flexibility from week to week depending on the circumstances, what the social scene will be…the boys have been outstanding and it’s driven by the senior players.

The old egalitarian mateship of the amateur era is different in the professional era but the “esprit de corp” necessary for success in team sport still exists, and is enhanced in the recent All Blacks by the social activities of Club All Black. It is these changing values (beliefs, attitudes) that are in the process of changing some of the deeply embedded core assumptions of the team or the way they do things instinctively. One captain’s perception of professionalism illustrates this further by stating the changes from amateurism just didn’t deal with money only, but rather everything the player did:

Some people define professionalism as you are now doing it for a job, but I think professionalism is being able to address not just the rugby team but everything that goes into ensuring that you can do the best job you can and that’s about getting everything right… so it has just sort of gone up a level… but I think the things that made a difference back then still make a difference now… Professionalism to me, means even though you are not at the training paddock every minute of every day, every decision is about being right on Saturday and it might be that you have a day off and do nothing but that decision is based on being right for Saturday. It is one thing that the good rugby players understand.

6.3.4 Leaders and leadership

Leadership – Management

The New Zealand Rugby Union leadership of this era can perhaps be best summed up by the title of a Clint Eastwood movie, ‘The Good, The Bad and The Ugly’. The union was still struggling to cope with the demands of a rapidly changing socio-cultural environment, the aftershocks of the Springbok Tour, rapidly changing demographics and technology and then demands for payment, partly due to the ‘shamateurism’ predominantly in Europe and partly as a legacy of the first World Cup in 1987. If the world was living in the space age and computer age technologically from a rugby perspective it was still in “the horse and buggy” age administratively. The infrastructure of rugby administration in both New Zealand and
internationally was not geared toward proactive and innovative management even though the need to change to meet the demands of the players was becoming more and more apparent. To its credit New Zealand rugby management under the chairmanship of Eddie Tonks (1989 – 1995) commissioned a study in 1994 by the Boston Consulting Group. It was a move largely instigated because of fears that the forces for full professional rugby were building and of the need to adjust to the changing social and cultural environment. Two years of poor All Black performances, and the imminent launch of the Auckland Warriors league team further fuelled the need for action.

Significantly the report, entitled “Taking Rugby Union into the 21st Century”, was pivotal re governance (Boston Consulting Group, 1994). It was a proactive move generally accepted as necessary. The first section of the report talked about principles that underlie successful competitions and listed four: a premier competition supported by feeder competitions, even competitions, a good television product, and the governance structures to balance the interests of individual unions and the wider competitions. The governance issue was the trickiest, as parochialism and status quo management were endemic in the NZRU.

Changes were made not only to the governance structure of the NZRU, but also to many provincial unions with elected or appointed Boards and independent Directors. The logic for these moves was sound and the rugby public generally applauded them as good for rugby. As already cited, but repeated here again briefly one coach commended the moves:

*Once you go merit based in selecting your administrators and the people who are on the Board then you tend to take some of the parochialisms and the little political things out of the game.*

There have been more recent periods of enlightened leadership from people like Chairman Jock Hobbs and CEO Chris Moller with the securing of the 2011 World Cup and the success of the All Blacks. This was the ‘Good’, the ‘Bad’ includes, in this period of the globalization of rugby (cited in Laidlaw, 2010, p. 17), former IRB Chairman Syd Millar of Ireland confessing, “The game internationally, is hostage to a coterie of commercial interests and it is these
forces that are driving it into the next phase of restructuring.” The perception of ‘Bad’ is extended if NZ rugby loses too much control of its game to commercial interests. The ‘Ugly’ could be best characterized by the NZRU losing the rights to host the 2003 World Cup jointly with Australia. As Thomas (2003, p. 85-86) stated:

As an example of commercial rapaciousness - the shafting of New Zealand by the international rugby community and betrayed by their closest neighbour, and supposed partner in the whole enterprise, a country whose emergence as a frontline rugby nation was assisted and accelerated by New Zealand’s help is a sad story. The shortcomings of the New Zealand leadership were confirmed in an enquiry, but the unsavoury reality was they were also “shafted” by their Australian counterparts.

The Australians were undoubtedly keen to be sole hosts but had New Zealand delivered the clean stadia as they were asked to do by the IRB they would have been sub-hosts.

**Leadership – Coaches**

During this era of rugby, the All Blacks had a number of experienced coaches with very successful provincial backgrounds. The coaches of this era, with their success rates in parenthesis, included Alex Wyllie (86.2%), Laurie Mains (67.6%), John Hart (75.8%), Wayne Smith (70.5%), John Mitchell (82.1%), and Graham Henry (86%), all of whom had very successful records in terms of their win/loss ratios. Both Wyllie and Hart were part of the successful 1987 World Cup coaching *troika* with Sir Brian Lochore. Graham Henry has now had success in 2011.

It is a truism that the All Black coach has a public profile on a par with the Prime Minister of New Zealand and, as expressed by Thomas (2003, p. 12), “the public will tolerate anything as long as it is win, win, as the All Blacks did in the first two years of professionalism.” However, a loss, as in the 1999, 2003 or 2007 World Cup matches, is enough to turn normally benignly tolerant members of the public into completely intolerant unforgiving tyrants, clogging the talkback radio waves with their discontent, supported at times by irrational journalists. In the amateur era the expectations of victory were high but the number of games played was relatively small. Furthermore the All Blacks now play South
Africa and Australia twice each season at least, and then tour the UK and France so the expectations are more intense. Likewise the abuse that John Hart had to endure after the 1999 loss to France is an indictment on the sportsmanship, fairness, graciousness in winning or losing which may have been a value of the amateur era but sadly lost by some of the New Zealand public in the professional era.

The public expectations of the All Blacks make coaching them and the leadership role that goes with it a tough role to fulfil. To illustrate how dramatically the leadership of the All Blacks, from a coaching and captaincy perspective, changed in this era, the following interview with a coach accurately shows the changing expectations of players as a result of shifting from an amateur to a professional approach, as well as from a singular to a shared model of leadership:

When first appointed we had a pretty dysfunctional group of players early on… they were big drinkers… not how we wanted to operate…. our captain at the time, took all responsibility - everyone else became social loafers to circumstance… at the Tri-Nations together led by BJ Lochore we threw him all our ideas and came up with a blueprint for success for the next few years… dispense with scientific management theory – the leadership model of one boss leading and the rest just being followers… we needed a group of leaders to support the captain… it took a paradigm shift

This change was quite dramatic and shows how developed, knowledgeable and skilled the professional coach was becoming – they had very accurately identified a problem to be resolved as the coach points out:

Because it meant that we didn’t want to do a lot of leadership training with guys and then not select them… we almost needed to pre-select the leadership group and ensure that they were in the team, almost guarantee that they were going to be picked for the team, which was different for the All Blacks to do… we started on the end of year tour in 2004 with a leadership group.

This was a real paradigm shift in coaching as it was changing the whole approach to coaching and leadership:
Everything we did as a team the better the alignment... the more common our framework... the better understanding we had... the more empowerment the players had... the better we played... the better the leaders led the better we played... the better they played the more we won... so I think if you looked at one thing since 2004 that has been hugely influential in the All Blacks having a 86% or 87% winning ratio... it's the leaders.

So the 'proof of the pie' truly was in the eating, as these All Blacks embarked on a very successful period of test match results. In their own way, based on their particular individual strengths and skills, the All Black coaches of this era all made their contribution to New Zealand rugby. Unfortunately for them success as far as the public is concerned is measured solely in wins and especially in winning the Rugby World Cup, which was becoming the benchmark for success in the eyes of the New Zealand rugby public. A fairer independent assessment comes from the research of McConnell (1998, p. 156-157) who had these comments to make on coaches Wyllie and Mains:

According to Alex “Grizz” Wyllie, the coach must be willing to listen to anyone, as there is always the opportunity to pick up something... evidence of Wyllie’s skills came from an All Black captain and Canterbury player Jock Hobbs... when he took over the team as coach we were a shambles in terms of discipline and organization... within twelve months we had won the Ranfurly Shield... he was respected by Lochore who had confidence in him.

McConnell also referred to Colin Mead’s description of Laurie Mains,

He is very sincere, very deep and demands loyalty... I rate him as a coach... this view was also expressed by others who commended Mains for his technical knowledge

The other coach from this era who is of interest, in view of his involvement in the first World Cup, is John Hart (Thomas, 1993, 1997). He is attributed with having done a good job of transitioning the All Blacks successfully into the professional era. He is also interesting because of the political flak he and other Aucklanders seemed to be able to generate south
of the Bombay Hills in rugby politics. A further assessment of his abilities comes from Sir John Graham (cited in Verdon 2000, p. 84). The book is very critical of Hart, but the comments of Sir John Graham are mainly laudatory:

*When the qualities of intelligence, an acute political sense and an achievement oriented business background are combined with ambition and class in a single person, the mixture becomes explosive... moreover, if the person is articulate, well presented, a successful Auckland and his goal is to be national rugby coach, he could face insurmountable challenges... John Hart perhaps should have realized during his development as a coach that not all rugby men saw things the Hart way.*

Hart represented and personified a change in terms of what was expected from a coach - from one who was just technically sound and proficient ‘on the field’ to one who was able to deal with all aspects of professional sport and approached sport like a business (Thomas, 1993, 1997). This approach contradicted what some of the traditionalist stakeholders considered a coach should be. Hart will be remembered for his innovative skills, his motivational capabilities, for beating the Springboks for the first time in a series in South Africa (1992) and for his work on helping the All Black team to transition into the professional era. It is difficult to be a ‘prophet in your own kingdom’ and such an approach because it contradicted the views of what the traditionalists stakeholders considered to be ‘coach’ material, it caused some opposition and resentment.

The structural changes that have taken place in international rugby due to professionalism, particularly in the area of coaching are best explained by one of the coaches:

*There’s been huge changes in the coaching brought about by professionalism but I think the players were professional even though they were amateurs... because in the 1990’s Grant Fox, Zinzan Brooke and Sean Fitzpatrick were just as professional as the professional players are today... obviously because they had another job it was a bit different, but they were very professional and took the game exceptionally seriously... the difference for the modern coach is the way the investment of money*
into resources has changed the game from a coaching point of view because there are more people doing the job and the players are available all the time... there are all the training resources required to do the job.

Another coach observed that there has been a considerable change in coaching philosophy from being the all-knowing coach, to one of several specialist coaches:

*When I previously coached a provincial rugby team I did everything apart from the scrum and the lineout... and then... in professional times, I had a part-time scrum coach and virtually did the whole lot... now... two Assistant Coaches and two Specialist Coaches of high capability... so there are five people involved and it's a totally different scene... but it's a better scene because you can concentrate on a small part of the game and do that a lot better than trying to do everything and brushing over it.*

**Leadership - captains**

Leaders help create over time what constitutes reality and truth for the group by creating or building consensus or a shared social reality which becomes the culture of the group. The consensus is not just about reality and truth, it also concerns human relationships. Leadership therefore is vital in the cultural process. In the professional era playing far more tests per year in a much more multicultural environment with the game demanding greater physicality and played at a faster rate has placed far greater demands on the leadership of the coaches and captains. This in turn has changed shared assumptions in how winning is achieved.

An All Black captain of this era described his own initial naïve experience of captaining and the requirements of leadership:

*I got named Captain for one game, a sort of one off and at that point I was still only 23... I still felt like one of the new boys in the team and I had only captained the Canterbury team for one season... so I was pretty nervous to be honest... but it's a little bit different to your first test because I knew I had to back myself in terms of how I could play... but it was just the responsibility of everyone sort of looking at you for*
direction… that very first game I was pretty nervous and our team was inexperienced for that test against Wales in Cardiff and we got pretty close to losing it… you know there was one point in it… in the end and I remember the sheer relief at the end of the game… but when I was named captain full time I guess I had an inkling about that probably because I had done a couple of games previously and Tana had retired… so I guess I felt sort of ready.

The captains of previous eras agreed that there is no substitute for experiential learning as a captain but the demands and expectations are far greater now so leadership has had to undergo change to enable the All Blacks to cope with that change. The same captain also said:

_Six years on what I know now about how to captain a team and the experiences to what I knew back then is… in reality I didn’t have a clue then… that is sort of what you look back on… but at the time I thought I was ready._

One of the leadership developments in this era is the formal use of a senior leadership group. The following are the views of the same captain on the importance of a senior leadership group:

_Senior players in the team are hugely important… we have meetings where we talk about things, where if I was doing it wrong I would want them to be able to say, “Hey, this is crap,” you know… there are times when you walk out of there and even if you didn’t all agree you say… right this is how we are going to do things… the same with the coaches I have to be able to go and say I don’t agree with how we are doing things, or I do… to be able to go and have that discussion and then say, “Okay, make a decision” and let’s get on with it… I think that is pretty important as well… at the end of the day you have to commit to what you have decided… that’s the way I see it… a lot of that comes out of communication, just being able to talk about it._

The senior leadership group, perhaps used formerly in slightly different ways by other coaches, has become a feature of the recent All Blacks
Coaching methods

There has been an improvement in virtually everything a coach does in the modern game, particularly in the areas of game analysis, physical preparation and the tactical approach to matches, as one coach reflected:

There’s been a gradual improvement in everything in the game with more emphasis on game plans… there’s a greater analysis of the opposition and there’s a great analysis of how you’re playing… Coaches spend more time in researching where the game’s going… so you’re always searching for something that is going to make it better and the interaction with the team is stimulating… the whole thing about training to win and the conditioning and strength and hydration and recovery and diet and all those things, are so important so that you can get small advantages… there’s been huge changes in the coaching brought about by professionalism but many players were very professional even though they were amateur… the fitness levels have improved enormously and so we could play at a high intensity in the last 15 minutes where other sides are falling over. So I think that is critical.

The same coach stressed again the importance of relationships and high standards when it comes to leadership of the All Blacks:

The leadership of the team is vital… we put a lot of emphasis on that and on the alignment between the senior players and the coaches… the alignment between the captain, the vice-captain and me as coach and the alignment between the senior players and the other players… because if you’re constantly playing the same game you’re going to get beaten and passed by the opposition who are going to work you out. I think the standards generally, the leadership standards and producing high standards for the group are also critical… the social climate in the All Blacks now, is quite different from what it was eight years ago.
Strategies and tactics

Because of the demands to develop game plans which incorporate sound strategies and tactics to beat the opposition it is important the relationship between coach and captain is one of mutual respect and positivity. It is important that this relationship through social interaction is embraced by the whole group and a consensus on key issues develops. One captain of this era spoke of the importance of the relationship between coach and captain so the game plan and strategies were carried out effectively to avoid any conflict:

As captain my relationship with the coaches is important, so that what they see as a vision of the team and what I see is aligned… because if it is not then how they are coaching and what is delivered could end up being in conflict… that is something I took a while to work out as a captain… I needed to be able to voice my concerns because perhaps my understanding of what to do in situations could be different to the coaches… so that is one thing and you’ve got to realise that as a captain that it’s not all about you… you’ve got to have guys around you that are prepared to tell you what they think, at the right things and at times… just say like that is what we are doing… a guy like [no. 10] who effectively runs the game out on the field… I have to provide trust in him and help him to do things… there are a couple of other guys too that you deal with… and I guess I just make sure that is happening.

The same captain also referred to communicating at the right times in a game in order to be effective at leadership:

At times you might not have to do too much as everything is going well from the team point of view, and probably for the coaches… looking at the players, when we are running things you don’t have to say too much but intervene when you have to… that’s what I see the biggest skill of the Captain is you don’t have to talk all the time but you just have to talk at the right times and say the right things at the right times and you learn that through experience… when I first started as Captain I talked too much and a couple of people got sick of me… whereas now I wait for others to hopefully cover what needs to be covered and if it is I leave it.
And last but not least, this captain referred to the value of having tactics that everyone understands and that can be changed if necessary:

As far as skills is concerned I think the biggest thing is tactical and how you play, having everyone singing off the same song sheet… the biggest skill I think is to be able to understand when things need to be changed and when they don't, especially when the pressure comes on.

6.3.5 Adaptation to change in macro environment

Political

The political issues affecting rugby in this era were very limited compared to the previous era. Whilst reforms to Apartheid during the 1980s failed to quell the mounting opposition internally and world-wide, in 1990 President Fredrik de Klerk began negotiations to end Apartheid, which culminated in the introduction of multi-racial democratic elections in 1994. These were won by the African National Congress under the leadership of Nelson Mandela who had suffered incarceration in prison on Robben Island because of his political views. Mandela proved to be a source of inspiration and conciliation in a nation that could have easily erupted into internecine violence (Eades, 1999; Wines, 1991). Although South Africa was no longer under Apartheid, the World Cup in the country was a major opportunity for the nation to present a united front to the world. New Zealanders, however, in this period no longer seemed concerned with the politics of South Africa. Furthermore, rugby politics were confined to the parochial ones of who should be appointed coach of the All Blacks. One coach of this era, who experienced the politics of both the pre-Apartheid and post-Apartheid eras, had this to say:

I probably went through the worst time of my life with the Cavaliers in 1986 and I was terribly compromised by that because I was opposed to what they were doing… I wasn’t opposed on the grounds of where I stood on Apartheid… but it was the fact that these guys were going to go under an umbrella which wasn’t the All Blacks but would be perceived to be the All Blacks… so there was some deceit from some of the players… I found that a shocking mess and had to coach a side without all these
guys all of a sudden… they just hadn’t walked out on the game,… and there was a perception that they’d walked out for money…so I struggled with that because that was a moral thing and so there were a lot of other judgments going on.

The Cavaliers tour was not sanctioned by the NZRU but was organised by the participant players in defiance of the rugby union (Haden, 1988). A coach indicated:

*During my All Blacks’ time we probably didn’t see as much in that political arena, although I will never forget ’81 it was way before my time. I think that was probably one of the worst things I’d ever seen… I went to that Waikato game and I was sitting in the stand watching all that [unfold]… this is not New Zealand but it just showed you, again it showed you what rugby does, how big it is and it clearly divided the country because of our stance on it… but we’re robust enough to continue to come through it and that’s the great thing about our game.*

These comments show again that although this coach didn’t have to coach during the Springbok Tour protests, the event did have an impact on how he saw New Zealand and the relationship between rugby and the nation, and from his perspective just how robust the sport was to recover from the 1981 drama.

No captain or coach commented on any particular political problem in this era, but the following shows the traditional importance of South Africa as an opponent:

*There was really just the re-introduction of South Africa in 1992… so it was great to have our traditional rivals back in the fold… I don’t recall any standout political manoeuvrings or anything like that that affected the rugby.*

It is quite remarkable that no captain or coach interviewed remarked about the RWC in South Africa and how being a member of the All Blacks during this momentous occasion would have had a political element to it. This may be indicative of an embedded assumption that playing rugby has always been apolitical and a further reason why most players during the Apartheid era were still prepared to play rugby against the Springboks.
Economic

One of All Black coaches of this era aptly conveys the changes that professionalism and money have made to rugby, based on a foundation in the amateur era of approaching games by playing like a professional would today:

I started when New Zealand rugby players were ahead of the rest of the world in terms of professionalism, before professionalism became material… we tended to train more professionally than others, we probably worked harder at innovation than others and adapting to laws more quickly than other teams… we had players prepared to give up work to go on All Black tours and there was that professional expectation of winning that has been with the All Blacks since the originals in 1905… when the game changed I felt that we were pretty well suited to move into a new era.

These are key elements of what has made the All Blacks so successful for so long. In the amateur era the All Blacks approached the game in a more professional and business-like manner than many of their opponents. This coach then went on to explain there were problems with transitioning from an amateur to professional era for some of the players:

Then there was a transition period where I felt that players perhaps lost some of the advantages that we had and so we went from being a farming, problem-solving group of men who played rugby to almost sports jocks who fell in the trap for a while where guys didn’t work they gave up work they gave up study and just played rugby.

Despite transitioning from amateur to professional in material terms, some of the habits needed to be modified or dropped, but most of the traditions and values remained constant:

We kept a lot of the old traditions of the All Blacks that we had as our amateur era such as court sessions, massive drinking after games, a lot of those things and yet we played as professional sportsmen… it had taken a while and a new generation maybe to encompass every aspect of professionalism and to not forget the past and not forget the traditions and the values and the culture but to moderate it and use in a positive way to help our performance… now we have got a totally professional group of players who are about balance… they understand the need for enjoyment in
perspective and they also cherish the All Black legacy and the heritage, but they also have study and work aspirations… they have got investment portfolios… they have got balanced lives, and they have got a huge training ethic and they look after themselves probably better than they did in that transition period.

**Socio-cultural**

**Alcohol culture**

The professionalization of rugby brought about higher expectations of players and teams with regards to behaviour and performance on and off the field. In the world of professional sports media, exclusive and ‘juicy’ stories were also competitively pursued. In many respects, professionalism meant that the behaviour of All Blacks on and off the field was under greater scrutiny as one of the coaches expressed:

> I think generally again there is an understanding within the team that you are an All Black 24-7 and that means whether it’s alcohol or whether it’s the way you treat people or whether it’s the way you treat women in public… how you are as a person is really important and you can’t hide that and you will get found out if you’re not that person… what you are shouts much more loudly than what you say, so you’ve got to actually live it as an All Black otherwise you get found out…I think we have seen some real improvements and, not just with women but with people in general, which means the sponsors… now there are a hell of a lot of commercial requirements for these guys and I think in the early 2000s there was a ‘hand out’ attitude rather than ‘hand up’ and now we have a ‘hand up’ attitude… I will do that one… I will do that one… I will go and do that… if there are any issues they are dealt with afterwards not at the time so there’s never any unrest at any of our promotional or commercial activities and if there is it is dealt with post the event… whenever I go to functions I’m really proud of who they are and how they are.

The same coach also acknowledged that at times there were exceptions to this exemplary behaviour, and discussed the role of the leadership group in dealing with this:
Of course there are always going to be exceptions... I would like to think that the leadership group would deal with a lot of those before they come to us... we very seldom have to deal with any behavioural issues within our environment.

Binge drinking is a cultural problem for New Zealand in general. In 2008, the amount of pure alcohol available for consumption was 9.5 litres for every New Zealander over 15 years of age. This is the highest it has been since 1994. Per capita consumption has increased 9% over the last 10 years. Forty-four per cent of alcohol is consumed in heavier drinking occasions and 29% of adult drinkers can be classified as binge drinkers (Law Commission 2009). Binge drinking has been mentioned by high profile All Blacks like Norm Hewitt (2001) and some of the coaches and captains in this research because it is still a part of rugby culture as well. A captain of this era, however, highlights how top players in the professional era cannot afford to drink because of the detrimental effects to their fitness:

*With the issue of drinking after a game... guys knew that it hindered them, but the guys that perhaps made a little bit of a sacrifice not doing that probably did better... whereas now you pretty much can't do that all the time or very rarely... but when I first started for example, going out drinking after a game, all teams did it so you were on a level peg but now everyone doesn't so you just can't afford to... and I think that is where it has changed. There is so much at stake with the team.*

This captain believed one of the biggest changes in both the perception of the public and the players is that professionalism has created an assumption that 'more is at stake' in the professional era and that everyone's expectations of professional players and teams has increased.

Despite isolated alcohol problems arising with the All Blacks like the post-World Cup strife experienced by Zac Guilford, the incident shows how the modern player is living in a "goldfish bowl" compared to the amateur era. Both the incident in Brisbane pre World Cup and the one in Rarotonga post World Cup, resulted in Guilford deservedly being pilloried by the Press for both incidents. Don Scott (2011) wrote that Guilford had confessed to a drinking problem at a press conference during the World Cup alongside manager Duncan
Shand. Ian Anderson, under a headline _Guilford deserves sack for Rarotonga incident_ (15 November, 2011), wrote about the latter incident. In the past some alcohol fuelled incidents have led to physical violence and involved such disparate players as Keith Murdoch in 1972 and Norm Hewitt in the 1990s. Some of these incidents were handled badly both from a disciplinary viewpoint and also from a corrective approach. The All Black management and NZRU not only took disciplinary steps with Guilford but also acted promptly both from a punitive point of view and also from a helpful rehabilitation perspective. This was a move that had previously been successful with Jimmy Cowan, another All Black who had experienced alcohol-related problems in the most recent era.

**Ethno-cultural diversity**

In terms of acknowledging that ethnic diversity occurs within the All Blacks, this captain mentioned the importance of the diverse leadership group in breaking down cultural barriers and communication issues:

> There are always going to be little things, where guys from common backgrounds get on a bit better but we try and break those barriers down as much as possible...just look at the senior players like Kevin Mealamu, Mils, Dan Carter, myself, Brad Thorn there is a good mix there and we are really tight and really understand each other pretty well and get on really well...so our job because we can all reach different parts of the team, and make sure it is all like that...and that is what has been pretty special.

This was reaffirmed by a coach of the recent era:

> If you look at the leadership group in the All Blacks when you have got Mealamu, Hore, Thorne, McCaw, Carter, Smith, Muliaina, you have a couple of Samoans and actually there is no thought that goes into the ethnicity of that selection, we just pick who we think are the best people... it used to be selected by selector/coaches, but now it is selected by the management and we have never had a problem... so we thought that having everybody's ideas in that selection and democracy rules... it hasn't been an issue.
An awareness of cultural diversity was heightened when working on another team ritual, that of the haka:

Our way of dealing with it because there are different attitudes and that became apparent to us in about 2006 when we were doing some work on the haka... on our country's culture, and what has been important in the culture... we got the Fijian boys to speak and the Samoans to speak, we got the Tongans to speak and we got the Europeans to speak and it was amazing to see the differences in attitudes... the Pākehā boys talk about the plough and the tractor and sheep and going down to the pub and that sort of thing... the Polynesian boys were talking about mum, sister, family, church so totally different mental models and value systems.

According to this coach, as a result of sharing cultural value systems and mental models, the team has become more understanding of cultural differences and as a result are more cohesive:

The attitudes of European New Zealanders to Polynesian players in the team has changed and you have to acknowledge that because there's much more understanding of their values, who they are and where they come from, and I think that's been positive in the group... we would have very few kinks now.

I think one of the key reasons why the All Blacks are playing pretty well is the spirit in the group and they enjoy each other's company and they want to support each other, they have got respect for each other and they got a belief in each other.

In the end, the status as 'Kiwis' and as 'All Blacks' is seen to supersede any cultural differences:

We have taken the view that we really haven't got Fijians, Tongans, Samoans, Māoris or Europeans we have just got All Blacks as rugby players.

We've talked a lot about it in the All Blacks...that we all come from different backgrounds and I think that is what makes the team special too...because you look
at the Pacific Islanders for example, what they offer in terms of their physical attributes…and you go through each of the guys and they all have different traits that come together and at the end of the day we all talk about it…we have got the Polynesians, the Māori boys, and you have got the white boys, but at the end of the day we are all Kiwis and that is one thing that the All Blacks bring together is that you’re all representing New Zealand and you are all pretty much born in New Zealand, so once you have that then the All Black culture supersedes anything else.

The final views on diversity from All Black captain and former Race Relations Conciliator Chris Laidlaw (2010, p.54) concur with the statements of this coach:

The game has become a fascinating point of convergence for Māori, Pakeha and Pacifica…the great players are not a Pakeha monopoly…they belong to all…happily that sort of inclusiveness has survived the onset of professionalism…now so embedded it provides a working example of comfortable multiculturalism…in an odd way professionalism removes class or race barriers by superimposing another culture – that of the team – over every difference …professional rugby has served to strengthen the imagery of three cultures working in harmony…the All Blacks set an example that has no parallel in that respect.

**Technological**

This has been an era of accelerating technological change. The All Blacks are committed to make the best use possible of technological and scientific improvements to try and maintain a competitive advantage and video analysis and GPS equipment are some of the latest tools used by the All Blacks. A captain of this era, however, puts the use of technology in perspective suggesting they are aids rather than a ‘silver bullet’:

There is a lot of analysis of how things go… I think some people and teams use it more than others… it has definitely got a place but needs an understanding of taking the right information rather than using it all… being able to pick the right bits out… I think people are starting to get better and better and try to avoid paralysis by analysis…coaches like Smithy, will watch and watch and watch and watch and perhaps as a
coach you need to do that… whereas I get delivered from him say some trends, so I go and look at what I want to look at… I don’t want to be spending my whole week sitting in front of a computer because I just want to understand a few trends and a few things specific to me… so I am able to do that… but I still have to get out and do the job on Saturday… for me the important thing is getting the system right and just the little things that might catch us out… that is what I look for… I just want to know that my system that I am involved with will work… but we use things like GPS to see how far guys run at training and stuff… I think they are all good but they are not the silver bullet… it doesn’t mean you are going to play well on Saturday… they are just an aid and I think that’s what you have to be careful of.

Mental skills

One of the major differences of the professional era to the amateur era of the past is the emphasis placed on the development of mental skills and knowledge acquisition. Players have to cope with learning and increasing their knowledge in a more demanding manner than in the past as this coach outlines:

I think there is a much greater need of the encompassing of mental skills and understanding… you have got to work at the mental side of the game just as much as you do the physical side of the game…. so whilst basically they put a lot of time into their physical skills… the catching, passing, kicking, tackling, mauling, line-out jumping… they also put a lot of time into mental skills such as imagery, setting up a pre-game process… we prepare post-game analysis individually so that they look at their own game and from there they establish their week, what they are going to do to make improvements for the next game. So there is a lot more work, a lot more time put into that part of the game.

One of the coaches interviewed suggested that ‘how’ he coaches has changed to suit the needs of the modern rugby player, which brings about more of a questioning approach and encourages the ‘No. 8 wire mentality’ associated with New Zealanders in the past:
I think it’s all very well to have technical expertise and tactical understanding as a coach but I think it’s how you coach that’s critical in my role… and so modern rugby players are a different generation that needs logic, they need to know why they are doing something and they want instant gratification, instant feedback, and so they are a different group to what we have had in the past.

Along with a questioning approach to coaching, trainings are also randomized:

We randomise our training so we don’t use block trainings very often… by block trainings I mean going out and doing 50 line-out throws… Tiger Woods doesn’t go out and do 50 drives… he simulates the game - he drives and then he gets an iron and hits a chip and then he might play out of a bunker or out of a divot mark and that’s what we try to do in rugby… so we randomise the training… if we have a scrum we go from scrum to ruck… we might turn the ball over and we have got to go quickly into defence so we try and get players to adapt all the time and we act game-like conditions… our trainings have become more decision made than the game and I think that has been really positive.

The coaches also try to simulate situations in training that result in pressure as the same coach alluded:

the other thing that we do is to simulate pressures of the game and try and simulate the stress that they are going to come across… we throw in unpredicted events… like, we might go on to a training field and assume that Australia are going to do such and such against us…but we’ll throw in something else that they do that is unpredicted and get the players to solve that problem… we might take a player off, yellow card a player so that we have got to play with 14 and we might make them play in their own goal line and give them a target to get out of the goal line and into the opposition half and get possession back and say, “how are you going to do that?”

In summary, the coaches are in a continual state of up-skilling in order to keep the All Black winning legacy intact:
So that tends to be the skill that we had to develop as coaches and it's a new way to coach for us… we seek to up-skill all the time so that we can deliver.

Equipment

Manufacturers like Adidas, Nike and all others in the equipment market today spend vast sums to produce the best possible equipment to be used in the sport. Their sponsorship is also substantial, which is important for the management of the sport nationally and for the payment of the players. There is a general acceptance, which was not always evident in the early years of sponsorship, that in the professional era, management, coaches and players alike have an obligatory requirement to meet the demands of the sponsor, provided these are realistic and beneficial overall for the sport. The financial welfare of the game, as well as the top player's salaries or income, is dependent on successful sponsorship. A loss of income to the parent body could have serious consequences. In the recent All Blacks these obligations are met with understanding and commitment. The importance of meeting obligations to sponsors while also maintaining and portraying important values of the team can sometimes be out of sync, as one coach relays:

At a management meeting I was advised “We want five All Blacks to go to Auckland tomorrow…Air New Zealand are launching a plane for the World Cup.”…they then said, “Well we’ve got this photo of the All Black front row on the plane that’s going to be taking you to London.” I was appalled…I said, “All Blacks talk about humility, about values and what you’re doing is totally contrary to all the values that this team has, and you expect me now to go in and tell my team that five of them have got to go to Auckland.”…I was really upset because I thought there was a total lack of understanding when the commercial arm of the organization said it was a great idea, and it probably was in many ways in terms of publicity, but to me it hit at the heart at what we were not, because we never ever promoted ourselves as being better…I was always the underdog coach…I never wanted to say we’ll do this or we’ll do that.

This is an example of the early days of sponsorship and how the financial needs of the organization conflicted with the internal values of the team. It is a pertinent example of
management taking an action with good intent that challenged the underlying assumptions and values of the All Blacks. So the importance of what this coach is saying shouldn’t be under-estimated, because it is about a cultural shift being forced on the All Blacks by the commercialization of the All Black brand. In the interviews with the recent leaders of the All Blacks, it was evident there is much greater congruence between all the parties involved now.

**Nutrition**

As with the physical fitness preparation another area of development in the professional era particularly has been with getting players on the optimal nutritional regimes. Coaches and captains commented on nutrition as a major change in the preparation of players of this era:

> Every area has changed… an example is nutrition and understanding that every player has got his optimum body weight and optimum skin fold fat content… we are pretty adamant that players have to be close to that zone, if that’s when they play their best… they have to successfully maintain that sort of condition… so we put a lot of time into body weight and nutrition to make sure their skin folds are low obviously their strength and conditioning training is huge.

How things have changed in terms of the professional scientific approach to rugby in this era is provided by Thomas (2003, p. 192) in explaining the after match recovery the players have:

> No sooner returned to the changing room than they’re being presented with requirements to enter the recovery procedure, slipping in and out of ice baths, stretching, re-hydrating and eating…people don’t realize that players eat a meal in the dressing room – it’s part of the recovery process because it refuels the muscles, enabling them to recover better.

**Sport medicine**

Comments in this area were considered superfluous as they were only endorsing the obvious that this is a vital area of the game and is recognized by all concerned with all teams
having a medical support staff. Laidlaw (2010, p. 30) sums up the need for sport’s medicine with his comment:

*How sustainable is the lifestyle of the thoroughly modern full-time rugby player? How much physical punishment by 120kg human cannonballs can any modern player endure?*

**Physical fitness & conditioning**

The importance of scientific physical fitness and conditioning is a given today with the demands placed on the players, but it is equally important to have a balanced approach to physical conditioning and the other factors in their lives as All Blacks, which is evident from this response from one of the coaches:

*Now you’ve got all day basically to give to rugby and that had its own threats in the early days, but now the programmes are innovative. They are managed well and there’s an understanding and need to have balance, not just to be rugby orientated. When you have got your boots on you switch on, and when the boots are off you do the other tasks in your life.*

These comments from a recent coach highlight that although balance was missing previously it shouldn’t all be about rugby. It is pertinent to note that what the rugby bodies are capable of these days is vastly different to the expectations of the amateur era.

*There was a belief in the early days that one weight session a week was adequate and you didn’t want to get too tired for the game. And now our tight forwards probably do four weight sessions a week, certainly don’t do three…every player in the squad probably would do two to three and Thursday morning is probably the most explosive weight session they do all week. So in the past we wouldn’t have done that because there would have been a belief that you’d be jaded for the weekend.*

This coach clearly emphasizes the objective of all the new methods of physical conditioning and training are about gaining ‘small margins’ and to ‘get another edge’ over their opponents which signifies what the All Blacks try to achieve that creates their winning culture. This
coach gives further endorsement to the fact that the objective of physical conditioning is to gain a competitive advantage:

*The physical conditioning is a massive part of the game. And people often say that everyone is doing the same stuff yet you still able to get small margins and that’s what we are about, and we are about being open to learning and trying to see where we can get another edge maybe in terms of training.*

The importance of psychological preparation as well as physical conditioning was raised by this captain who also compared the size of players today with the amateur era:

*This group take it as a being part of being psychologically ready, as well as physically ready, so it is very explosive. It’s short, sharp, but it is a huge part of their build up for the game…you have just got to look at the modern player to see that mid-field backs of today are the size of the loose-forwards you know late in the 60s they were big loose-forwards but our backs are big and fast and strong just as loosies were back then probably.*

Once again an All Black captain emphasized the importance of finding that edge and keeping ahead of the opposition in terms of training:

*You think of conditioning because we have a lot more time to be able to do it…and you come up against guys where if we don’t do it properly then you will fall behind so you’ve got to keep ahead of things… where the All Blacks have been good is keeping at the front… just like the size of guys in the forward pack, and the strength and the speed of these fellows.*

This captain also mentions that over time he has learnt what does and doesn’t work for him, but that like previous generations of All Blacks, the fitter you were the better you performed, irrespective of what era you played in:

*Even in the last 10 years I have been involved it has gone up and up and I’ve had to make sure of myself - you match it otherwise you fall behind. That just comes through time and probably better training methods, but it fluctuates… these new theories come in and go and as you get older having tried a lot of different things I*
personally have started to work out what works... you still get advice like being fit but
for me that was always the case... we're fitter now than perhaps eras gone by, but
the fitter guys then did well.

6.4 Summary & conclusions

This chapter involves the era (1990 – 2010) of demographic change in New Zealand from
one with a bi-cultural history to a multicultural society and to professional rugby as the chief
points of difference from the two previous research eras.

The findings indicated that the pride and honour in All Black selection and the
wearing of the black jersey with the silver fern was undiminished from the previous eras. The
rites and rituals of the haka and ‘back seat of the bus’ protocol, however, have changed. The
haka is performed with all its cultural meaning as a symbol of All Black rugby but there is
more understanding of what the haka means from a Māori perspective, and perhaps the new
‘Kapa o Pango’ haka performed by the All Blacks before some test matches reflects their
desire to perform a haka that represents their identity as a team. With a greater focus on
proper induction that is inclusive, interactive with sound communication and a formalization
of the senior leadership group, the ‘back seat of the bus’ has ceased to be as significant as it
was. History and tradition and the All Black legacy (especially with regards to winning) are as
important as in the past. To facilitate and consolidate this, the All Blacks have developed an
“All Black Club” to specifically concentrate on enjoying their exclusive group and their
connection with their predecessors.

The leadership at management, coaching and captaincy levels is vital to the success
of the team. During this era, the change to professionalism was handled well, but the loss of
the 2003 World Cup hosting rights was an example of poor management. This era has been
one of changing attitudes where as one coach has already stated the players are much more
demanding being part of “a different generation that needs logic - the need to know why they
are doing something and they want instant gratification and instant feedback.” They are
accused of being more egocentric by the older players of the early amateur era because
money has at times appeared to mean more than playing for the All Blacks. Carl Hayman is
an example of this, giving up a certain All Black position to play in Europe. Professionalism and the transition from amateurism initially caused some conflict and a change in values for some players who are more materialistic and want to know “what is in it for me?” This is progressively changing some of the embedded core assumptions of the team.

Political forces for change which rugby had to adjust to in this period were minimal, but the major change was an economic one with the professionalization of the sport creating the need for players to adjust to receiving relatively large sums of money when compared to their peers in the workforce, and with it the responsibility of dealing with sponsors, organizing investments and trying to ensure a balance in their lives. Professionalism to the coaches and captains interviewed however meant doing everything possible to perform on game day, winning, having greater responsibility to a wider group of stakeholders, as well as being paid.

Socio-cultural and economic changes in this period brought about greater involvement of women in the game, especially as consumers with women making up at least half or more of the attendees at major matches (Garland, MacPherson & Haughey, 2004). Alcohol is part of New Zealand and rugby culture, but its consumption within the All Blacks is managed and rationalised in terms of how it impacts on performance in the professional era. Professional athletes, who are expected to perform to the best of their ability every week, cannot afford to drink because of the debilitating effect it can have on fitness and recovery. The All Blacks are also conscious of behavioural requirements in the professional era that means their behaviour on and off the field is under scrutiny 24/7. Ethno-cultural diversity exists within the All Blacks but is managed by having a diverse senior leadership group, by openly discussing cultural values within the team to create cultural understanding and by emphasising that the All Black culture supersedes any other cultural differences that may exist.

Technological advances in video and GPS analysis are amongst a number of the many advances that are being made in rugby and other sports. They are useful but need to be kept in perspective. There have been major improvements in sports medicine, injury
prevention, rehabilitation and nutrition to ensure players are fit and play at their optimal weight.

There has been a gradual and continual improvement in all aspects of coaching methods during this era. Strategy and tactics are as important as they always have been in winning matches, with the present team focusing on getting effective alignment in strategies and tactics between the coach, the captain and the team. One of the differences between this era and their predecessors is where the recent coaches have placed an emphasis in training methods on adopting a questioning approach, developing mental skills and imagery, randomized training, and simulating problem-solving scenarios that the players as a group have to solve as they occur in the game.

Richie McCaw (All Black captain)
CHAPTER SEVEN

DISCUSSION

Success is like anything worthwhile. It has a price. You have to pay the price to win and you have to pay the price to get to the point where success is possible. Most important, you must pay the price to stay there (Vince Lombardi, 2012)

Research Objective

The objective of this research was to evaluate the winning ethos and organizational culture of the All Blacks between 1950 and 2010. In addition, there were specific research questions to be addressed, and these form the basis of discussion in this chapter.

Research Question 1

7.0 What are the key organizational success factors distinctive to the All Black team?

7.0.1 Artefacts & creations

Symbols

As Schein (2010) indicates, culture as a concept is an empirically based abstraction, but the ritual of team selection in the All Blacks and the wearing of the jersey are key events and artefacts that reflect important values and achievement by the players. Events are tangible, visible artefacts and creations that are part of the enculturation process of the All Blacks, further embedded by the emotional displays and the stories and the myths that accompany those events. Observed behaviour in the form of rituals and ceremonies are also artefacts, so it can be seen that the cultural themes that have remained unchanged, or become even more entrenched through the three eras, include the artefacts and creations of pride in selection as an All Black and representing your country, and the pride in wearing the black jersey with the silver fern, linking to the importance of winning, and the commitment to maintaining the All Black legacy. As one former captain explained, becoming an All Black is one thing, but there is an onus of responsibility, in his opinion, to become a good one:
To be an All Black was every young rugby player’s dream... so to be selected was enormous... it wasn’t long before I realized how important it was to actually be a good All Black and get games... and that was probably the best learning curve for me as captain.

**Rites & rituals**

The *Haka*

The most publically expressed rite or ritual performed by today’s All Blacks is the *haka*, but it was not always so. It has undergone a metamorphosis even during the timeline of this research study. Previously performed only overseas and then not without some embarrassment at times for All Blacks of European ethnicity, the serious introduction of the *haka* started with the World Cup in New Zealand in 1987 (led by future captain Wayne ‘Buck’ Shelford), and is now performed at every All Black match. As described in the summary to Chapter 6, there are now two *hakas* that the All Blacks perform, which demonstrates how this ritual continues to develop. Its increasing significance and meaning to the team in the professional era is explained below:

*There is a big difference between doing the haka in my day and today... today it’s about knowledge and understanding and education about what it means... In my day it was something you did that was a tradition in the All Blacks and, whilst I was proud to do it, I always had my mind on the first kick off or the next play I was going to make afterwards and we weren’t taught to do it in the way that it is done today... Today for any player that comes into the All Blacks there is an induction period and part of that induction is learning both hakas, Ka Mate and Kapa o Pango... understanding what the movements mean... the grounding, the link with your ancestors, the earth and how important it is to our culture.*

Deal and Kennedy (1982) and Trice and Beyer (1984, 1985) have written a good deal about rites and rituals as ways and means of deciphering as well as communicating cultural assumptions. Rituals are often symbols that formulate certain assumptions and, in the case of the All Blacks’ *haka*, send a symbolic message of challenge and identity to the opponents.
as well as being a manifestation of the deeply embedded assumptions of what it means to
be an All Black.

The ‘back seat of the bus’

The ‘back seat of the bus’ ritual was a development by the senior players in the team over a
period of many years as a means, in the absence of a formal induction process into the
team, of establishing team values, disciplines, and expected behaviours. Whilst not
everybody saw significance in it as a process, it was an informal one, highly regarded by
many of the players in the period preceding the professional era. Its importance is
acknowledged in these views:

>This was a case of setting standards and there was no question as to who was in
charge and what the expectations were of you in making this team... It wasn't that
you'd made it... you had a lot of work to do... it was a very, very sobering and quite
daunting prospect... I probably wasn't so much aware of it until I got on the bus to go
out to the airport and I got a call to come down the back of the bus and I was right up
the front then, one of the new boys... in the back was Brad Johnstone, Dougie Bruce,
Bruce Robertson and Bryan Williams... Bryan asked the question “What does being
in the All Blacks mean to you? I told him what I thought... he then asked, “What are
you going to do to contribute to this team?”...They did that with all the new boys...
they went through the same routine.

The need for such a ritual in the pre-professional era highlights shortcomings in the
management leadership processes and meant the team resorted to its own forms of peer
learning or mentoring as a means of developing social consensus to achieve the objective of
winning. The more formalised collective leadership approach of the recent management
group maintains the principle of using key players as part of their decision making. This
same principle applied to the informal ‘back seat of the bus’ group formed by the players
themselves. Both the haka and the back seat protocols bear out Rafaeli and Kluger’s (1998)
views on the significance of symbols, rites and rituals as elements that help develop good
team members with a sense of knowledge and behaviour.
7.0.2 Values

Ashkanasy, Wilderom and Peterson (2000) describe the construct of values as a way to talk about something social, cognitive and behavioural. Values or standards are social and cognitive because they reflect the history of experience and understandings of a group and behavioural because they are reflected in the conduct of the group. Values are also the standards used to satisfy internal needs, such as the needs of self-esteem and self-actualisation.

Beliefs differ from values in that they are a psychological state that holds that a proposition or a premise is true and real. Put more simply by Bristol (1948) in a book titled *The Magic of Believing*, beliefs are the core of who we are, what we do and the success we acquire. They are formed by family, peer group and work experiences as well as often by charismatic leaders. Assumptions about what is true from a cultural perspective come from social interaction and acceptance within the group. Hence, as the research shows, the importance of winning and mateship are values and beliefs that become embedded in the core assumptions of the All Blacks.

**The importance of winning**

An unchanged value throughout the three eras has been the importance of winning and the maintenance of that winning ethos. Its importance has transcended all other factors in all eras of the research. Winning, and the search for excellence in performance, is part of the values, standards and goals of being an All Black. Winning has become a manifestation of the All Blacks’ core assumptions, best illustrated by the statements of a recent coach:

> Winning is everything… it’s everything for me and that’s why I’m doing the job really… To lose, I once said it’s like “a death in the family” but I got criticised for that… it can’t be that bad, but actually it is… it’s a major, you’ve got to handle it… I think it focuses people, but I guess it is part of the game.

**The importance of the All Black legacy**

The belief that has never changed, and in fact has been progressively built on, is the importance of the history and the tradition of being an All Black – the All Black legacy.
Sustaining the All Black legacy is something every All Black is conscious of - it is part of the organizational culture. The traditions are reinforced by the artefacts of the jersey and the rites and rituals of the haka, both symbolised realisations of underlying values that are manifestations of deeper basic assumptions. These internalised values and norms are sustained through the stories, many of which have a degree of mythology attached to them with the passage of time. The heroes and villains of the past, as identified by Deal and Kennedy (1982), also exemplify the values of the organization.

The heroes mentioned by the interviewees from their respective eras predictably were all successful leaders or players like Sir Fred Allen, Sir Wilson Whineray and Sir Brian Lochore from the first era, Sir Colin Meads and B.G. Williams from the second era and Sir Graham Henry, Richie McCaw and Dan Carter from the third era. The villains tended to be referees in lost test matches where decisions perceived to be incompetent prevailed or the administrators responsible for the loss of the hosting rites to the 2003 RWC (Romanos, 2002; Thomas, 2003).

It was Sahlins (1985) who argued that one cannot understand certain social phenomena without understanding both the historical events and the cultural meanings associated with them. This has been recognized by the recent leadership with their establishment of ‘Club All Black’ within the team, a social and fun oriented activity where the players wear their club jerseys when attending special functions, and where the activities are focused on perpetuating the All Black legacy. It is a new ritual introduced by the most recent All Blacks and reaffirms the importance placed on maintaining their cultural heritage and retaining a tangible link with the grassroots of the game. The importance of history and its maintenance was recognized by every interviewee as critical to the future of the All Blacks and is highlighted in the following quote from a second era captain:

*I felt a massive responsibility - to the players in the team first, but to those players who represented New Zealand previously to represent them well.*

Schein (2010, p. 3) states, “that organizational cultures will vary in strength and stability as a function of the length and emotional intensity of their actual history from the moment they
were founded.” Over a period of 109 years of test match rugby the pride and euphoria that comes from winning that embellishes the All Black history happened on numerous occasions, for example the winning of the Rugby World Cups in 1987 and 2011. These events and their emotional intensity endorse Schein’s statement of how history impacts on culture. Not unexpectedly the lows experienced by players all related to losses in matches with very few describing the conflicts of the 1981 Springbok tour as a low, except from those who experienced the aftermath in the form of a reaction from the protestors. The intense interest in history was about results and the skills and abilities of star players and is exemplified by the remarks of this captain:

I thought about the guys who had played in the No. 7 jersey before me and they were all my heroes really… and here I was… I didn’t want to let them down….that was the big thing I didn’t want to let the jersey down or let the team down.

While some of the embedded, basic core assumptions of the All Blacks remained constant (for example, maintaining the All Black legacy of winning and history), others have changed or modified in response to changing political, economic, socio-cultural and technological forces in the macro environment. Examples of external themes that impacted the core assumptions most significantly have been:

- political with the South African Tour in 1981;
- economic with the professionalization of rugby in 1995 and the payment of players;
- socio-cultural with the change in team composition with an influx of players with Pacific Island heritage; and,
- technological with the scientific approach to physical fitness training, nutrition, video analysis and sports medicine with an emphasis on pregame preparation and after game recovery.

As Schein (2010) expounds, the human mind needs cognitive stability, so in one sense shared basic assumptions represent a psychological cognitive defence mechanism that makes change difficult, but an organization to continue to be successful must also be
prepared to change or modify the way it does things. Whilst most of the core assumptions of
the All Blacks haven’t changed, the importance of innovation and change when necessary,
particularly where it relates to how the game is played or preparation for it, were recognized
and carried out, and are reasons why the All Blacks winning legacy has been maintained.
One of the recent captains explained innovation and change as it related to him specifically:

*I think the big thing for me is I know what has worked in the past and it’s changed so
you can’t have the same influence, and so you just have to adapt…you can’t keep
trying to do what they used to do and get away with it…One thing I have always
prided myself on - if I can’t have influence then I will figure out some other way of
doing it…the good players figure that out, some quicker than others, and the same
with teams…even if you don’t like the way rules change you can’t do anything about
it but get on and work about the best way you can adapt to it… I think that you’re
always trying to improve.*

7.0.3 Leaders & leadership

Critical to the success of the All Blacks in all eras was the quality of its leadership. It is
important firstly to differentiate between leadership and management as defined by Bennis
and Nanus (1985) - ‘Leaders do the right thing and managers do things right’. Leaders are
more visionary and focus on the future and the need to be able to conceptualize, whilst
managers are more concerned with the day to day processes. The NZRU by sporting
standards in New Zealand is an efficient sporting organization, but despite this there have
been critics of the performance of the central management and leadership of rugby in New
Zealand in both the amateur and professional eras.

The research, however, showed that the successful coaches and captains such as
Neil McPhail and Sir Wilson Whineray, Sir Fred Allen and Sir Brian Lochore, Sir Brian
Lochore and David Kirk, Sir Graham Henry and Richie McCaw displayed traits and qualities
that were more associated with leadership and ensured a high degree of success for the
team. It poses the question that if success was often determined by the quality of the
leadership how then was success maintained in periods where the leadership or
management was inadequate? The research suggested it was the underlying assumption that only winning was acceptable that carried the team through, so history and tradition set high standards to be maintained even in the absence of strong leadership and management.

There are times during the period of the research where ensuring that the All Blacks remained successful meant that one or all of the ‘actors’ in leadership took charge. At times this was the players/captains when the coaches were not technically capable. In these situations, the collective leadership role of experienced senior players helped achieve and maintain success. Short periods of poor results often coincided with a cyclical loss of experienced senior players like in 1971 against the British Lions when prior to the tour commencing 17 players from the All Blacks who toured South Africa the previous year retired or were unavailable for selection. Laurie Mains in the two years before the 1995 RWC was faced with a similar problem of the loss of senior players which affected results by requiring a period of rebuilding personnel (Howitt & McConnell, 1999). At other times it was the leadership role of coaches that went beyond the field of play when trying to change amateur rugby culture to embrace professionalism. On a more limited basis, there were times when the administrators took the lead role in the leadership process, by taking action with regards to contracting players, putting bids in place, and making decisions with regards to whether tours would or would not go ahead. All of these ‘leaders’ impacted on the All Black culture to some degree, but the overarching assumption was that all leadership decisions were made in an attempt to maintain the All Blacks’ winning legacy.

**Administrators as leaders**

It is a fair assessment to make over the period of the research (1950 – 2010) that the management or administrative leadership during the amateur era as distinct from the late 1980s onwards and particularly the professional era was conservative, at times intransigent and lacking in innovation. There were, however, some notable exceptions such as when New Zealand together with Australia ultimately convinced the IRB to put together a Rugby World Cup, signing up key All Blacks to prevent a mass exodus in 1995, and winning the bid for the 2011 RWC. Some of these decisions displayed vision, skill and an ability to adapt to
their macro-environment. Criticism, however, was often applied to the centralised NZRU administration offices, as Mourie (1982, p. 233) implied:

*The structure of the NZRU seems incapable of any of the several logical moves which would bring some sanity… the council seems to sit waiting for a lead from the annual meeting and the annual meeting seems to wait for a lead from the council.*

**Coaches as leaders**

The research revealed there was considerable variation in the skills and capabilities of the coaches and their coaching standards throughout the three eras. Coaching leadership varied in style from Lewin et al.’s (1939) *laissez faire* to autocratic styles, although these styles did not greatly affect the winning percentage at the end of each decade.

McConnell (1998), from a survey of 240 All Blacks across seven decades and against nine measurement variables and coaching styles, named Sir Fred Allen, Jack Gleeson, and Sir Brian Lochore in that order as the best coaches. The nine variables included knowledge of the game, tactics, communication, respect and discipline, leadership, man management, selection, organization, plus planning and implementation. This survey did not include the last decade of coaches during which time there have been the greatest changes in technology and coaching philosophy generally. One of these recent coaches commented on the degree of change:

*You’ve got more coaches doing the job… there’s a greater analysis of the opposition… there’s a great analysis of how you’re playing and in researching where the game’s going… I spend a lot of my time doing that… that might be the game you’re playing… 75% - 80% is constant… there’s the areas that need improvement, striking over the advantage line, retention of the ball and the tackle, good defensive tackle, and then you’re looking at that other 20-25%, where you’re looking at new ideas and new ways that you can push the boundaries out and make yourself a better team… so you’re always searching for something that is going to make it better and that’s my job to an extent… I open that up to players and I find that stimulating… the players haven’t got time to do that obviously because they’re at the
coalface playing and they find that extremely interesting that I’m on the war path, which is great.

What this research did reveal was there have been continual coaching improvements. These are partly due to improving coach-education standards and scientific improvements, plus a desire by the recent coaches to establish a learning culture led by the “learning leader”, and a demand for a more effective, inclusive and interactive form of leadership.

**Captains as leaders**

McConnell (1998) sought judgement from three of New Zealand’s most published contemporary rugby writers regarding the best All Black captains. All writers rated very highly Wilson Whineray who captained New Zealand in 30 tests, Brian Lochore in 18 tests, Graham Mourie through 19 tests, Andy Dalton in his 17 tests and Wayne Shelford unbeaten in the 14 tests he captained New Zealand. McConnell (1998, p. 122) found, “the captain’s on-field requirements hadn’t basically changed into the late 1990s.” The reason underlying this is perhaps best explained by Mourie (1982, p. 82)

*Captaincy – it is a difficult art about which little has ever been satisfactorily said… certainly there was never any captain’s manual thrust into my hand. The reality, successful captains grow into the role through experiential learning.*

All captains interviewed were not only very modest in their own self-analysis, but also brutally honest about any shortcomings they may have believed they had. This may have involved tactical or strategic lapses that resulted in a loss. Where this happened it again reinforced the ingrained attitude they had to be winning. A number of the captains remarked on the fact that in the absence of any “manual” on captaincy that the role was one that required intensive experiential learning. In this regard the relationship with the coach was vital. It is well expressed by this captain:

*I don’t know why I was given the task, but in the end I grew into it I guess. I had to really work hard initially but the best part of that was the support that I got from those other guys… [The coach] gave me enormous comfort and support. I think the greatest thing he ever said to me was, “what you do on the field I will support.”*
that doesn’t mean that he agreed with it of course, but in public he supported me and
we used to talk about it afterwards. He might say, “Well maybe we should have done
this a little bit earlier or done that or whatever”… It is just so important to have a
captain and coach on the same wavelength and with mutual respect.

The role of the captain has been critical to the All Blacks success and in all eras the team
generally has had a high calibre leader.

**All Black culture and leadership**

The role and importance of both on-field and off-the-field leadership of the All Blacks has
been covered extensively in Chapters Four, Five and Six, and whilst the demands have
changed in the various eras, the importance of inspired, visionary leadership has never
diminished. Where the captain and the coaches have worked in complete harmony together,
the results have been outstanding. This again indicates the importance of the role of
captains and coaches and an effective working relationship between the two in maintaining
the All Black team’s standards in a changing cultural environment. It also suggests informal
collaborative leadership occurred with the use of senior players (e.g., Brian Lochore’s seven
provincial captains in the forwards 1966-1970) and the influence they had, as well as the
influence of the ‘back seat of the bus’ group through the 1970s and 80s.

As with most academic leadership theory, it is impossible to define one style of
leadership responsible for All Black success as the leadership methods followed an
evolutionary path. The leadership for a long time and into the end of the first era of the
research involved the scientific model of Fredrick Taylor (1947) of one ‘boss’ and a directive
or authoritarian style of leadership. There was an emphasis on individual and team
discipline. That is not to say there were no team plans and strategies or the delegation of
some responsibilities. Whilst this system continued in the 1970s and 80s, it was interspersed
with some periods of *laissez-faire* coaching leadership in which the collective and
collaborative informal leadership of the senior players was often responsible for the success
achieved. The research revealed some coaches during this period were examples of task
oriented leaders (Hersey & Blanchard, 1984) as compared to ones like J. J. Stewart who was highly regarded for his rugby acumen and people-oriented approach to coaching.

If ‘quality leadership’ was not always apparent in formal roles such as coach or captain, then another part of the All Black organization assumed leadership responsibility. If the coaching was poor, for instance, then the players stepped up. Alternatively, if there were player misdemeanours, then the coach stood up and if hard decisions had to be made, the administrators/board made them. What mattered in the end was that the All Black organization continued to be successful, and that someone (individual or collective) fronted up to ensure that was maintained.

The development and introduction of the collective leadership style and approach of the 2004-2011 management group came after considerable research, investigation and analysis, backed up by the in-depth collective experience of those involved (Sir Brian Lochore, Sir Graham Henry, Wayne Smith and Steve Hansen) and the academic theory and expertise of specialists in education and psychology with whom they consulted. The fact that the collective management group was selected because of their specialist skills, knowledge or experience endorsed the theories of Denis et al (2001) and Lemay (2009). Collective leadership is still an emerging field where there is not one common definition, but it is about embracing and marshalling human, cultural, and technological resources, where group members are motivated by a common purpose, and build relationships with each other that are genuinely respectful and focused on achieving optimal results. It is about co-constructed shared purpose and work - relationships in action that trusts shared wisdom and the liberating of individual ability. This new learning, self and team analysis and critiquing are highlighted by the remarks of a recent coach:

As we became more aware of the need for a player centred coaching environment rather than a coach centred one the players as well as the coach are placed in a new learning environment… we try to recreate and simulate pressures of the game and try and simulate the stress that is going to happen in the game…we throw them in unpredicted events, and then throw in something else that is unpredicted and get the
players to solve that problem… we give them a target… to get out of the goal line and into the opposition half and get possession back and say, “how are you going to do that? This is an experiential learning situation basically to improve their problem solving. With senior players making input and players trained to be analytical. The learning situation is enhanced by the interaction of the players and the coaches.

7.0.4 The learning culture

Schein (2010) makes some interesting observations about the impact on society of globalisation, knowledge-based organizations, the information age and the impact of multiculturalism in many countries. He believes the leaders and followers today need to become perpetual learners. By doing so they are then challenging the paradox of culture being a conservative stabilising force with one that is learning oriented, adaptive and flexible.

In two books by Lynn Kidman (Developing Decision Makers, 2001 & Athlete-Centred Coaching, 2005) recent All Black coach, Wayne Smith, has a chapter where he sets out his philosophy of coaching. He stresses the need as an international coach to create an athlete-centred philosophy rather than the traditional prescriptive coach-centred style used in the past. Kidman introduces him as, “noted for his ability to form a team culture that is more successful than that produced by traditional rugby approaches” (Kidman, 2001, p. 37).

Wayne’s coaching philosophy has a strong emphasis on the empowerment principle…he wants players with the ability to persist, be relentless and not give up… players who will take responsibility for their preparation and performance… he believes in traditional values and the importance of the whole person not just the rugby player… he has an important belief the principle of honesty with players is extremely important (p. 38).

He believed also that coaches need to be constantly learning and developing… a key component of a coach’s development and enhanced performance is self-analysis… it is also important to get feedback from players (pp. 43-45).

In Athlete-Centred Coaching, whilst repeating many of the messages of the first book, Wayne Smith alludes to the importance of a core group of leaders emphasising the
importance of getting “the best support staff you can get”… great people all going in the right
direction. His development as a coach is what he calls a ‘global methodology’ of combining
the analytical New Zealand approach with what he learned experientially in Europe of the
player instinctively making the decisions on the field (Kidman, 2005, pp. 189-191).

A coach in the most recent era also explains the development of an
empowering/questioning approach to assist decision making in the coach/learner process:

*Modern players are a different generation that needs logic… as coaches we have
had to become questioners… so instead of instructing all the time, technically or
tactically, we tend to use a lot of ‘what’ questions so you get descriptive
answers...“So what did you see in front of you?”…“What’s your reaction to that?”…
You are getting a player to understand what he saw and understand what he did and
then you’re building up a situation of awareness within the player.*

Smith’s approach supports that of Chatman and Cha (2002, p. 7) who posit that “strong
cultures enhance organizational performance by energising employees/team members by
appealing to their higher ideals and values and rallying them around a set of meaningful
unified goals.” Such ideals excite commitment and effort. Strong cultures boost performance
by shaping and coordinating (team members) behaviour by focusing on values and norms,
and guiding their behaviour and decision making. Strong cultures exist where team members
respond to stimulus because of their alignment to organizational values.

The findings indicated that feedback, reflection and analysis, albeit time consuming
processes, have helped consolidate both team and individual learning (Schön, 1987, 1991).
Once the assumption became ingrained, solutions to problems derived from a more
pragmatic search for truth. This changed the team’s culture. The leaders of the All Blacks
also came to an acceptance of the reality that they had a lot to learn themselves, thus the
task of learning became a shared responsibility. The leaders needed to develop a positive
outlook to the future and make a commitment to cultural diversity in view of the demographic
make-up of the team. This also supported Schein’s (2010) belief that in a multicultural group
task the leaders must be connected to and value members enough to learn something of
each other’s culture and language thus ensuring good cross-cultural communication and understanding. Recent All Black leadership has effectively achieved this cross-cultural communication and understanding within the team with their emphasis on inclusiveness as part of their overall commitment to a learning culture.

**All Blacks: Embracing innovation and change**

The research further endorsed the views of Chatman and Cha (2002) that a strong culture boosts organizational performance, is strategically relevant, and accepts and emphasizes innovation and change. This applied specifically to the All Blacks of the professional era, as they have been constantly looking for strategic and technological improvements and innovations that would give them a competitive advantage, but there were glimpses of innovation in the other eras as well. Examples of this were the adoption of new scrummaging techniques after the 1949 tour of South Africa which assisted in the defeat of the British Lions in 1950, the introduction of ‘fifty five yard’ rugby by captain of the day, D.J. Graham in South Africa in 1960 that became a model for the rest of the tour, or the approach of the 1977 All Blacks to beat France in the crucial second test in 1977. A sneaky tap kick engineered in training by coach, J.J Stewart won the second test against South Africa in 1976. Lydiard style aerobic training was introduced in the 1960s well before other countries adopted some of these methods is another example of the commitment to innovation which has been a part of All Black culture over a lengthy period.

A strong culture exists when the team members respond positively to any external stimulus because of the alignment of their values. The All Blacks values of pride in the jersey, pride in selection, the importance of winning and their historical legacy were all in alignment. The research over the whole 1950-2010 period uncovered no evidence of any pronounced cultural conflict within the All Blacks, even when issues like the 1981 Springbok tour forced several players to withdraw from the team on moral grounds.

Professionalism was a different issue that as mentioned previously in Chapter Six was transitioned by coaches like John Hart (Thomas, 1993, 1997), but has made a difference to player values, beliefs, attitudes and assumptions. By actively managing their
culture and empowering team members to become problem solvers players managed the transition to professionalism without threatening the winning legacy of the All Blacks. With professional advice and guidance, players became more self-reliant, more effective decision makers and much more likely to deliver on strategic objectives.

**Culture development**

Schein (2010) advocates culture development because it is learning oriented, adaptive and flexible. The recent All Blacks, as part of their collective leadership approach, have recognized this fact. As academics Michael (1991), Kahane, (2010) and Senge (1998) point out, this form of culture means the leaders and the rest of the team must commit to perpetual learning. Schein (2010) believed that a learning culture must have leadership with confidence in proactive problem solving. This factor was endorsed by a coach from the professional era:

> The areas that we need to work on as coaches is developing our ability to grow self-awareness, understanding, problem solving with these young guys coming through…They don't have to use No. 8 wire like New Zealand has had to in the past… so we have got to create our own No. 8 wire mentality and as coaches we have had to become questioners.

The fact that All Blacks are in a learning environment is also inherent in the comments of this professional era captain:

> The biggest skill I learned as a captain was the fact you don't have to talk all the time… but you have to talk at the right times and you learn that through experience.

The commitment to learning must be through a shared assumption that learning is a good thing for the whole organization and that the environment can be managed at least to some degree. Schein (2010) also advocated the commitment to truth through pragmatism and inquiry (i.e., questioning and feedback). Learning leaders need to come to terms with their own lack of expertise and wisdom, as expressed by a coach from the professional era:

> We all worked hard on being able to speak, being able to present, make sure we had structure in what we were saying; how to give feedback to each other… We had peer
assessments where we were able to give brutal facts about each other… We were able to put our ego aside and do it for the team… So we brought in a lot of things that helped grow us all, as leaders and coaches as well as the players.

Whilst the above comments refer to the modern era, the learning processes were used in the past but with a different emphasis. These processes in the 1950s and 60s were more in the form of directive instructions with some interactive discussion, but on a much reduced scale compared to the professional era. The most effective form of instruction and learning often came from defeats, for example, learning scrummaging techniques off the Springboks in 1949, or counter attack from the 1971 British Lions, or the “crotch” grip as a locking technique learned from playing the French in 1968. One of the reasons for New Zealand’s resilience was its capacity to learn quickly, particularly from defeats.

In terms of innovation, the All Blacks players, coaches and captains have always tried to be creative even back in the 1950s. The leaders have learnt to promote innovation by creating a shared belief that the All Black team members are safe to take personal risks. When team members feel psychologically safe they engage in learning behaviour, asking questions, seeking feedback, reflecting on results and discussing errors (Edmondson, 1996, 1999). The success of the All Blacks over time endorses the use of these practices.

According to Schein (2010), the leaders must be committed to the future and have full and open task-relevant communication. Schein believed that subcultures, or the individuals in a multicultural environment, must be connected and must value each other enough to learn something of each other’s culture and language to be successful in the future. Initially and particularly on tour, the haka was a distinctive representation of a ritual exclusively representing New Zealand, and an acknowledgement of Māori in the team, but it has now, through the new haka ‘Kapa o Pango’, become a cultural representation of the whole team and is an example of cultural understanding, connection and mutual respect.

Furthermore Schein (2010, p. 14) stated, "Whether a culture is good or bad, functionally effective or not depends on the relationship of the culture to the environment in which it exists.”
Managing culture according to Chatman and Cha (2002) is about developing clarity, consistency, and comprehensiveness to enable team members to execute strategic goals. They advocated three criteria for using culture as a leadership tool:

- The culture must be strategically relevant;
- The culture needs to be strong; and,
- The culture needs to emphasize innovation.

These factors are all evident in the leadership approach of the recent All Black coaches and captains, and were evident throughout the period of the research where there has always been a willingness to maintain a strong, strategically relevant, and innovative All Black culture that emphasized a winning legacy through rites, rituals, values, beliefs, attitudes and core assumptions.

The culture of the All Blacks has maintained its relevancy to New Zealand by reflecting dominant values in each era. The culture has been strong because of the early success of the All Blacks on the international stage and the status of rugby as New Zealand’s national game. At times this has been challenged (e.g., 1981 Springbok Tour protests) but the team has managed to adjust to ensure the culture remains strong and relevant to NZ culture.

Research Question 2

7.1 How have macro environmental forces impacted the All Blacks’ culture during the three distinctive periods from 1950 until 2010?

7.1.1 Political

No major political issues or problems affected rugby other than relations with South Africa during the period of the research. Opposition to sporting contacts with South Africa had begun with a ‘no Māoris no tour’ stance in 1960, and reached a crescendo with opposition to the 1981 tour of New Zealand by the Springboks that divided the nation. The issue was both political and moral with neither the government nor the NZRU prepared to make the decision
to stop the tour. In a ‘Mexican stand-off’ situation with neither side relenting the divisive tour went ahead, and resulted ultimately in contacts between the two countries ceasing until the end of Apartheid in 1992. Laidlaw (2010, p. 52), a former race relations conciliator as well as an All Black captain and Rhode’s Scholar, makes these pertinent comments on the South African conflict:

When Apartheid reared its serpentine head rugby became the meat in a racist sandwich and divided a nation possibly more than at any time in the history of sport… a division that astonished social scientists and forced the people of New Zealand to take a long hard look at themselves… the wounds have largely healed… the lingering message is that the excessive devotion to sport at the expense of wider social or political considerations is the mark of a pretty dumb society.

All Black players and their attitude to playing the Springboks varied, with some choosing to play or not play based on their personal values, motives, and political viewpoint. Graham Mourie, for instance, in his book *Graham Mourie Captain* encapsulates what it was like to make a decision not to play against South Africa and how this was regarded in the rugby fraternity:

Today (November 17) I announced that I would not play against South Africa…I believe the tour is wrong – for morality, for rugby because of the controversy and the effects of the tour will be bad for the game (pp. 27-45)… Ces Blazey (Chairman NZRU) was understanding and tolerant of my decision, a gentleman as always… there was a type like Ron Don, seeing me as a misinformed, misguided youngster attempting to return me to the fold by supplying me with information supporting his own views (p.28)… My club mates at Opunake didn’t question my decision although I have no doubt they were all in favour of the tour.

Mourie also refers to the support he received from disparate groups such as Cabinet Ministers, diplomats, anti-tour protestors and the general public who thought he was:

Courageous, crazy, communistic, thoughtful, stupid, scared and sometimes all of these at once (p. 29).
Against this background did the tour affect the values of the All Blacks? It appeared not to alter the core assumptions of the All Blacks to any great extent as evidenced by the responses of the captains and coaches interviewed, and by how quickly the negativity toward All Blacks and rugby died down after the 1987 Rugby World Cup and when official matches between the All Blacks and Springboks resumed in 1992. The serious violence that erupted at the metropolitan centres surprised and shocked All Blacks who did not anticipate this intensity of opposition, while the animosity directed at the team post-1981 was hard to handle for some players. Interviews suggested the efforts of the All Black coaches leading up to the 1987 RWC were instrumental in restoring some of the pride lost by the team as a result of the All Black-Springbok relationship in the politicized environment of New Zealand society in the 1980s. On reflection some players said had they known the extent of the violence of the confrontations they would have thought twice about playing. In summary, the impact of the tour on the culture of the team was minimal but the impact on the national psyche was pronounced. Rugby’s core support was retained, but the image of rugby overall suffered and required major innovation and adaptation from the All Blacks and the NZRU to maintain the team culture’s relevancy to national identity.

7.1.2 Economic

The most profound change in the period of the research was an economic one in 1995 with the professionalization of the game internationally. With the introduction of the World Cup in 1987, as the precursor to professionalization, change came at an accelerated rate with the establishment of professional competitions, the introduction of a Tri-Nations’ series, and a Super 12 series, which ultimately became a Super 15 series in 2012. In the Northern hemisphere there is a professional club structure in place in the United Kingdom, France and Italy. The professionalization, globalisation and corporatisation of rugby, however, has not met with universal approval, best summed up by former All Black, Rhodes Scholar, and author Chris Laidlaw in his book titled Somebody stole my Game (2010).
Conversely those operating in the professional environment welcomed the many benefits associated with professionalism as these comments from a coach attest:

*I started when New Zealand rugby players were ahead of the rest of the world in terms of professionalism, before professionalism became material... we tended to train more professionally than others, we probably worked harder at innovation than others and adapting to laws more quickly than other teams... we had players prepared to give up work to go on All Black tours and there was that professional expectation of winning that has been with the All Blacks since the originals in 1905... when the game changed I felt that we were pretty well suited to move into a new era.*

Comments of a recent coach also highlighted that combining values associated with the amateur era with values associated with professionalism can be positive for team culture:

*It had taken a while and a new generation maybe to encompass every aspect of professionalism and to not forget the past and not forget the traditions and the values and the culture but to moderate it and use in a positive way to help our performance... We have got a totally professional group of players who are about balance... They understand the need for enjoyment in perspective and they also cherish the All Black legacy and the heritage, but they also have study and work aspirations... They have got investment portfolios, they have got balanced lives, and they have got a huge training ethic and they look after themselves probably better than they did in that transition period.*

### 7.1.3 Socio-cultural

Socio-cultural influences on the All Blacks culture have been minimal but are still worthy of mention such as the changing attitudes towards women and their role in rugby, changing attitudes towards alcohol consumption, and the impact of ethno-cultural diversity on the team’s culture.

*Women & rugby*

In summary, the impact women have had on the All Black culture has been marginal, but there has been a shift in attitudes toward women from one of exclusion or irrelevance in the
first era, to one of political awareness in the 1980s, and most recently, an awareness of the commercial and integrated approach regarding women in rugby in the professional era. Thompson (1988) sums up the political and social opposition some women felt toward rugby as a result of their perceived oppression, marginalization and exploitation by rugby culture in general leading up to the 1990s. She explains firstly women's prominent role in organized opposition to the 1981 Springbok Tour, and claims that, “since 1981 such protests made a substantial contribution to an emerging hegemony in New Zealand where power concentrations shifted considerably (p. 205)."

The 1981 Springbok Tour protest was an opportunity for some women in New Zealand to express their resentment and resistance toward rugby, and brought about the need for changing attitudes in order to win over politically-motivated women to the game again. From the interview data, it appeared that women’s participation in rugby (or lack of) did not greatly affect the team or players. Therefore the influence of feminism and heightened awareness of women’s rights on All Black culture was limited.

In the most recent era, the number of women volunteering or employed in management, administrative or supportive roles in rugby is increasing. According to the 2010 NZRU Handbook, 27 members of the NZRU administration were female and also there were three females on the six member board of the Rugby NZ Ltd group that governed the 2011 RWC. These changes support the claim that females play a key role in the continuing success of the game in the professional era. Despite these improvements in terms of the treatment and attitude toward women over time in rugby, a number of interviewees agreed the treatment of women in the past had left a lot to be desired, as one captain commented:

*In terms of feminism and rugby’s treatment of women, I see we have 45% of our crowd now at our Super 15 games are female and it’s fantastic to have them part of the scene… I mean Trish Haden and my wife were first to walk into an after-match at Wellington… and created a hell of a storm and from that night on they were invited and so they should have been… It was just crazy the separatism that existed in that*
... So I think the women are very much part of the game now and we need to embrace that.

**Alcohol & rugby**

The other socio-cultural issue that requires comment is the issue of an alcohol and ‘booze’ culture and how this may have impacted on the All Blacks culture. There has been considerable adverse media criticism from time to time about alcohol-related events, and specifically at isolated times involving individual All Blacks. A former captain had these comments to make about the alcohol scene:

*The big thing that has changed is the night games... we always played in the afternoon and by midnight we were starting to get ready to go to bed... but my experience with the All Blacks in the last few years is they often don't get back to their hotel until half past eleven at night at the earliest and they're not ready for bed... they've slept all day and probably the previous night as well and they're wide awake and they don't feel like going to bed till four or five in the morning and that's where the difference is in my view and it's been created pretty much by night time games.*

The professionalization of rugby has brought about a change in game scheduling and a change in attitudes toward alcohol and the role it plays in rugby. Some players did struggle with the transition from amateur to professional rugby and the purported ‘booze’ culture was commented on publically by former All Black Manager Colonel Andrew Martin at the time, but the problem has now largely been overcome. The reality is that the demands of professional sport are such that players cannot drink alcohol if they want to be able to perform to optimal levels on a regular basis. This is recognized by both the coaches and the players, and the instances of them going “off the rails” are getting less and less as this recent coach commented:

*There has been the odd behavioural problem but these have been pretty few and far between with the All Black side...I've been involved a long time now, either as a player in the 80s, I was involved in ‘98, ‘99 as a technical analyst and 2000, 2001 as*
a coach, 2004 through to now as a coach and I’ve seen a steady improvement in behaviour.

The remedy comes through the experience and counselling of the senior players:

*It’s through Brad Thorne, through Richie McCaw, Daniel Carter, Kevin Mealamu, Mils Muliaina - they are our leaders and if we have any trouble with people who come in we make sure they room with people like that…they understand the standards, that you may be picked to play for New Zealand but you are not an All Black until you reach these standards…*

This is a change from the beer drinking ‘legends’ of the past whose drinking prowess may have gained them prestige in the amateur era. When alcohol-related incidents did occur they were dealt with in a professional manner, both punitively and from a rehabilitation perspective in a way that would ensure the core assumptions and values of the All Blacks that maintained a winning legacy were followed.

**Ethno-cultural diversity & rugby**

Rugby in many ways is a microcosm of New Zealand society as a whole, and despite Treaty of Waitangi grievance issues, Springbok Tour confrontations in 1981, and other points of conflict, in rugby Māori and European New Zealander (sometimes referred to as Pākehā) relations have been relatively free of serious conflict. As former All Black and race relations conciliator Chris Laidlaw commented:

*The romance, the legends, the folklore of great matches and great players are not a Pakeha monopoly… they belong to all… happily, that spirit of inclusiveness has survived the onset of professionalism* (2010, p. 54).

No captain or coach interviewed spoke of any race-related problems in their tenure in the All Blacks over any era. Their views could be summarised in this statement from one captain:

*I never saw them as Māori players, they were just good guys who I had a huge regard for… they were very good players… they had the same incentives that I had and they did an honest day’s work and came to footy training and trained and played with us.*
The All Blacks’ culture was relatively free of inter-racial conflict because the culture of the team tended to supersede the ethnic culture of any player group or individual. In the first era of the research and in the periods that preceded it, there was little appreciation and a lack of awareness of race or ethnicity as an issue when the make-up of the team was predominantly Māori and European. There was a mutual respect and genuine enjoyment in one another’s company that transcended any potential conflict. The inclusion of Pan Pacific Polynesians (most of whom were New Zealand born) in gradually increasing numbers in the All Blacks in the last thirty years has changed some of the relationships but it has been accompanied by an acknowledgement of cultural differences and managed, and integrated or accommodated into the more consuming culture of the All Blacks. The Kapa o Pango haka is an example of an important ritual and symbol of the team being modified to be inclusive of the three broad ethnic groups (i.e., Māori, Pākehā or European New Zealand and the pan-ethnic Pacific Island group).

The primary data was unequivocal and emphatic that there were no racial or ethnic problems associated with the All Black culture during the period 1950-2010. What is remarkable about the organizational culture of the All Blacks is that the culture of the team has adapted to be inclusive of players from different ethnicities rather than exclusive or divisive. The fact that problems that arise regarding race and ethnicity, barely affect the All Blacks, is best described again by Laidlaw (2010, p. 54):

*The game has reached a stage where it provides a working example of comfortable multiculturalism…in an odd way professionalism removes class or race barriers by superimposing another culture – that of the team – over every other difference…professional rugby has unquestionably served to strengthen the imagery of three cultures working in visible harmony…the All Blacks set an example that has no parallel in this respect.*

As evidenced at the RWC the support for the All Blacks from all ethnic groups in New Zealand showed that the team and rugby has the ability, in spite of many faults, to unite New Zealanders. In summary, the research suggests the All Blacks have created an
organizational culture where ethnic conflict between players and coaches is minimal despite secondary research, which indicates there are deepening race-related concerns and ethno-cultural divisions amongst some groups in New Zealand.

7.1.4 Technological

Technological changes have been adopted by the All Blacks over all three eras of the research, but the changes in the professional era have been the most rapid and continuous. A captain of the 1960s compared his era with the present day:

There is no doubt the training now and the scientific approach to that physical conditioning is outstanding… so all that is superb… coming off playing Southland in Invercargill on a wet day, I mean you couldn’t recognise each other, you were completely covered in mud from top to toe you had heavy boots with leather sprigs… the facilities were much poorer… all those parts of the game are now superb… far superior to our day… so all those things are of real benefit.

The benefits of the major changes in the professional era include improved exercise physiology, scientific training methods, and the use of scientifically tested nutrition methodologies. These changes ensure players are able to play at their optimal weight and can produce peak performance physically, as well as recover in the best possible manner. Properly tailored individual weight training and power sessions have produced bigger, fitter and more explosive players. Improvements to the production of “aerodynamic” footballs, better quality boots, jerseys, and grounds have improved rugby as a spectacle for the patrons. The use of video analysis and technology like GPS have raised the bar on the planning of strategies and tactics and the match defences against all opposition. All of the above technological advancements have been included in the daily practices of the All Blacks’ culture to once again maintain their winning legacy.

7.1.5 Adaptation to change

Like all organizations the All Blacks have had to adapt to a changing external environment. Since the abolition of Apartheid in South Africa in 1994, there have been no major political issues that have caused problems for the All Blacks in the recent era. Major changes in the
same era predominantly have been economic and technological. The professionalization of rugby in 1995 changed the ethos of rugby forever. At the same time the technological changes in exercise physiology, scientific training methods, nutrition, and weight training were largely scientifically based and easily accepted if the organization wanted to gain a competitive advantage.

It is an assumption in professional sport that to be the best and have a competitive advantage you must accept and adapt the latest in scientific advances in the sport. This principle applies equally to business organizations. If applying the resource-based view (Peteraf, 1993) or the knowledge-based view (Eisenhardt & Santos, 2002, 2005) of competitive advantage the problem still becomes one of sustainability as resources and knowledge can quickly become replicated by the opposition.

In the professional era (see Chapter Six) there was considerable comment made of the technological impact of aerodynamically constructed footballs, better quality boots, jerseys, grounds and the impact these improvements have had on producing bigger, stronger, fitter and faster athletes. Comment was also made on the use of video analysis of matches and GPS technology to again give teams a competitive advantage.

The socio-cultural changes in society over the timeline of the research - as New Zealand has changed from its colonial and postcolonial beginnings, to a bicultural period and now a multicultural one - has not created a significant problem for the All Blacks in any of the eras, as the All Black culture has been strong enough to subsume any subcultures that may develop. The leadership throughout all eras and particularly in the professional era when the changes have been rapid has been adaptive and has recognised the importance of innovation. Consequently whilst culture is a stabilising influence, the All Blacks through-out have been prepared to adapt changes that will help maintain their winning ethos.
Research Question 3

7.2 How has the All Blacks’ winning record been maintained in a changing cultural environment?

Put simply any organization to function successfully, accomplish its tasks, grow and improve, must be able to manage its internal relationships. Its leader(s) must be able to focus the group’s energies and time on the tasks it is confronted with; in the case of the All Blacks the winning of its test matches reflects this point. Communication must be in an understandable language so that concepts are understood and the players know what the boundaries are for inclusion and exclusion. The team must develop clear assumptions about what constitutes success and failure, and assumptions about the goals and means of achieving them. Leadership then comes into play when the original thoughts and concepts are tested against the internal and external environments. Schein (2010, p. 3) expresses the connection between organizational culture and leadership as, “usually the result of the embedding of what a leader has imposed on a group that has worked out...culture is ultimately created, embedded, evolved, and manipulated by leaders.”

When this is applied to the maintenance of a winning record it means a number of things. The leaders firstly establish in their own individual way, as they have over the years with the All Blacks the need to win and to preserve the All Black legacy. Sir Fred Allen did it with his authoritarian style and directive approach based on a foundation of discipline. Sir Brian Lochore achieved it with his inclusive participatory approach, and the recent coaches did it with their use of a core collective group of leaders. The need in all these eras has been to use a language that was universally understood thus making the objectives clear cut, and the strategies to achieve the objective likewise easily understood. The All Blacks have developed a history of winning and it is the pride in this legacy and even a fear of failure for some that ensure its maintenance as this captain acknowledges:

*I never, ever thought about losing… It never entered my head that we would lose and that was ingrained…that was the heritage you picked up from the past.*
7.2.1 Pride in the legacy

It was evident when the 2011 World Rugby Cup was being played in New Zealand that one of the competitive advantages the All Blacks had over top tier countries, was that New Zealand and Wales were the only IRB countries where rugby is the national sport. Everywhere else it is a secondary sport, with the exception of the Pacific Islands with their small populations where rugby has a similar status. In many of the interviews with captains and coaches, the proud history and traditions of the All Blacks were spoken of with a degree of “reverence”, but certainly recognition of how important the All Black legacy is to the players. There is a plethora of books which endorse the importance of the All Black history. Sir Terry Mclean (1956, 1959, 1965, 1975, 1977) wrote some thirty books, Bob Howitt (1978, 2010) eighteen in total, whilst Alex Veysey (1974), Paul Verdon (1999), Ron Palenski (2001, 2003, 2008), Joseph Romanos (2002) and Paul Thomas (1993, 1997, 2003) are the more prolific writers who, in addition to writing about the personalities of the sport, have comprehensively covered the history and traditions of the team.

The artefacts of the jersey with the fern, and the rites and rituals of the haka are the visible and symbolic manifestations of those values and embedded assumptions of what it means to be an All Black. They are boosted by the stories and the myths that perpetuate the history and traditions of the team. The importance of tradition and history was succinctly expressed by former captain Sean Fitzpatrick in referring to James Allen of 1884 (2011, p. 144).

Those traditions within the All Blacks that have remained, whether they be songs or sayings, processes or protocol, serve to connect us back through all the players that have shared them with us all the way back to James Allen – All Black number 1 – in 1884.

The recent All Blacks regard the history and legacy of sufficient importance to form 'Club All Black', as a means of perpetuating their history and tradition. This helps sustain not just the pride in the legacy but adds another dimension to that objective of maintaining the All Blacks’
winning record in a changing cultural environment. The comments of one of the recent coaches show how valuable ‘Club All Black’ has been in this process:

*There’s usually two or three speakers and they talk about their club and the people involved, why their club’s important to them, and the All Blacks from that club… we have life members of this All Black club and we have notice boards where all the players are on the notice board and the number of test matches they’ve played and how many Tri-Nations they’ve won and how many grand slams they may have won.*

The pride in the All Black history and tradition is preserved by these activities in a manner that helps consolidate the winning record in a changing environment.

**7.2.2 Pride in selection**

The pride in selection as an All Black may have initially emanated from the remoteness of New Zealand from the rest of the world, and the fact that success produced a pride in the country and the individual that transcended the size of the country, and ultimately created a widely-accepted assumption that rugby was the national sport of New Zealand, and the All Blacks were iconic in New Zealand society. The wearing of the black jersey with the silver fern is a symbolisation of those values and a manifestation of the deeply embedded assumption that selection in the All Blacks makes the player part of an exclusive club. Pride is also an inwardly directed emotion and mostly positive in that it is a product of praise or independent self-reflection. These views of a captain from the first era endorse what the pride in selection means:

*I reckon I was in shock for two days and that night after it being announced… from a sporting point of view it was the greatest thing that ever happened to me.*

The words of former captain Graham Mourie who played in the second era of the research express the emotion of becoming selected for the All Blacks (1982, p. 18)

*No words can ever fully relate the heart-stopping, skin-tingling emotional impact a New Zealand rugby player feels the first time he hears he has been selected to play for the national side… named in the All Black team.*
In the case of All Black selection, it is a reflection of organizational culture and a trigger for internalised values and norms. Kimball (2011) has posited that positive performance outcomes elicit pride in an individual when the event is appraised as having been caused by him/her alone. This pride in selection has been influential in maintaining a winning formula despite changing environmental forces.

7.2.3 Pride in winning

Winning and maintaining the winning ethos transcends all other factors in the All Blacks value system and the standards and goals that the team sets. Whilst business organizations may make formal statements of their philosophy or their goals, winning by the All Blacks is part of the unwritten objectives that are deeply embedded in the core assumptions or taken-for-granted beliefs of the team. This has been consistent in all eras of the research and has been covered in the citations of the various captains and coaches in Chapters Four, Five and Six. The following comments from a recent coach further exemplify the importance of winning:

*Everyone who comes into the All Blacks understands winning is what they are about… every other time we have lost we have won the next game and that says something about mind-set and desire and hunger to be successful.*

The All Blacks’ winning record has been maintained in a changing cultural environment externally and internally through making the focus on winning not negotiable – the motivation is there to win every time the team plays.

In a book *Upgrading New Zealand’s Competitive Advantage* by Crocombe, Enright and Porter (1992) believe the All Blacks consistent position at the top or near top of World rugby is the result of the advantages the game enjoys in New Zealand and the dynamic processes of improvement, innovation and upgrading. Factors like the relatively mild winters, the proliferation of rugby grounds were important but could be replicated by competitors. The authors believed that the really important factors were the rugby knowledge that was unparalleled with new ideas readily accepted. Responses from the coaches and captains interviewed support these claims, especially with regards to embracing innovation,
understanding the legacy they must maintain, and having knowledgeable leaders and effective leadership processes.

7.2.4 Collective leadership

Schein (2010, p. 235) regarded leadership and organizational culture as ‘flipsides’ of the same coin, and stated that, "leaders will explore the many mechanisms they have available to them to reinforce the adoption of their own beliefs, values and assumptions as the group gradually evolves.” As the organization succeeds the leader’s assumptions become shared. The creation of culture formation occurs usually through how they allocate resources, reward people, deal with critical incidents and communicate both implicitly and explicitly.

The most enlightening fact to emerge from the research in view of the importance of leadership to all organizations is the formal system used by the 2004-2011 All Black teams. However, the importance of leadership in all eras of the research cannot be understated as it highlights how the formal leaders of the All Blacks (captains and coaches) throughout their history have all contributed to the organizational culture of the All Blacks. Culture is created by the beliefs, values and assumptions of leaders, or the learning experiences of the group as their organization evolves or new beliefs and values that are introduced by new members. In this sense, collective leadership is an evolutionary development that was created with a view of retaining the best aspects of the All Black culture that contributed positively to their winning ethos and success in the past. It must also be recognised that organizations have life cycles of growth, maturation and decline if there is no change. In 2004 the coaching staff recognised the need to change, and through this assessment came the development of the formalised collective leadership approach. It built on the principles of the ‘back seat of the bus’ and the use of senior personnel by previous coaches as an important part of decision making.

Collective leadership has no one common definition and is still an emerging field that embraces the marshalling of human, cultural, and technological resources. It occurs when group members are motivated by a common purpose and begin to build relationships with each other that are genuinely respectful. It involves co-constructed shared purpose and
work-relationship in action that trusts shared wisdom and the liberating of individual ability (Denis et al, 2001; Lemay, 2009). It has been a crucial area of leadership as explained by a recent coach:

*We recognized we had to get away from this scientific management model... so we decided that we needed a group of leaders to support the captain to do that... it took a paradigm shift.*

To assist in their planning and understanding the coaches sought outside help and used models like McGregor’s (1960) X and Y theories of motivation. After going through quite an education period for a couple of years, the coaches found as a team they got greater alignment, and better understanding – there was also increased empowerment of the players and improved play. The more astute the leaders, the better the All Blacks played, resulting in more wins.

So the *laissez faire* and/or autocratic coaching of the first era has developed into a different form of coaching and leadership in the final era, part evolutionary and part in response to the demands of the professional era. In the first era the selector/coaches picked their All Black teams from trial matches held in various parts of New Zealand. The teams played two or three tests on average each year. Tests were often played on very muddy fields and at home tests, the All Blacks couldn’t assemble for more than 48 hours before the match. This put limitations on team and game plans and their implementation. Most of the coaching was autocratic and directive. Players of this era were used to this form of leadership from the war years and it suited their understanding of how the game should be played and managed in an amateur era.

It would be fair to say that most of the changes that came to coaching methods in the second era came as a result of experiential learning from tests played rather than innovative leadership. The professional era with the Laurie Mains World cup team of 1995, followed by John Hart’s All Blacks started some of the innovations and changes that have been carried on successfully by subsequent teams and coaches.
7.2.5 Cultural change

Another area of enlightenment in the research was the conscious commitment to leading change, which, as Schein (2010) advocated, should be learning oriented, adaptive and flexible. As mentioned previously change in the amateur eras did occur but it was often reactive rather than proactive and informal rather than formal. In addition, pressure to change was less pronounced in the amateur era. The recent All Blacks as part of their collective leadership approach had recognized the need to commit to change in order to maintain a competitive advantage, and the leadership because of their confidence in learning and a proactive approach to problem solving implemented the change.

Schein (2010) also advocated the commitment to truth through pragmatism and inquiry. Learning leaders need to come to terms with their own lack of expertise and wisdom. Nothing brings about change quicker than necessity and in that New Zealand rugby and the All Blacks have been quick to learn throughout the whole of their history. In 1928 the All Blacks touring South Africa learnt of the need to change from a 2:3:2 plus a wing-forward scrum formation to the current formation of eight forwards or they would not have been competitive with other teams (Howitt, 2010). Playing South Africa in 1949 brought changes to scrummaging and the use of the marauding loose forward from the end of the lineout. In addition to the need for changes to playing tactics, the administrators of the 1990s recognised the need to professionalise the game if it was to survive. These instances are examples over the history of rugby where the All Blacks and their leadership were receptive to change – all from learned experience and are examples of changes that came to maintain their winning culture. A recent coach expressed this in terms of his own experience:

One thing we have learnt is that every six months or so we need to change and we don’t change the core, we experiment around the fringes… there are very few unilateral decisions… everything we do, we try and feedback independence and self-reliance … we haven’t got all the answers by any means but we just keep developing and we keep its evolution rather than revolution and we just come up with the ideas and new ways of operating.
Lewin’s (1947) model is a good one to explain the three stages of change in an organization. The first stage is *Unfreezing*: by creating the motivation to change through disconfirmation. According to Schein (2010), to make major change, cognitively there has to be sufficient disconfirming data available to cause serious discomfort or disequilibrium, a connection between the disconfirming data to important goals which cause anxiety, and enough psychological safety in the sense of being able to see a solution to the problem. The second stage is one of *Learning* the new concept or standards for change to be introduced. This transformation means the group or organization must unlearn something as well as learn something new. The third stage of *Refreezing* is about internalising the concept into the organization and the relationships within. The learning will not stabilise until it is reinforced by actual results.

Professionalization of rugby from a New Zealand perspective is a good example of this process being carried out successfully. Both the payment of players and the use of improved technology were relatively easy to get through the first stage of unfreezing as the benefits were known. The adjustments came in the second and third stages as the change was made and then reinforced and became permanent as resistance to change is common in many organizations. Coach John Hart, with his organizational behavioural understanding in the human resource management area (Thomas, 1993, 1997), helped the All Blacks to transition into this professional era.

7.3 **Summary**

This chapter discusses the key findings from each of the three preceding chapters of the study in relation to the literature in Chapter Two, and linked to the aims and objective set out in Chapter One. Conclusions from this discussion are presented in the next chapter relating to each of the research questions.
CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS

The silver fern represents a deep and emotional attachment to our country and our rugby. It is a symbol that speaks of pride, winning and excellence. An Adidas advert summed it up brilliantly when it said of the All Black jersey – “the legacy is more intimidating than any opposition” (Sean Fitzpatrick, 2011, p. 128)

Research Objective

To evaluate the winning ethos and organizational culture of the All Blacks between 1950 and 2010.

8.0 What were the key organizational success factors distinctive to the All Black team?

8.0.1 Artefacts & creations

Symbols

The findings indicated that pride in selection to the All Blacks and the pride in wearing the black jersey with silver fern has not diminished through the three eras of the research. So important historically and symbolically has the jersey become that, unlike other international teams in an age of sponsorship, the New Zealand Rugby Union has steadfastly resisted any major change. However, for the 2011 Rugby World Cup a new jersey was launched (the first in a decade) with changes in technology, but only minor ones in design where it reverted to a white collar, which had been part of most of the earlier designs. The white collar pays tribute to the legacy of the All Black legend, but the jersey had been remodelled, using custom-created new fabrics and ground-breaking technologies. The All Black jersey is one of the most recognisable symbols or brands in international sport. All interviewees from the three eras noted that pride in wearing the jersey was a key success factor to the All Black team.
Rites & rituals

The haka is a rite or ritual originally performed only on overseas tours by the All Blacks, but since 1987 is now performed at every All Blacks match. Unlike the jersey, the meaning of the haka to the team has changed over time, but as a ritual it remains a symbol of who they are and a manifestation of the deeply embedded assumptions of the team. The symbolism of the haka is an integral part of the All Black culture recognised by all interviewees as another key factor in the success of the All Black team. Another ritual, in lieu of any formal induction process, was the ‘back seat of the bus’ ritual where new members were given an introduction to team values, disciplines, and expected behaviours by senior members of the team. This informal inductive method has become more formal in recent years creating an environment in today’s All Black culture that reflects a collective leadership approach.

8.0.2 Values

The findings drawn from the respondents support the view that the core values of the All Blacks have not changed greatly in the period of the research. The winning ethos of the All Blacks is a value and embedded assumption that has never changed and was apparent in all eras. The success factors of the All Blacks have been based on their values and deeply embedded core assumptions. These have been learned and shared by team members and passed on to new members through their changing styles and systems of both formal and informal leadership as well as hierarchical and collective leadership approaches. The values which were non-negotiable in the first two eras of the research and continued through the third era, were the importance of winning, the pride in selection and representing your country, and the pride in wearing the black jersey and silver fern.

Because values are essentially social, they reflect the history of experiences and understanding that characterize the group. Thus many of the important core values of the first amateur era, based on egalitarianism and mateship, were relics of New Zealand’s colonial past, pride in one’s country, pride in achievement and humility in success. The historical legacy passed on from one generation of All Blacks to the next included traditions of manliness, courage, endurance and loyalty to one’s mates, as well as the ethic and belief
that nothing was achieved without a commitment and hard work. These core values continued into the professional era. These espoused and embedded values helped the All Blacks achieve their winning success through each of the eras. Even in the periods of poor results like 1970 and 1971 when the All Blacks narrowly lost a series to both South Africa and the British Lions, a cyclical loss of players through retirement was only temporary as the team bounced back the next year on a tour to the UK, just as it did in the coaching tenure of Laurie Mains who had a rebuilding period in the lead-up to the 1995 Rugby World Cup. Resilience and tradition have helped to sustain the legacy of winning.

Inevitably changes in values did occur in the period of the research. During the 1970-1989 era of counter culture, activism, identity, issue based politics, and anti-authoritarianism, there were challenges to the ideals of amateurism. All Blacks sought changes to compensation for writing books, the payment of daily allowances and ultimately the professionalization of rugby. Amateur administration geared to maintain the status quo wasn’t geared to bring about innovative change whilst attitudes were changing. Whilst further changes in attitudes to the benefits of money and science came in the professional era of the research, the core values of winning and mateship were sustained. It is evident from the comments of All Blacks coaches and captains that these core values remain a key factor in the success of the All Blacks.

8.0.3 Leaders & leadership

The research clearly endorsed Schein’s (2010) contention that leadership is fundamental to culture, because culture is embedded, evolved and ultimately manipulated by leaders. Winning excellence is about the focusing of people intensely on strategy execution. It is the leaders of organizations who are responsible for strategy formulation and execution, and the All Blacks through their coaches and captains were no exception.

However, the management leadership of the All Blacks, particularly during the amateur period was conservative, traditional, and lacking in innovative processes, and at times remote from its stakeholders. The gradual progression through the shamateurism period into professional management saw a more progressive approach with the NZRU
going from a staff of three people through the 1950-1980s, to recently employing 83 people on many expanded activities.

The leadership expressed by captains over the first two eras of the research embraced a number of different styles with some outstanding captains possessing ‘great man’ traits to make them exceptional leaders on and off the field. The importance of inspired leadership has always been critical in each era, but in the amateur era at times when there were deficiencies, the informal leadership of the senior players and captain became crucial. The research exposed the myth that all coaching leadership in the All Blacks was of the highest calibre. It wasn’t, in spite of the All Blacks’ successful test record being maintained throughout. Some of it was inept and ineffectual or a *laissez-faire* type leadership, which gave rise to the informal collective of senior players setting the standards, values and strategies of the team. This manifested itself in the establishment of the ‘back seat of the bus’ group of leaders. This myth of coaching abilities was well understood by the players.

The coaching style of the 1960s reflected an autocratic form of leadership, which was a legacy of the army disciplines of World War 2 and the scientific management principles of Fredrick Taylor. It was successful as it mirrored the expectations of players in this era as a part of the amateur game. Shortcomings in coaching or management leadership were largely overcome by the ‘collective wisdom’ and informal leadership of the ‘back seat of the bus’ group of senior players who had an influence on team disciplines, values and the focus on winning.

Informal leadership, although seemingly diminished in importance today, has formally continued through the leadership group developed within the recent team. The creation of a core/collective group in which members play distinct but tightly-knit and complimentary roles has been a critical success factor in the All Blacks’ leadership and winning excellence in the period 2004-2011. The All Black coaching leadership has progressed from its early autocratic and at times *laissez-faire* styles to an enlightened leadership which admits to its knowledge limitations and selects a core group of players to form a collective leadership group to overcome them.
Coaching and captaincy leadership has been important in all eras, but it is the collective leadership and commitment to a learning culture in the last era that is the fascinating part of the research. It may have had its genesis in the ‘back seat of the bus’ processes, but collective leadership is about embracing and marshalling human, cultural, and technological resources, where group members are motivated by a common purpose. The All Blacks have always endeavoured throughout the three eras under question to make use of collective expertise, but have explicitly implemented this formally in the last era.

The term ‘collective leadership’ used in these conclusions does share several key ideas with other theories and models such as shared or collaborative leadership. However, collective leadership goes much further than collaboration in that the selection of the collective leaders is a precise process of firstly picking the best people, usually experts, in key positions so that when brought together they will improve decision making and create synergies for the group. This shared responsibility not only enhances decision making, but also improves the problem solving demands of the leadership. It can readily be seen that leadership has been a key factor in the success of the All Blacks.

8.0.4 The learning culture

The formal collective leadership group was a key factor behind the 2011 Rugby World Cup success and the All Blacks having such a successful record from 2004 until 2011. This group recognised that to meet the challenges presented by the game’s professionalization, globalisation and business trends - the impact of the information age and rapid technological change in a more complex, fast paced, culturally diverse world - the team had to become one that embraced a learning culture and needed leadership that was future oriented, adaptive and flexible. The leaders also recognised the need for the team to be proactive problem solvers, which would lead to more effective learning from team members who would need to develop a shared assumption that this was worth the commitment.

At the same time, it should be acknowledged that although the All Blacks have a culture that is now more embracing of learning and innovation, there were examples of innovation and a desire to be at the cutting edge of rugby knowledge in the earlier eras as
well. It was not necessarily an explicit value of the All Black teams then, but as recounted in the interviews of both coaches and captains from these eras, the desire to learn and use the latest techniques is one reason for the All Blacks’ ability to create a winning edge and maintain their legacy despite a lack of formal leadership at times. The learning culture, building on the experiences of the past, is now a key factor in the success of the All Blacks.

8.1 **How have macro-environmental forces impacted on the All Black culture during three distinctive periods from 1950 to 2010?**

As with all organizations, the All Blacks have had to adapt and modify their culture over the period of the research as they have responded to the forces of the macro-environment, but these adjustments and changes have been achieved without having to change their core values. Significant changes have occurred through the professionalization of rugby, a major economic change, and technological advances, all of which have altered both strategy formulation and execution to enable continued success. These changes have influenced the way the game is played. Whilst the core values of the All Black culture remained relatively constant throughout the sixty year period of the research the changes that did occur in each environmental area are commented on in the following sections under the respective macro environmental sub headings of political, economic, socio-cultural and technological.

8.1.1 **Political**

The disruption or the controversy of the rugby relationship with South Africa after the relative calm of the 1950s and 1960s erupted into an issue which divided New Zealand in 1981. No other major political issue arose thereafter, as rugby worked on fixing the divisions created. From the days of Premier Richard John Seddon and the 1905 All Blacks there has been at times a close relationship between the NZRU and the Government. There was limited interference in rugby’s affairs until the Kirk government, in 1973, cancelled the proposed 1973 tour to New Zealand by the Springboks. This was the beginning of the political turbulence involving sporting contacts with South Africa during the first and second eras of the research, which caused some damage to the wide ranging support the All Blacks has previously received.
Whilst the relationship between the All Blacks and Springboks during the Apartheid era is often looked at through the lens of today’s values and brings condemnation and criticism; the whole South African saga was an evolutionary one. Sporting contacts with South Africa officially ceased after the 1981 tour (the Cavaliers an unauthorized tour instigated by players acting on their own volition, toured in 1986 after legal action stopped the proposed 1985 tour) until the end of Apartheid between 1990-1994. Some All Blacks with the benefit of hindsight and reflection felt that if they could have predicted the division and violence it caused in New Zealand, they wouldn’t have played. Some of the coaches who followed the Springbok Tour era also talked about how they had to adjust the public image and polish the PR surrounding the All Black brand in terms of winning back the New Zealand public’s support. This created a shift in values in terms of understanding what a key role the NZ public played in creating the All Black legacy.

This was the dominant political issue of the period of the research and meant the separation of politics and sport both idealistically and realistically was now impossible. Since this period, the macro environmental political forces that affect rugby have been minimal. There were comments from players as to the hypocrisy of successive governments over double standards in dealing and trading with countries including South Africa from an economic perspective and then interfering over issues of idealism. Successive governments had no qualms about being involved in securing the rights for the 2011 RWC because of the perceived economic benefits.

In summary, political macro environmental forces impacted on the All Black culture during the period of the research particularly during the 1970-1989 era.

8.1.2 Economic

It was the major economic change associated with global professionalism in 1995 that changed All Black rugby forever. The economic benefits of professionalism include substantial salaries for the best players, fame and fortune for some, better competitions, wall-to-wall television exposure and - to achieve the standards required - bigger, fitter and more athletic players. The professionalization of rugby was inevitable as it was something
those playing the game at the highest level wanted, and the introduction of the Rugby World Cup in 1987 simply accelerated the process. The change to professionalism was generally embraced by the All Blacks who welcomed the opportunity to earn in some cases substantial income. There was a belief that New Zealand players at the top had already exhibited these ‘professional’ qualities in the amateur era and in this regard were ahead of the rest of the world. The coaches and captains not only acknowledged the huge changes in the coaching brought about by professionalism, but also how ‘professional’ the All Blacks were already. Nevertheless, some players took time to adapt to the demands of professionalism, but coaches like John Hart helped in this transition. Now players get advice and have investment portfolios and study/career opportunities after rugby. However, values such as the winning and mateship continued with the adaptation and adoption of rites and rituals such as ‘Club All Black’.

8.1.3 Socio-cultural

The socio-cultural impacts have come through quite rapid demographic change and subsequent changed attitudes to the role of women in rugby, attitudes to alcohol and the ideologies of racial integration and assimilation, biculturalism and multiculturalism but the findings indicate that the All Blacks team culture has subsumed any potential subcultures. The macro environment over the whole timeline of the research was subject to changing ethno-cultural demographics. The research, which involved captains of Māori, Polynesian and European heritage indicates that, due to the nature of collective All Black leadership and All Black culture, this diversity has never been an issue of any consequence within the All Black team. The captains and coaches participating in this research were emphatic that there was no distinction between any players, coaches or administrators that negatively affected the team’s culture.

In earlier eras there was a perception that ‘we are all the same’ so there was no consideration for players who were predominantly Māori and European/Pākehā to potentially have different values based on their cultural upbringing. This was confirmed by statements made by the captains and coaches that everybody was regarded as equal. In the most
recent era however, the cultural backgrounds of all the players are considered and their values and beliefs, as much as possible, are incorporated into the team’s culture. A deeper cultural understanding of the ‘Ka Mate’ haka and the adoption of a ‘team’ haka (Kapa o Pango) are examples of how diversity has been acknowledged and included in the team’s rituals. The inclusion of individuals from diverse ethno-cultural backgrounds in the leadership group is another example of how a culture of inclusivity is promoted in the All Blacks. In addition, the open communication style of more recent times in terms of giving all members of the team an opportunity to express themselves and be heard is another strategy to encourage inclusivity and diversity.

The research showed that whilst there are differences and sensibilities between different ethnic groups as alluded to by several captains and coaches, these differences are accepted with greater understanding than ever before and a commitment existed to ensure the All Black culture prevails. It was evident that the socio-cultural macro environmental forces have affected the All Blacks over the period of the research and will likely continue to do so.

8.1.4 Technological

Changing technology has been embraced by the All Blacks and has brought about change throughout all three eras covered by the research, but most noticeably in the professional era. Diverse changes and improvements have come in travel, standard of playing grounds, physical conditioning, nutrition, playing and practice equipment (e.g., scrum machines). Video analysis and the use of GPS have altered how game plans are created and how physical preparation is fine-tuned, whilst advances in sport medicine have improved injury prevention and recovery. The All Black leadership in recognition of the importance of these changes is forever looking at how they can be applied and maximised to give them a competitive advantage, knowing also that resources can be quickly duplicated or replicated by the opposition. This desire to be up-to-date technologically is another indication of the commitment to a learning culture and leadership that is innovative, adaptive and flexible. To achieve this, team members have had to accept change and its potential benefits.
8.2 How has the All Blacks’ winning record been maintained in a changing cultural environment?

8.2.1 Pride in the legacy

The historical legacy of the All Blacks has never diminished in importance. The All Black winning record has been maintained in a changing cultural environment by steadfastly adhering to the core values and embedded assumptions that have historically worked best for them. The importance of the history was endorsed by every captain and coach interviewed and is now further reinforced through the establishment of ‘Club All Black’ amongst the recent players to consolidate that legacy. The All Black legacy has been a vital part of ensuring the All Blacks winning record has been maintained.

8.2.2 Pride in selection

The pride in selection represents consistent feelings of all captains and coaches who were interviewed, best captured by the emotions expressed from Anton Oliver a captain in the professional era captures the emotion best of all:

*Rome, November 2004, on what will be one of the most emotional days of my life…the All Black team for the test that evening files into the team room…sitting down I notice my hands are getting very clammy, and I feel the build-up that one gets inside the chest cavity when emotion starts to churn…my bottom lip starts to quiver and I realise I am a goner…all my focus is on trying not to dissolve, trying not to bawl my eyes out in front of some old friends and some new ones (Anton Oliver Inside, Turner, 2005, p. 15)*

What is remarkable about Oliver’s admission of the emotions he felt, is that he was returning to the All Blacks as a 29 year old having first been selected as a 19 year old and after “having strived to be the proverbial ‘hard man’ front-rower, and clichéd Southern man, where one had to be stoical and impenetrable, suppressing emotions rather than releasing them.”

All of these statements confirm the pride of being selected as an All Black which has never been lost and has ensured the winning record has been maintained in a changing cultural environment.
8.2.3 *Pride in winning*

An obsession about winning, which is distinctive to All Black teams has been nurtured and sustained from the inception of the first team in 1903 until the present day. The core objective of winning is paramount to anything else, but is only attained through a commitment to excellence in performance, a never-say-die attitude, a pride in selection and representing your country, and a pride in wearing the black jersey with the silver fern. The desire and the need to win cannot be over stated as it was paramount in all interviews over the three eras of the research with every captain and coach. The importance of winning and the success and achievement of the All Blacks can be gauged from their results.

8.2.4 *Collective leadership*

Not all the leadership of the All Blacks has been inspired, visionary and focused on strategic execution. However, where weaknesses were evident, particularly in coaching leadership, it was the senior players who came together and filled an indirect leadership role that helped maintain the success of the team. Leadership styles varied from the authoritarian, scientific management principles of the 1950s and 1960s, which were high on discipline and one leader, to at times a *laissez-faire* approach. When leadership deficiencies were apparent in the amateur era, it was the core of senior players who set the standards, values, and often the strategies that helped maintain the winning ethos. The ritual of the ‘back seat of the bus’ was an example of this important informal core leadership role.

It was the professional era and the introduction of the Rugby World Cup that placed a different emphasis on leadership and brought about the evolution of a more formalised leadership group. The coaching leadership of the 2004-2011 All Blacks formally changed the style to one of collective leadership and dispensed with the old scientific management principles of previous eras. The empowerment of key senior players who were selected before the remainder of the team, set new standards. Team members were motivated by a common purpose, thus developing and building relationships, which further enhanced the old mateship, where there was genuine respect for one another so optimal results could be achieved because of the co-constructed shared purpose and the work – relationships that
developed. These relationships are ones of trust and shared wisdom with the purpose of liberating individual ability.

The change of emphasis did not replace mateship, but enhanced its underlying values in a more formal manner. This development also enhanced many of the values established by the ‘back seat of the bus’ leadership group of past years. Leadership and particularly core collective leadership in the professional era have been a crucial part in ensuring the All Blacks winning record has been maintained.

8.2.5 Cultural change

One compelling reason why the All Blacks have maintained their winning record in a changing cultural environment is because they have throughout the three eras been prepared to accept, adapt, and use the improvements in technology and the strategies and tactics from alternative coaching leadership philosophies especially when they were innovative and focused on how to beat the opposition. The All Blacks’ cultural origins back in 1903 came through the values and assumptions of their early founders and leaders. The symbols of the jersey with the silver fern, the rites and rituals of the haka and the pride of winning were established in those early days and then embellished and modified with new values as subsequent All Black groups have reacted to the changes in the macro environment.

It is technological change and pressure from competition, both external influences that have had the greatest influence on continuing cultural change in the All Blacks. Whilst political change and pressures like the opposition to the Springbok Tour may have had a peripheral and temporal effect in terms of bringing New Zealand rugby and the All Blacks more in-line with its stakeholder’s values, the economic change brought about by professionalization of rugby changed how it would be played forever. Socio-cultural changes in the form of women’s involvement in the game and changing social norms about the use of alcohol are factors that whilst important have had a very limited effect on how the All Blacks’ winning record has been maintained. The demographic change in the most recent era with the inclusion of players of Pacific Island heritage has enhanced the winning legacy and
influenced internal processes of embracing integration and ethno-cultural diversity in the team but again the diverse makeup of the team has been subsumed by the overall culture of the All Blacks.

The desire to be proactive and future oriented has been part of the All Blacks’ learning culture and leadership in varying degrees ever since their inception. Some of the older strategies were simplistic but effective at the time, for example, based on forward domination and field position. Over time, there has been a resilience that has sustained the winning ethos. When losses have occurred, due to tactical lapses or other strategic weaknesses, the team has always been quick to adapt and change or has fallen back on its history and tradition. Whether it was Sir Fred Allen’s ‘Fifteen man rugby’ of the 1960s or the more complex rugby of the 2010 eras, the commitment to innovation and change to remain one step ahead has always been there to ensure the All Blacks’ winning record is maintained.

8.3 Implications of the study

Contribution to theory - Collective leadership in teams

The formal collective leadership within the recent All Blacks, involving coaches, captain and senior players, has been successful because it was about embracing and marshalling human, cultural, and technological resources, where group members are motivated by a common purpose, and where they build relationships with each other. These relationships are genuinely respectful and focused on achieving optimal results. This co-constructed shared purpose built strong work relationships in action, by creating trust, sharing wisdom or individual expertise and by encouraging the use of individual ability within a team perspective. It encouraged a learning culture or problem solving approach to goal achievement through empowerment from which the whole team benefited. It is evident that the learning culture and team leadership promoted adaptation to change, where mutuality and synergy predominated over isolationism and individualism. Collective leadership is still an emerging field, so there is not one common definition, and most of the academic literature has a focus on networks, groups, teams and bureaucratic organizations like those in health,
education or the public sector (e.g. Denis et al, 2001; Chirichello, 2008; Lemay, 2009). The strengths in an organization with a learning culture are the way it enables processes that bring together diverse people to create change. From the relationships people build with one another, it develops a shared focus on goals and objectives. Other benefits are the way it helps clearly define roles, responsibilities and expectations that hold each member accountable to one another. Communication across all levels of the organization is improved with an insistence on truth and frankness. The successful use of collective leadership in a sports team context by the All Blacks supports the benefits of this approach and adds further to the body of knowledge on organizational culture.

**Contribution to practice - Application/adaptation of Schein’s theory to sport organization culture**

What has been a particularly important revelation in this research is how the findings have endorsed Schein’s theory of organizational culture involving artefacts and creations, rites and rituals, espoused values, and embedded core assumptions. The findings of pride in the legacy, selection and winning linked to a learning culture and collective leadership involving coach, captain and senior players have an application in professional sport in organizations like the All Blacks (see Figure 1). Furthermore they could be transferred and applied to a number of different sport or business teams. The research whilst endorsing many of Schein’s theories in the area of a learning culture and learning leadership, uncovered a method and style of leadership (core collective leadership) that will cope with the demands of the modern world and adds to the body of knowledge of both leadership and organizational culture theory.

**Contribution to methodology - Rich description from semi structured interview with experts in a qualitative study**

The design of this research study has been heavily influenced by the work of Professor Emeritus Edgar H. Schein, the doyen of academic experts, on the subject of organizational culture. The use of in-depth individual semi-structured interviews using experts has been enlightening, providing a rich source of data, and a credible method of qualitative research.
Adapting to the Macro Environment – Physical, Economic, Social, Technological (PEST)

Core assumptions - winning is paramount – pride in selection, representing your country, in wearing the black jersey and fern, maintaining the legacy. Core assumptions are those embedded things that are part of instinctive or tacit knowledge

Symbols (the jersey with the silver fern) and rites and rituals (haka, back seat of the bus, Club All Black) are artefacts that help reinforce by symbolism or by process those values and core assumptions

The learning culture and learning leaders – the flip side of culture they influence the adoption of values (beliefs, attitudes) and encourage a culture of learning that adapts to the macro-environment accordingly

Figure 1  Model of developing a successful organizational culture
8.4 Recommendations for future research

The present research recognises the importance of leadership in culture formation, maintenance and change and, as a consequence, focuses on the views of leaders in the form of the All Black coaches and captains over these time frames. Future research could be centred on individual team members or followers and the part they play in the establishment and maintenance of a strong culture and competitive advantage. There are many potential research questions which arise from this:

- What do you see as the role of an All Black team member or follower in the culture of the All Blacks?
- Can the All Blacks maintain their competitive advantage? If so, how can this be achieved from an individual’s perspective?
- How can the individual team member help leverage culture as a means of achieving that winning success?
- What are the followers’ expectations of the role of the leaders?
- What impact do individuals who have challenged the team culture or experienced difficulties within this team culture have?

8.5 Competitive advantage - the future

Although rugby is still considered New Zealand’s national game with a proud history and traditions, sustaining the All Blacks’ winning record, however, will be increasingly difficult in a more competitive environment. Can New Zealand maintain its competitive advantage in world rugby; and remain a brand leader? The following response from an All Black captain indicates it can, but with the need to continue to be smarter.

Yes we can, there’s no doubt about that… per capita we’re still the greatest rugby playing nation in the world, but we need to be smarter and if we only look at the money side of it, no, we’d never compete.
Israel Dagg (All Black)

Sir Graham Henry (Coach), Richie McCaw (Captain), Steven Hansen (Assistant Coach)
REFERENCES


anatr/project_webpage.html#model

P. M. Wilderom & M. F. Peterson (Eds.) Handbook of organizational culture and climate

Theory, 16, 45-73.


Raz, A. (2006). Managerial culture, workplace culture and situated curricula in organizational

http://www.stuff.co.nz/blogs/opinion/2663799/A-battle-for-the-soul-of-New-Zealand

ed.). Frenchs Forest, N.S.W., Australia: Pearson Education.


Zealand: Darius Press.


team in Britain, Australia and New Zealand. Christchurch, New Zealand: Canterbury
University Press.


### APPENDIX A

#### Test Match Records

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opponent</th>
<th>Played</th>
<th>Won</th>
<th>Lost</th>
<th>Drawn</th>
<th>% Won</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>92.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>67.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British and Irish Lions</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>76.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>79.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiji</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>73.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>95.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Islanders</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samoa</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>92.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>55.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonga</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>89.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World XV</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|                | 472    | 354  | 101  | 17    | 75.00% |

## APPENDIX B

### Test Results by Decade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Tests played</th>
<th>Won</th>
<th>Drawn</th>
<th>Lost</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950 - 1959</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>73.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960 - 1969</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>83.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>79.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Tests played</th>
<th>Won</th>
<th>Drawn</th>
<th>Lost</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970 - 1979</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>62.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980 - 1989</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>78.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>71.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Tests played</th>
<th>Won</th>
<th>Drawn</th>
<th>Lost</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990 - 1999</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000 - 2010</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>83.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>79.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: All Blacks: Myths and Legends (Palenski, 2008, p. 75) and (All Blacks, 2010)
APPENDIX C

Tri-Nations Results 2010

New Zealand's only annual tournament is the Tri-Nations played against Australia and South Africa. New Zealand's record of ten tournament wins (the most recent in 2010) and 48 match wins is well ahead of the other teams' records. The Bledisloe Cup is also contested between New Zealand and Australia, and the Freedom Cup between New Zealand and South Africa, as part of the Tri-Nations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nation</th>
<th>Games</th>
<th>Points</th>
<th>Bonus</th>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Championships</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>played</td>
<td>won</td>
<td>drawn</td>
<td>lost</td>
<td>Table points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1398</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX D

IRB World Rankings 2011

New Zealand won the World Cup in 2011 and in the 1987 inaugural competition held in New Zealand and Australia. In 1991, they lost their semi-final to Australia before winning the playoff for third. In 1995, they improved by reaching the final, before losing in extra time to hosts South Africa. They finished in fourth place in 1999, after losing their semi-final and then the third-place playoff game. In 2003, New Zealand were knocked out by hosts Australia in their semi-final, before finishing third. The 2007 World Cup saw their worst tournament, being knocked out in the quarterfinals by the host nation France. Until this they were the only team to have reached the semi-finals of every tournament. New Zealand hold several World Cup records:

- most points in one match (145 versus Japan in 1995),
- most cumulative points over all World Cups (1,711),
- most tries overall (232) & most conversions (173),
- Several individual players also hold World Cup records;
- Jonah Lomu for most World Cup tries (15 over two World Cups),
- most appearances held by Sean Fitzpatrick (17 from 1987 to 1995),
- Marc Ellis with most tries in a match (6 versus Japan in 1995),
- Grant Fox with most points in one tournament (126 in 1987), and Simon Cullane with most points in a single game (45 versus Japan in 1995).
- the only team to top their pool in every world cup so far and not to lose a pool match.


IRB World Rankings

Top 20 Rankings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Change</th>
<th>Team</th>
<th>Points</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>▲1</td>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>93.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>▲1</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>87.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>▲1</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>86.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>▲1</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>82.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>▲1</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>82.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>▲1</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>82.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>▲1</td>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>79.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>▲1</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>78.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>▲1</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>77.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>▲1</td>
<td>Samoa</td>
<td>75.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>▲1</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>73.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>▲1</td>
<td>Tonga</td>
<td>71.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>▲3</td>
<td>Fiji</td>
<td>71.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>▲2</td>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>70.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>▲2</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>69.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>▲1</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>69.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>▲1</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>66.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>▲2</td>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>65.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>▲1</td>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>61.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>▲1</td>
<td>Namibia</td>
<td>61.43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Due to the definition and role of All Blacks coach varying so much prior to the 1949 All Blacks tour of South Africa, the following table only includes coaches appointed since 1949.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Tests</th>
<th>Won</th>
<th>Drew</th>
<th>Lost</th>
<th>Win%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alex McDonald</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tom Morrison</td>
<td>1950–55</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Len Clode</td>
<td>1951</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arthur Marslin</td>
<td>1953–1954</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dick Everest</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack Sullivan</td>
<td>1958–1960</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>54.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neil McPhail</td>
<td>1961–1965</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ron Bush</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fred Allen</td>
<td>1966–1968</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivan Vodanovich</td>
<td>1969–1971</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bob Duff</td>
<td>1972–1973</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Stewart</td>
<td>1974–1976</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>54.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack Gleeson</td>
<td>1977–1978</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>76.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eric Watson</td>
<td>1979–1980</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>55.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Burke</td>
<td>1981–1982</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>81.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bryce Rope</td>
<td>1983–1984</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Brian Lochore</td>
<td>1985–1987</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>77.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alex Wyllie</td>
<td>1988–1991</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>86.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laurie Mains</td>
<td>1992–1995</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>67.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Hart</td>
<td>1996–1999</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>75.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wayne Smith</td>
<td>2000–2001</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>70.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Mitchell</td>
<td>2002–2003</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>82.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graham Henry</td>
<td>2004–2011</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>85.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX F

Results Summary 2012

The All Blacks are the Rugby World Cup champions, the IRB's Team of the Year, the leading points scorers of all time and the only international rugby team with a record winning margin against every test nation they have played. The All Blacks have held the top ranking in the world for longer than all other countries combined and in over 100 years only five test rugby nations have ever beaten New Zealand. The All Blacks have won the Tri nation's trophy a record ten times (in 1996, 1997, 1999, 2002, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2010) in the competition's 16-year history. They are the holders of the Rugby World Cup and the Bledisloe Cup competed for annually with Australia, with the All Blacks on the second-longest winning streak holding the Trans-Tasman trophy since 2003. They also hold the Freedom Cup contested annually with South Africa and have completed a Grand Slam, defeating all four Home Nations during one tour, four times (in 1978, 2005, 2008 and 2010)

APPENDIX G
Letter to Interviewees

10 May, 2010

Research Project
“The Creation and Maintenance of Organizational Culture: A Case Study of the All Blacks (1950-2010)”
Consent and information form

Dear

I am writing to seek your assistance by granting me an interview with you, to enable me to complete a PhD. My study uses a business framework of Organizational Culture, macro environmental forces, and a High Performance group the All Blacks, for the academic structure of the research. Whilst I am known to you, my supervisors for the research are Associate Professor Andy Martin, and Dr Farah Palmer from Massey University, who can verify any detail you may wish to enquire about.

As you are aware the All Blacks have an astonishing 75% winning record in test matches over a one hundred year period. This winning ethos is part of their organizational culture, which has been developed, nurtured and sustained since the inception of the first national team in 1903. My study will analyse and evaluate the organizational culture of the All Blacks during three twenty year periods between 1950 and 2010. Primary data will be obtained through the use of semi-structured, in-depth interviews with past and present All Black coaches and captains only. The benefits that accrue from your participation in this research project will be your contribution to the body of knowledge about the All Black culture of your era, and the way historical, demographic, political, social and technological forces for change, have established, consolidated and altered and modified the culture over the period of the research.

Interviews will typically take approximately 60-90 minutes. Information that is obtained as a result of being in this study will be kept strictly anonymous and confidential. Participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate. If you have any further questions about this research please contact me directly by telephone 06 844 3917 or email tjohnson@eit.ac.nz or tomjohnson22@slingshot.co.nz. Alternatively contact my supervisor, telephone 06 350 5799 extn. 2788 or email a.j.martin@massey.ac.nz

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University’s Human Ethics Committees. As the researcher I am responsible for the ethical conduct of this research. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher, please contact Professor John O’Neill, Director, Research Ethics, telephone 06 350 5249, email humanethics@massey.ac.nz. If you are prepared to take part could you please sign the consent declaration form and post it back to me in the enclosed envelop. Your contribution to this research project would be greatly appreciated.

Regards,

Tom Johnson

Consent Declaration

I have read and understood the information set out on this form and I willingly give my informed consent to participate in this research project in accordance with the terms and conditions.

Name (PRINT) ___________________________________________
Signature  __________________________________________
Date  _________________
December 2009

RESEARCH PROJECT
The Creation and Maintenance of Organizational Culture:
A Case Study of the All Blacks (1950-2010)

Dear Jock

My name is Tom Johnson and I am seeking your approval from the NZRU of the above research project for the completion of my PhD in Management through Massey University. My supervisors are Dr Andy Martin and Dr Farah Palmer, both in the Department of Management at Massey University, Palmerston North. I am an extramural student and also a lecturer at Eastern Institute of Technology.

Potential participants in this research project have been identified as All Blacks captains or coaches from 1950-2010, who will participate in a 45 minute interview. Participation in the interview is completely voluntary. There will be very limited resources required by NZRU, other than access to interview current All Black captains/captains.

The purpose of this research is to evaluate the organizational culture of the All Blacks between 1950 and 2010, focusing on the key success factors (if any) that are distinctive in the team culture of the All Blacks.

All contributions will be held in confidence and no individual will be identified in the findings. The data gathered through the interviews will be collated into a summary of findings related to the research topic. At each interview the same questions will be asked to enable the researcher to clearly identify and validate any themes that come through. Each session will be recorded on audiotape. These tapes will be transcribed and held by the researcher until the conclusion of the research study at which time they will be destroyed.

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. As the researcher I am responsible for the ethical conduct of this research. If you have any questions about this research you should contact me directly. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher, please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Assistant to the Vice-Chancellor (Research Ethics), telephone 06 350 5249, email humanethics@massey.ac.nz.

NZRU approval and support for this research project would be much appreciated. I look forward to the opportunity to work with you on this very important research project.

Tom Johnson

Signed…………………………………………
Date………….

Jock Hobbs
Chairman
New Zealand Rugby Union

Signed…………………………………………
Date………….

Tom Johnson
PhD Student
Massey University
APPENDIX I

Interview Framework

I’m Tom Johnson and I’m talking with you today about my research on the All Blacks and their organizational culture between 1950 and 2010. My questions ask about various aspects of your experiences with the All Blacks. As a participant in my research, you have the right not to answer any question and you can withdraw at any stage of the interview. For the record, I want to tape record our interview. If at any stage during our talk today, you wish the tape recorder to be turned off then please indicate so. I am using a tape recorder to capture the fullness of our discussion as this will allow us to concentrate on various topics as we progress. The interview could take about 60 minutes of your time.

1. Artefacts and creations (joining the team)
   - **SELECTION:** When you were first selected to play for the All Blacks? How did you hear about it?
     - How did it feel, and what did it mean to you?
   - **RITUALS:** What did some of the All Black rituals mean to you in your era?
   - **INDUCTION:** Today we talk about “induction” as the process where insiders let a newcomer know what being part of the team should mean to them: How were you inducted into the team?
     - Did that induction process change during the time you were an All Black?
   - **TEAMS:** What distinctions were there between being in the wider team (e.g. dirt-trackers) and being in the test team?
     - How was the All Black team different to other teams you played in?
   - **Stories:** What stories can you recall that might highlight what we have covered here

2. Adaptation to the changing context of the game
   - **CHANGES:** During your time as an All Black (coach/captain) what were some of the biggest change(s) to the game that you experienced?
   - **Stories:** What stories can you recall that might highlight what we have covered here?

3. Dealing with success and failure
   - **WINNING/ LOSING:** in terms of being an All Black, how important is the outcome of the game in terms of winning or losing?
     - What was the loss that stands out in your memory? How did the team respond?
   - **Stories:** What stories can you recall that might highlight what we have covered here?

4. Leadership
   - **SKILLS:** During your time with the All Blacks, what do you think the All Black organization (NZRU) looked for in terms of its Coaches and Captains?
     - Why do you think you were selected as captain/coach?
   - **CHALLENGES:** What was one of your biggest challenges, and how did you respond to it?
     - on the field/off the field?
   - **Stories:** What stories can you recall that might highlight what we have covered here?

5. Learning Orientation
   - **COMMUNICATION:** In your era as coach/captain what form of communication took place?
   - **ISSUES:** Were there issues (if any) that divided the team?
     - on the field/off the field?
   - **Stories:** What stories can you recall that might highlight what we have covered here?

6. Adapting to the Changing Social/Political Context
   - **PEST:** Intro: We live in a constantly changing world where New Zealand society has to respond to a range of political, economic, socio-cultural and technological changes that occur. Thinking about this as a coach/captain
     - What were the political changes in your era that affected the All Blacks?
     - What were the socio-cultural changes in your era that affected the All Blacks?
     - What were the economic changes in your era that affected the All Blacks?
     - What were the technological changes in your era that affected the All Blacks?
   - **Stories:** What stories can you recall that might highlight what we have covered here?