Letter from the Editor

BY ALBERT J. MILLS

Welcome to the Spring 2020 issue of the *Workplace Review*!

For several years now the *Workplace Review* has showcased some of the best work presented at the annual meetings of the Atlantic Schools of Business. As such, the papers have been previously peer reviewed for acceptance and presentation at the annual conference – the majority in this case for the 2019 conference, hosted by the Shannon School of Business of Cape Breton University. This issue also features peer reviewed submissions from other conferences and a paper submitted directly to the journal which went through peer review.

In this Spring (2020) edition we present papers by **Mallika Das** of the Department of Business and Tourism of Mount Saint Vincent University; **Deepa Das Acevedo** and **John F. Acevedo** of the School of Law at the University of Alabama**; Jenna Robertson** and **Jim Grant** of the Manning School of Business of Acadia University; **Gordon A. Burns**, **Ashley J. MacDonald** and **Christopher M. Hartt** from Dalhousie University's Faculty of Agriculture; **Utkal Kumar Baliyarsingh** from Memorial University of Newfoundland; and **Tasha Richard** from the Sobey School of Business at Saint Mary's University. As usual the issue was pulled together by our very creative and efficient managing editor – **Ellen Shaffner** of the Sobey School of Business. A special thanks to Professor **Harjeet Bhabra**, Dean of the Sobey School of Business, for funding this issue of the *Workplace Review*.

As we lay out the contents of this issue, we are mindful of the fact that each of the papers were researched and presented in the pre-COVID-19 era. That these papers are now being published at a high point of the coronavirus pandemic is a testament to the resilience of the academic communities around the globe to reach out to colleagues and exchange ideas that serve to better our world through building knowledge and critiques.

Our opening paper (by Das, Acevedo and Acevedo) sets out to examine gender bias at the fundamental level of dining out. Studying the seemingly innocuous activity of bill placement for a meal at a restaurant, Das et al.'s findings suggest that in the male-female couples studied, check placement indicates that the great majority of the men were perceived to be paying the bill. Das et al., go on to argue that such simple forms of behaviour can strengthen gender biases at other ore significant levels. One striking issue of this research is that it would have been incredibly difficult to conduct in the COVID-19 era, raising the question of what other forms of research could be restricted as we recover from the pandemic.

In our second paper we move from the context of dining to perceptions of cannabis use. In this study Robertson and Grant set out to study how senior managers and Human Resources professionals in Canada perceive the workplace issues and challenges of the legalization of cannabis across the country. Through a series of in-depth interviews with senior managers and HR practitioners, the authors make the following observations, 1) that managers seemed to have a lack of awareness that cannabis use may need to be a workplace concern in terms of health and safety issues; 2) that there was, nonetheless, a need for policy review to guide the activities of HR practitioners if and when dealing with cannabis use; 3) that there was a predilection for educational (rather than disciplinary) solutions to the issue; and 4) that cannabis use often came with stigmatization for users and this should and could be a broader concern. In the COVID-19 era the paper raises further issues about the impact of widening cannabis use as employees turn to cannabis to help cope with personal stress or medical challenges.

Paper three takes us behind the scenes of the food industry, specifically egg marketing, as MacDonald and Hartt investigate "discourses related to the public perception of animal welfare and health of both the chickens and the consumers of eggs." Drawing on data collected from the BC Egg Marketing Board's

governance webpage, the authors found that quota management, transparency, pricing, and community engagement were among the major themes discussed. Beyond the issues raised by the authors of this paper it might be interesting to consider the challenges to the food industry and the potential need for improved egg production for a post-COVID world.

Marketing is also to the fore in our fourth paper, with Utkal Kumar Baliyarsingh exploring the role of cognitive dissonance – "a negative affective state that results from an individual experiencing two or more contradicting thoughts." To that end, Baliyarsingh undertakes a literature review on the use and impact of Cognitive Dissonance Theory (CDT) in dealing with complex organizational issues, with emphasis on marketing. One of the biggest takeaways for Baliyarsingh is that the application of CDT "across management and marketing research . . . is extensive and expanding at a steady pace." Again, beyond the reach of the paper, this raises issues about how to effectively deal with cognitive dissonance in the management and response to COVID-19.

In our fifth paper, Ashley J. MacDonald and Chris Hartt work with Gordon A. Burns in his autoethnographic reflections on his experiences of being part of an academic research team. In his observations Burns "noticed cultural differences among the disciplines found not only in the manner of analysis but also in the administrative and interactive approaches of the various departments involved in the research." Collectively the three authors' study "surfaces challenges of interdisciplinary research as well as some probable causes of conflict within academia." Here, perhaps a future study could focus on autoethnographic reflections on cultural differences in the application of science to dealing with COVID-19 as a global pandemic.

The sixth paper returns us to the issue of gender. Here, Tasha Richard examines "the othering of women in the newly formed Canada-United States Council for Advancement of Women Entrepreneurs and Business Leaders." From analysis of policy and promotional documents of the new organization, Richard found that "current policy puts women in a subordinate position to men and thereby risks sustaining a male norm." This is partly due to the stance of the new organization that steadfastly avoids feminist perspectives in envisioning female entrepreneurs. Beyond the specific reach of this paper, further study of the imaging of women as 'front line workers' during COVID-19 might reveal either changed attitudes or strategies of change for women at work, and specifically female entrepreneurs.

Our next issue of the *Workplace Review* in Fall 2020 is planned to be a commemorative issue acknowledging 50 years of the Atlantic Schools of Business conference. Updates on plans for this issue will be posted at: http://asb.acadiau.ca/index.php over the next several months.

Finally, we also encourage new submissions for future issues. The *Workplace Review* aims to publish high-quality articles from authors in Atlantic Canada, or on topics pertinent to the Atlantic Canadian and Canadian context. We are also pleased to consider special issues. If you have an idea for a special issue of the *Workplace Review*, please contact myself (albert.mills@smu.ca) and/or Ellen Shaffner (ellen.shaffner@smu.ca). To submit a paper for review, please contact Ellen Shaffner, Managing Editor, at the email above.

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HE STILL GETS THE CHECK, OR THE ENDURANCE OF IMPLICIT GENDER BIAS IN RESTAURANT CHECK PLACEMENT

This paper discusses the preliminary results of an on-going study on the impact of gender on check placement in male-female dining situations. Data was collected from both Canada (n=62) and the US (n=57) over a 24-month period starting in the fall of 2014. Volunteer participants completed a survey after having a meal at a restaurant. Of the sample, 82 were male-female pairs and the rest were single-sex pairs. Results indicate that gender stereotypes may be alive and well, as women are still not seen as equals in this social situation. Even when women take a dominant role in a dining situation, the check goes to the male co-diner. Practical implications of the findings are also discussed.

Introduction

Scholarship on tipping practices has overwhelmingly focused on the actions, assumptions, and expectations that drive customer behavior. This makes sense inasmuch as the customer's thinking defines the gratuity and can reveal a great deal about social norms and prejudices. A few studies have also explored how servers regulate their behavior based on their perception that a customer will—or will not—provide a good tip. But between the server's behavior during the exchange and the customer's behavior during the calculation of a tip lies a small action that can offer similarly striking insights about social norms and prejudices: the placement of a check.

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This paper uses a preliminary study of check-placement practices in American and Canadian restaurants to explore how servers assign gender stereotypes to diners. Check-placement is a somewhat under-examined aspect of the dining experience: only one study seems to have asked what check placement can tell us about interactions between servers and diners. This is a bit perplexing since check-placement *does* tell us a great deal about the social dynamics at play, it has the potential to powerfully affect diner perceptions of the meal, and it is fairly easy (and fun) to study.

Because there is so little scholarship on this topic, we offer the quantitative results reported in this paper as a call for further exploration rather than as a definitive statement on the subject. Check-placement works exceptionally well as a window into gender dynamics (among other things) because it is both a *discrete* action that restaurants might regulate with express protocols and a *small*, often hurried, action that is especially likely to be informed by the server's prior assumptions notwithstanding such protocols.

We also present these results as a call for more interdisciplinary collaboration in areas, like this one, where the interests of business scholars coincide with the interests and methods of historians, anthropologists, and other social scientists. When our attention was first drawn to the issue of check-placement we naturally looked to hospitality scholarship but soon found that the stereotypes and behavioral patterns we were encountering had also sparked the interest of scholars working on gender equality, the history of the restaurant industry, and the performance of class in public spaces (Segrave, 1998; Azar, 2004). Like the literature on tipping practices, very little of this related scholarship is directly on point—but, also like the work on tipping, much of it is deeply illuminative.

We begin with a brief look at recent empirical studies on tipping to show that check-placement may reflect economically rational responses to gender stereotypes that could be driving the results of our study. In addition, we also present arguments for studying check placement and why reducing bias in check placement is a critical part of customer service. Next, we describe our methodology and findings, which suggest that the although women have come to participate in every aspect of public dining, they still do not figure as primary customers in restaurants. Put differently, a woman might have run for president in 2016 and the Canadian cabinet might have become 50% female in 2015, but women would still have had trouble getting the dinner check. We conclude by acknowledging the limitations of our study and outlining some directions for future research.

Gender Stereotypes in the Hospitality Industry

Researchers in the hospitality industry have focused on many ways in which gender impacts dining experience; yet, one important part of the dining experience – the gender of the diners and its impact on check presentation – has been rarely examined. In fact, we found only one study (Laner, et al., 1979) that examined the impact of gender on check placement. It found that, regardless of the role that a female diner played in the dining situation, she was less likely to get the check (Laner et al., 1979). Most of the research on check presentation has focused on check presentation as a way of increasing tips received by the server (Rind et. al., 1996; Stillman et. al., 1980).

Perhaps this focus on the intersection of gender and tipping rates reflects the deeply gendered history of public dining. Relatedly, servers' check-placement practices may reflect a kind of economically rational behavior if men are simply better tippers than women. There is a great deal of scholarship on tipping, examining everything from its likely origins in sixteenth century England to its contemporary effects on wage workers who may receive lower guaranteed pay or experience

more income volatility as a result of their reliance on tips (Azar 2004; Segrave 1998; ROC United 2015). Rather than exhaustively surveying this literature, this section focuses on recent empirical research that has sought to understand tipping practices as a kind of customer expression as well as tip-eliciting practices as a kind of server response.

Scholars studying gender stereotypes in tipping practices have largely focused on two popular beliefs: that male consumers give more generous tips and that female servers receive more generous tips (McGaw 2014). Neither is unequivocally true. Hospitality research and economic modeling outside the hospitality context both suggest that men are only likely to be more generous than women when the bill is small (Conlin et al 1999; Andreoni & Vesterlund 2001). Since their altruistic impulses are more price-sensitive than are women's, male diners are more perfectly selfish or selfless. Yet, men are generally perceived—by servers of both genders—to be better tippers (McCall & Lynn 2009).

But it *does* seem to be true that when female servers earn more in tips (controlling for other variables pertaining to diner, server, and establishment characteristics) it is because they are more attractive or otherwise conform to gender stereotypes (Lynn & Simons 2000). Female servers who possess physical attributes that are considered appealing (e.g., youthfulness, blonde hair, large breasts) or who modify their physical appearance in ways that are stereotypically feminine (e.g., wear a flower or other ornament in their hair) receive larger tips than female servers who lack or don't adopt these characteristics (Lynn 2009; Stillman & Hensley 1980; Jacoby, et al., 2012). Likewise, female servers who behave in ways that exemplify traditionally feminine traits—for instance, communicating warmth by sketching a friendly happy face on the reverse side of the check—earn higher tips than both female servers who don't do so and male servers who *do* (Rind & Bordia 1996).

The research examining differentiated gratuity practices suggests—as we might indeed expect from a voluntary payment made after the fact—that tipping blends cost-benefit analysis with *a priori* attitudes more than it captures perfectly rational behavior. But it is also probably true that servers blend preexisting beliefs, especially about the relationship between demographic indicators and tipping practices, with a kind of strategic (if not quite rational) allocation of good service.

In the only other study that examined this issue (Laner, et. al., 1979), the researchers hired five M-F student pairs and gave them specific roles (Executive – or dominant – role, equal role); they also had one single female dining out as control to see where the check would be placed. The researchers found that regardless of the role that the female diners played, the check was placed towards the male diner. Even when a woman dined alone, the check was more likely to be left at the centre rather than closer to her (Laner, et al., 1979). The authors conclude that gender stereotyping was at play and that a woman is not seen as the dominant diner when she has a meal with a man.

Given the paucity of research on this specific topic in the field of hospitality, we also examined research in the other related disciplines for further explanations for the existence of gender stereotypes in check placement. The literature on sex-role stereotypes indicates that men are generally thought to be more powerful in social interactions due to several reasons (Rudman & Kilianski, 2000): gender stereotypes (e.g., men as agentic, women as communal), gender roles (e.g., men in occupational and women in caregiving roles), and gender status (men in predominantly higher status occupations than women). Others (e.g., Eagly, 1987; Fiske, et al 2002), state that women are less likely to play the dominant role in social interactions than men. The higher social status of males is also reflected in findings that show that men are more likely than women to interrupt others in work situations (Harvey & Larsen, 2015). Overall, the literature from other disciplines does provide a basis for the hypotheses in this study: that there will be a bias in check

presentation when a male and a female dine together and that the check will be presented more often to the male diner than to the female diner in M-F dining dyads regardless of the role played by the female diner.

Research Methodology

As stated earlier, the main issues examined in this project are: (1) will check placement in male-female dining situations be biased and (2) will females be less likely to get the check in male-female dining situations than males? Based on the literature review, our hypotheses were:

H1: In male-female (M-F) dining situations, there will be bias in check placement regardless of the roles played by the diners.

H2: In male-female (M-F) dining situations, the bias in check placement will favor males rather than females - i.e., males will get the check more often than females regardless of the role they play during the meal.

Due to resource constraints, we used volunteers to gather data. Family, friends, and colleagues were recruited through emails and invited to participate in the study as volunteers (i.e., the diners paid for their own meals) whenever they participated in a two-person dining situation (male-female, or same gender). The protocol for the study (including the definition of key variables) was given in writing to all volunteers and was also explained in person and/or over the telephone. Respondents were encouraged to ask questions and the researchers made sure that respondents clearly understood the protocol. Ethics clearance was obtained from the lead researcher's institution and informed consent forms were signed by all participant. Diners were asked to make sure that they sat at tables that provided equal access to both of them and to ensure that the table was equally cleared at both ends to enable the check to be placed anywhere. They were instructed to note focus on the following: whether the server asked if the check was to be split and to examine where the check was placed. The diners had to reach an agreement on all key issues and submit one report on the dining experience to the researchers.

Data collection and key variables: A short (one-page) questionnaire was used to collect demographic information (gender, race, and age) of both the diners and the server (as perceived by the diner), details of the meal (date, restaurant, type of meal, and location), who played the role, check placement, and other variables of interest (e.g., whether the server asked if the check was to be split, whether one of the diners asked for the check).

Data was collected during a 24-month period starting in the fall of 2014. A total of 119 dining situations were included in the study; 62 were from Canada and 57 were from the USA. Of these, a total of 82 were mixed-gender dining situations and the rest were single-gender situations. Other details of the sample are provided in Table 1. The same-sex dyads served a control group in this study.

Bias in check placement: Check placement was considered to be unbiased if: (1) the check was given to the diner playing the lead role, or (2) the check was placed in the middle or center – equidistant between the two diners – when the diners played an equal role in the dining situation.

Lead role: A diner was considered to play the lead role if he/she placed most of the order for both diners, and/or talked more to the server. Lead diners were also asked to respond "No" if the server asked if the check was to be split between them and to ask for the check if that became absolutely

necessary. Thus, the lead role is largely measured from the diners' perspective. However, the last two variables are probably likely to affect the server's perception of who played the lead role.

In 'neutral' or equal role situations, either one of the diners could respond to the 'split check' question, but the other diner was asked to look equally involved in the decision and indicate agreement by nodding or smiling at the server.

Data was analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Chi-square analysis, t-tests, and one-way analysis of variance tests were using to test the hypotheses.

Table 1: Sample Characteristics

Variable Name	Canada n (%)	US n (%)	Total n (%)
Diner Pairs	62 (52.1)	57 (47.9)	119 (100)
M-F pairs	35 (56.5)	47 (82.5)	82 (69.5)
F-F pairs	27 (43.5)	9 (16.1)	36 (30.5)
Lead in M-F pairs			
Equal roles	22 (62.9)	33 (70.2)	55 (67.1)
Female lead	10 (28.6)	11 (23.4)	21 (25.6)
Male lead	3 (8.6)	3 (6.4)	6 (7.3)
Age			
<30	-	-	-
30-49	14 (22.6)	11 (19.3)	25 (21.0)
50-64	24 (38.7)	24 (42.1)	48 (40.3)
65+	24 (38.7)	22 (38.6)	46 (38.7)
Race/ethnicity			
Caucasian	33 (54.1)	18 (31.6)	51 (43.2)
South Asian	21 (34.4)	22 (38.6)	43 (36.4)
African-American or African-Canadian	3 (4.9)	3 (5.3)	6 (5.1)
Other	4 (3.4)	14 (24.6)	18 (15.3)
Server Gender			
Female	45 (77.6)	28 (50.9)	73 (64.6)
Male	13 (22.4)	27 (48.7)	40 (35.4)

Figure 1: Bias in check placement: Summary of results of Male-Female dining situations

Check placement	Lead = Neither n=55 (%)	Lead = Female n=21(%)	Lead = Male n=6 (%)
In the center (n=36)	***Not biased*** n=27 (49.1)	Biased n=9 (42.9)	Biased n=0 (0)
Towards Female	Biased n=4 (7.3)	***Not biased*** n=1 (4.7)	Biased n=1 (16.6)
Towards Male	Biased N=24 (43.6)	Biased n=11 (52.4)	***Not biased*** N=5 (83.3_

Results

Of the 82 male-female (M-F) dining situations, in 55, both diners played an equal role, in 21, women played the lead role, and men played the lead role in the remaining 6 instances. In total, the check was placed in an unbiased way in 33 (40.2%) situations and in a biased way (not to lead or not in the center in equal role situations) in 49 (59.8%) cases.

Table 2a: H1 - Bias in check placement (M-F pairs with a lead role)

Male/Female Lead	**Biased?**		**Chi-square Results (Exact test, 2 sided)**
	Not biased n (%)	**Biased n (%)**	
Female Lead	1 (4.8)	20 (95.2)	X^2=16.688; df=1; p<.001
Male Lead	5 (83.3)	1 (16.7)	Standardized Stat=-4.006

To understand bias in check placement, we first ran two sets of cross-tabulations (with Monte Carlo correction). To begin with, we examined bias in dining situations with a clear lead diner (n=27). As can be seen in Table 2a, when a woman played the lead role, the check was placed in a biased way over 95% of the time (or 20 out of 21 instances). However, when the man was the lead diner, the check was placed in a biased way only 16.7% of the time (or once out of the six times a man played the lead role). The results were significant at p<.0001. Next, we looked at dining situations in which both diners played an equal role (n=55). Of these, the check was placed in an unbiased way (i.e., in the center) 27 times or nearly 47% of the time (Table 2b). It was given to the male 24 times but to the female only 4 times. Clearly, even when the woman played a lead role, the check was not given to her; and when both played an equal role, the check as nearly as likely to be given to the man as to be placed in the centre. The results were statistically significant at the p<.001 level (Tables 2a and 2b).

We also conducted a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) to test the first hypothesis that there would be bias in check placement in M-F dining situations with bias in check placement (unbiased=0; biased=1) as the dependent variable and the lead role (male lead, female lead, both equal role) as the independent variable (Table 2c). As can be seen from Table 2c, regardless of the role played by the diners, check placement was biased in M-F dining situations (F value=10.652, p<0.001). The mean for female leads was 0.952 while the mean for male leads was 0.167 indicating that there was more bias when the female was in the lead role than when the male played the lead role; for equal role situations, the mean was 0.51. Overall, the results strongly support the first hypothesis that there would be bias in check placement regardless of the roles played by male and female diners.

Table 2b: H1 - Bias in check placement (M-F pairs; Equal Role situations)

Check placement	Biased?		Chi-square Results (with Monte Carlo correction)
	Not biased n (%)	Biased n (%)	
Check in center	27 (46.9)	0 (0)	X^2=55.00; df=2; p<.001
Check to female	0 (0)	4 (14.3)	Standardized
Check to male	0 (0)	24 (85.7)	Stat=7.096

Table 2c: H1 - Results of One-way ANOVA (M-F pairs only)

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	4.188	2	2.094	10.652	<.001
Within Groups	15.531	79	.197		
Total	19.720	81			

To test the second hypothesis that males would get the check more often than the females regardless of the role they played in the dining experience, a one-sample test (with bootstrapping) was conducted. For this analysis, check placement – the dependent variable – was coded differently (1=Female got the check; 0=check in center; 1=male got the check). Thus, a positive mean score for check placement would indicate that males were more likely to get the check than females and a negative mean value would indicate the opposite; a score close to zero would indicate that the check was more likely to be placed in the middle. As can be seen from Table 3, the results were statistically significant (t=5.983, df=81; one-tailed p<.001); the mean score was positive (0.4146), indicating that males were significantly more likely to get the check than females. As can be seen in Figure 1, of the 46 times that the check went to a diner (i.e., was not placed in the center), the male received the check 40 times (or 87% of the time) while the female received it only 6 (or 13%) of the time. This is noteworthy as the male was in a lead role only 6 times and hence was in an equal role 34 of the 40 times! Thus overall, the results also support the second hypothesis: males are far more likely to get the check regardless of the role they play in the dining situation – i.e., whether they are the lead diners or play an equal role while dining.

Could check placement have been influenced by other variables? As mentioned earlier, this study examined check placement using diner perceptions of who played the lead role (talking more to the server and/or ordering for both diners). However, it is possible that servers may have decided on check placement based on other more concrete cues, such as who asked for the check and/or who said "no" when the server asked if the check was to be split. Hence, the data was re-analyzed using "check requests" and saying 'no' to the split check question as the independent variables. Chi-square tests and one-way ANOVAs did not yield significant results, indicating that bias in check placement was unrelated to these variables.

Table 3: H2 - Bias in check Placement and gender: Results of One Sample t-test*

		Bootstrap (1000 bootstrap samples)			
				95% Confidence Interval	
	Statistic	Bias	Std. Error	Lower	Upper
Check placement					
N	82				
Mean	.4146	-.0009	.0696	.2778	.5522
Std. Deviation	.62758	-.00486	.03942	.54631	.69943
Std. Error Mean	.06930				

*t value= 5.983; df=81; p < .001

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Finally, we also examined whether check placement could be related to server characteristics or sentiments. Results of one-way ANOVAs indicated that the bias in check placement could not be explained by the server's race, gender, or age. Similarly, we examined whether the bias in check placement could be the result of the server's overall comfort level with one of the two diners using a one-way ANOVA with server comfort as the independent variable and bias in check placement as the dependent variable. Again, results of the ANOVA indicated that bias in check placement is unrelated to the servers' comfort levels with male or female diners. In addition,
survey results suggested that servers appeared equally comfortable with both diners in over 75% of the cases (62/82 cases) and were often more comfortable with female diners than male diners (15 vs. 5).

Comparison with same-gender dining pairs: The control group for this study consisted of same-gender dining pairs. Analysis of these (n=37), indicated that the check was more likely to be placed in an unbiased way (i.e., towards the lead diner and/or to the person who responded with a "No" to the split-check question). Also, bias in check placement was not related to the roles played by the diners. One-way ANOVAs were conducted to examine whether bias in check placement was related to the following variables in same-gender (S-G) situations: lead role, asking for the check, answering the split check question, server's perceived comfort level, server's perceived demographics (gender, and age). The results of all the tests were insignificant indicating that bias in check placement was not related to any of these variables.

Canada vs. the US: Since the sample came from two different countries, we analyzed bias in check placement by country using chi-square analysis and one-way ANOVAs. There was no bias in check placement in the Canadian sample; however, this was not the case with the American sample. With the American sample, instances in which male diners took the lead role (n=3) had a 100% unbiased check placement (i.e., it was towards the male), while when the female took the lead role (n=11), the check was placed in a biased way 100% of the time, while when both took an equal role (n=33), check placement was biased 57.6% of the time. It should be noted that the sample sizes (especially male-lead sizes) are not large enough to draw very strong conclusions.

In summary, the results provide strong support for both H1 (there will be a bias in check placement regardless of the roles played by the diners) and H2 (males will be more likely than females to get the check regardless of the role they play in the dining situation). Other variables such as who asks for the check or who answers "no" to the split check question (if it is asked) are not related to check placement. In addition, even in M-F pairs where both played an equal role, the bias in check

placement was evident and favored the male. Finally, bias in check placement was absent in same-gender pair dining situations. In combination, these results lend support to both our hypotheses and indicate that gender-stereotypes may be at play in dining situations.

Discussion and Future Research

Our results strongly suggest that gender stereotypes are still at play in this decade. Women are clearly less likely to be perceived as the person who pays for the meal or as the dominant player in the social sphere of restaurant dining by both male and female servers. This seems to be true even when they take an active role in the dining situation. While this may not come as a surprise to many of us, what was surprising was the extent of the bias. The finding that men got the check even when women took an active role while the reverse never happened was disturbing. Perhaps women have not come a long way since 1978!

From a practical point of view, some may question why check presentation matters. In other words, even if there a bias against women (or same-sex couples) in check presentation, why is this an important area of study? We contend that there are several reasons - both practical and theoretical – why check placement needs to be examined. Societal changes – especially women's entry into management levels and their increasing financial clout as consumers - make careful handling of check presentation important to avoid embarrassing situations and diner dissatisfaction. While it is true that many factors may lead to diner dissatisfaction (e.g., poor quality of food and/or service, the noise level in a restaurant, etc.), there is evidence that one cause of dissatisfaction is perceived discrimination or unequal treatment (Trocchia & Luckett, 2013). When a customer is treated negatively by a service provider based on his/her fixed, primary dimensions of diversity (e.g., sex, age, race, sexual orientation), the customer is likely to perceive a lack of recognition respect' – i.e., respect that is due to someone as a fellow human being (Trocchia & Luckett, 2013). This sense of disrespect may be heightened when that diner has also played the dominant role in a dining experience and the check presentation is still biased. This may lead to the person feeling that he/she is not treated with 'performative respect' – i.e., respect due to a person based on his/her actions – in this case, taking the lead role in the situation. (Bird, 2004, Trocchia & Luckett, 2013).

Dissatisfaction with a service (or a service failure) has been shown to lead to negative word-of-mouth with reports of up to 75% telling one other person of the negative experience (Keaveney, 1995). This, in turn, can have a negative impact on the bottom line of a business. Equally important is the fact that while only a small proportion of customers are likely to complain when they encounter negative service experiences, non-complainers are more likely than complainers to take their business elsewhere (Blodgett & Anderson, 2000). Thus, the service provider may not even get the opportunity to correct inappropriate behaviours such as incorrect check placement. Finally, we would like to point out noting and correcting gender stereotyping is important in a border, societal context: stereotyping not only reflects existing social norms, it also tends to maintain and reinforce them (Dates & Barlow, 1980; Allan & Coltrane, 1996). Thus stereotyping in social situations such as dining out is not harmless behaviour. In other words, to reduce negative stereotypes, it is essential to identify and remedy such behaviours.

From a restaurant management point of view, this is an aspect of restaurant dining that can be easily addressed by proper training practices. Yet, informal discussions with people in the restaurant industry and academics indicated that while restaurants have training manuals that cover many aspects of a server's behaviour, check placement is not addressed by most restaurant managers. Thus, from a practical perspective, this study provides an area for improvement in skills training and customer service.

As researchers, we do recognize the limitations of our study: most of these arise from the fact that our sample consisted of volunteers instead of paid participants. This made it difficult for us to control some of the important aspects: the meal (there were more dinners than lunches), and the role (there were more neutral role situations than M/F lead ones). Besides, almost all the M-F pairs were in a relationship (while the F-F pairs were not) and that might have influenced both the type of meals (dinner/lunch) and the results; servers might have assumed that since the diners are in a relationship and given gender roles in our society, jumped to the conclusion that the male would pay for the meal. This leads to our suggestions for future researchers: future studies should use paid, well-trained participants who are not romantically involved, and should control for the type of meal. Further, a larger sample size and a more equal division of lead and neutral roles would lead to more generalizable results and robust conclusions. In fact, we are already taking steps towards that; we are involved in another study on the same topic with paid participants with both the meal-type and roles being more controlled!

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THE LEGALIZATION OF RECREATIONAL CANNABIS: A QUALITATIVE EXAMINATION OF PERCEIVED WORKPLACE EFFECTS FROM A HUMAN RESOURCE PERSPECTIVE

The recreational use of cannabis was legalized on October 17th, 2018, sparking attention worldwide. In anticipation, Canadian employers, educational institutions, and various levels of government, asked what relevance this had to work and society. In addition, stakeholders such as human resource (HR) consultants, lawyers, and practitioner-oriented organizations, have begun to offer training courses, seminars and informational content, occasionally for free but mostly for purchase, in order to capitalize on this unique opportunity. We chose the richer and more comprehensive data of a qualitative methodology, which employed semi-structured interviews, constant comparison method, and grounded theory, to explore how senior managers and others involved in HRM *perceive* the workplace issues and challenges of the legalization of cannabis.

Introduction

Cannabis use has been the subject of numerous studies relevant to the workplace, including the chemistry of drug-testing, medicine, pharmacy, sociology, legalization, and many other disciplines (Hayley, Stough, & Downey, 2017; Hajizadeh, 2016; Cone, 2001). For example, studies addressing the chemistry of drug testing are relevant as evidence for best practices (Pidd & Roche, 2014). Similarly, medical research into its effect can help employers to adopt evidence-based best practices (Phifer, 2017). Legalization has brought to light a gap in research on substance use and workplace policy. In this study, our purpose is to understand how senior HR practitioners perceive the issues and challenges. Specifically, we explore the perceptions of six senior managers and consultants in HR practice, each from separate organizations located in eastern Canada. We first review the relevant literature and law, and then outline our methodology, the analysis of the interview process, the themes and findings identified and their discussion, as well as limitations of the study. We conclude by offering several recommendations for future research in this emergent and important area of workplace policy.

[1] This author's undergraduate honours thesis served as the basis for this paper.
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Literature Review

The term 'cannabis' usually encompasses the plant's many derivatives, including the psychoactive dried flower buds, leaves or preparations, or chemicals, and is often used interchangeably with the term 'marijuana.' For the purposes of this study, we will employ the term 'cannabis' as it refers more generally to the drug in all its forms. Bill C-45, *"The Cannabis Act,"* was passed by the House of Commons on June 21st, 2018 and came into effect on October 17th, 2018, with the purpose of legalizing recreational and/or non-medical uses for the purpose of regulating its use, possession and distribution (Gilmore, 2018). The act provides restrictions on its use with the purpose of addressing many societal concerns involving related crimes, and accessibility to youth (Health Canada, 2018) while also decriminalizing its use. Bill C-46, *"An Act to Amend the Criminal Code (offences relating to conveyances) and to make consequential amendments to other acts,"* partly came into effect on June 21st, 2018, in order to provide time for law enforcement to prepare for Bill C-45 a few months later (Government of Canada, 2018). Part I of the act addressed the use of roadside testing and provided greater power to law enforcement to address drug-impaired driving (Gilmore, 2018; Government of Canada, 2018). It also set out specific levels of THC, the psychoactive compound, in terms of blood levels and what constitutes impairment (Government of Canada, 2018). Part II of Bill C-46 came into force on the same day as Bill C-45 and addressed reform of the criminal code by replacing the current transportation offences with modern and simplified versions (Government of Canada, 2018).

In response to legalization, Hajizadeh (2016) urged Canada to look to other jurisdictions where cannabis has already been legalized in order to learn and create our own best practices. For example, Hollinshead (2013) demonstrated that the rights of employees depend on the state in which they reside because legislation differs locally. While cannabis remains illegal federally, many U.S. states have legalized for medical or recreational use (Hollinshead, 2013). Cerdá, Wall, Keyes, Galea, & Hasin, (2012) found higher rates of use in states where its medical use is legal. They suggested that future research examine whether these findings are purely correlational, or if there is a direct causation between these two factors. In Canada, cannabis has been legal for medical purposes since 1999, as long as the user meets a specific set of criteria (Gilmore, 2018). The *Access to Cannabis for Medical Purposes Regulations* and were replaced, with the new *Cannabis Regulations* which came into effect October 17th, 2018, and then amended on January 15th, 2019 (Cannabis Regulations, SOR/2018-144, 2019). Health Canada will review these policies within five years of the legalization, but until then it will continue to operate the system for medical purposes (Dormer, 2018). Therefore, Canadian employers have had to deal with its use for years and likely should not face new duties to accommodate, as this should have been in policy already (Gilmore, 2018). Moreover, Nagele-Piazza (2018) claimed that it should be treated the same as alcohol and that a drug-free policy is ideal in all workplaces.

In addition, much of the jurisprudence relevant to drug policy comes from arbitration cases in unionized workplaces. Human rights law is also relevant to policy, especially the duty to accommodate cannabis use for medical purposes (Gilmore, 2018). Under human rights law, there is a duty to accommodate disability up to the point of undue hardship, which usually refers to a financial burden or a safety risk to the individual or others. Our current understanding of the limits of drug testing policy can be traced to *Entrop v. Imperial Oil ltd*. (2000), in which the court of appeal found that random and pre-employment drug testing for jobs that are not safety sensitive will not be allowed. Moreover, drug testing cannot show impairment at the time of testing, only past use. Therefore, a positive drug test does not indicate that the employee is incapable of safe performance, only that some drug residue is in the worker's body. The court concluded that the employer's response should be tailored to the circumstances and not more severe than necessary. The employer should use the least intrusive measures possible, including supervisory monitoring, peer control groups, and EAPs, to ensure a workplace free of substance abuse.

In another significant development, the arbitrator in *Irving Pulp & Paper v. CEP, Local 30* (2013) addressed employee privacy rights when subject to random alcohol testing and found that for employers to impose random testing, they must show a problem with alcohol misuse. The Supreme Court of Canada agreed with the arbitrator, that it is a "question of proportionality," that the employer must weigh the benefits that accrue against the harm of intrusion of workers' right to privacy. The employer had imposed random alcohol testing in "an inherently dangerous place," but could produce no evidence of accident, injury, or near miss connected to alcohol use prior to the policy and no positive test in the 22 months of application of the policy on a random or reasonable cause basis. Based on these findings, it follows that limits on testing should be applied at least as rigorously to drug testing, if not more so as a result of the limits of drug testing relative to safe job performance.

However, some support for employers seemed to appear in a more recent decision. In *Lower Churchill Transmission Construction Employers' Assn. Inc and IBEW, Local 1620* (2016), an employee in a safety-sensitive position was discovered using medical cannabis, for which he had authorization, but was later terminated. The court found just cause for termination as the employee had not disclosed use prior to the employer becoming aware. Nevertheless, this decision was overturned on appeal as it was found that there was "no assessment of the implications of accommodating medical marijuana in the context of this worksite" (Gilmore, 2018, p.27). The matter was remitted back to the arbitrator who decided he could not reinstate because other employees would be encouraged to deliberately conceal medical marijuana use. Instead, the arbitrator found that the parties must reach agreement as to how to accommodate its use, as the employee could not continue a safety-sensitive job while under the influence.

Since *Irving* (2013), an employer is unlikely to be allowed to unilaterally to impose random and pre-employment testing. However, since *Suncor Energy v. UNIFOR Local 707A (2017)*, the debate has focused on two questions: what is the test to determine whether ER can impose testing on safety-sensitive positions, and, what evidence is required to establish a problem to justify testing? In 2012, Suncor implemented random testing for all safety-sensitive positions. The union, which represented about 1/3 of workers on site, grieved. An arbitration board found Suncor had not established an out-of-control drug or alcohol culture, or evidence of a connection between misuse and the safety record of union workers. Suncor appealed for a judicial review, which required that an all new arbitration board be struck and that the new board include evidence involving non-union employees. The key issue to be considered is did problem exist "in the workplace" and not just among union workers. As of writing, a final decision of the new board has not been released.

Nevertheless, *Stewart v. Elk Valley Coal Corp*. (2017) seemed to suggest an alternative to random testing. The arbitrator found that employers have the right to request employees in safety-sensitive positions to disclose addiction prior to a post-incident drug test. The employee could be required to voluntarily disclose any drug or alcohol use leading to impairment on the job before incident occurred, and would be assisted and suffer no discipline, but could be subject to disciplinary action for not reporting. While S*tewart* (2017) seems to favor the employer, it is unique in that there was well written drug and alcohol policy and the termination letter focused on the breach of policy, not on the addiction. In addition, it was a dangerous work environment, which contributed substantially to the outcome. However, employers will find that random drug and alcohol testing not demonstrably necessary for safety purposes will likely intrude on employees' right to privacy. Gilmore (2018) recommended that employers "include mandatory disclosure provisions in their policy, with carefully considered consequences for voluntary disclosure and breach of policy, including termination for breach" (p.113) if appropriate.

It seems likely that there will be more legal challenges of employer policy as many of the important questions still seem to need clarification. Moreover, Hayley, Stough, & Downey (2017) claimed that cannabis use and abuse is on the rise and that factors such as legalization or decriminalization, increased use and access to the drug, as well as a shift in public perception may contribute to the increase. This may

lead employers to be especially wary of legalization. Gilmore (2018) claimed that "it is possible that the legalization of recreational cannabis will have an impact on the number and nature of accommodation requests being made in Canadian workplaces … especially as the stigma [of use] lifts" (p.51). In addition, cannabis use disorder has been described as a problematic pattern of use leading to clinically significant impairment or distress (Genen, 2017). That is, cannabis use may constitute an addiction and a disability, and be protected from discrimination under human rights law (Gilmore, 2018).

The Efficacy of Drug Testing

Cone (2001) asserted that urinalysis is the standard in most applications, as it is accurate and convenient. However, although it is the most common, Cone (2001) suggested that other methods may overcome some of their shortcomings and that alternative methods can be more accurate. These include hair samples and oral fluid and sweat testing, which are in development, and that these testing methods should be considered depending on the circumstances (Cone, 2001). Alternatively, Lin, Lee, Lee, & Chen, (2018) argued that urinalysis drug testing had become increasingly popular in the workplace and in courts around the world. They (Lin et al., 2018) urged that urine specimen validity testing should always be used because so many work-related cases involve the use of urinalysis to determine if someone is using or abusing drugs, and false negatives or false positives could seriously undermine due process and deterrent. However, Phifer (2017) explained that although urine and blood tests indicate drug levels in the body, these levels do not necessarily indicate intoxication at the time of administration. This is problematic because evidence of the drug can last up to four weeks after consumption. They recommended the use of alternative sobriety tests commonly used for alcohol intoxication, because these yield more accurate results in determining whether there is intoxication at a specific point in time (Phifer, 2017). A comprehensive review of research on drug testing (Pidd & Roche, 2014) found that its use is increasing. However, the review found little evidence that drug testing has increased safety, reduced accidents, or promoted employee productivity (Pidd & Roche, 2014). Gilmore (2018) recommended that a "combination of observation and scientific testing may yield the best results to conclusively determine impairment" (p.131).

Attitudes Toward Safety and Legalization

Truxillo, Cadiz, Bauer, & Erdogan (2013) examined attitudes to policy dealing with the accommodation of prescription drugs and medical marijuana. They conducted two studies grounded in organizational justice theory, one involving nurses, and the other, students with work experience, each focused on attitudes toward policies ranging from the prohibition of prescription drugs and medical marijuana to the accommodation of these drugs. They found that the level of safety associated with each job influenced attitudes toward each policy, in that there was a positive correlation between positions with higher safety-sensitive descriptions and negative attitudes towards accommodation of prescription drugs and marijuana. At the time "these [were] the first studies to examine employee attitudes toward policies regarding medical marijuana and prescription drugs, integrating perceived safety sensitivity as a key moderator to better understand these attitudes" (Truxillo et al, 2013 p.145).

Kaestner & Grossman (1998) examined how drug use affects the prevalence of workplace accidents. They found that males who participated in illicit drug use were 25% more likely to have an accident, while there was no significant relationship between drug use in females and accidents. Garcia (1996) identified factors which can contribute to drug abuse in the American workplace and how to address them. He (Garcia, 1996) concluded that misconduct is reduced when wage premiums are introduced, and employees are less likely to engage in drug use at work if they are part of a high-paying industry. Employees in high unemployment areas are less likely to use drugs at work as well since the costs of job loss are higher in these circumstances (Garcia, 1996). In a study of drug users (MacDonald, Mann, Chipman, Pakula, Erickson, Hathaway, & MacIntyre 2008) found that the physical effects while driving under the influence were similar for cocaine *and* cannabis. The participants reported feelings of nervousness, greater alertness and poor concentration.

Reported driving styles differed for both drugs where cocaine corresponded with reckless or reduced driving ability and cannabis corresponded with cautious or normal driving behaviour.

Solomon, Single, & Erickson (1983) argued for policy reform, asserting that the current law had "generated substantial financial costs, consumed a sizeable portion of limited enforcement resources, and burdened hundreds of thousands of young Canadians with permanent federal criminal records for conduct which is commonplace among their peers" (p.430). Some have favoured this approach for many years. For example, Hajizadeh, (2016) found that the benefits of legalization included the potential economic and social benefits of minimizing the black market and criminal activity. However, he also cautioned about the potential risks, such as the possibility of increased drug-induced accidents and adverse health effects, were also important to consider (Hajizadeh, 2016). McGinty, Niederdeppe, Heley, & Barry (2017) found that there are both pro- and anti-legalization arguments but that pro-legalization arguments related to criminal justice and economic benefits were more compelling than those of anti-legalization and public health risks.

Practitioner-Oriented Literature and What Employers Should Know

Johnston (2018) claimed that cannabis use was already widespread as there was a large, and at the time illegal, market in relation to other legal drugs such as the wine and beer markets. Johnston (2018) argued that it seemed its use was more socially acceptable, and that the percentage of young users had risen over time and it will be even more widespread when legal. Interestingly, Nova Scotians are already the highest per-capita users in Canada. In addition, cannabis can be addictive; it impairs the user, and may cause residual impairment which can last for extended periods depending on the individual (Johnston, 2018). He also asserted that legalization may greatly affect how employers ensure health and safety given that legislation mandates a safe workplace (Johnston, 2018). Moreover, Nagele-Piazza (2017) argued that HR professionals will likely need substantial knowledge because its use will increase risk if dealt with inappropriately (Nagele-Piazza, 2017). There also seems to be an increased emphasis on revisiting and editing existing policy. For example, Straszynski (2016) noted that, "employers should update drug and alcohol policies to … address marijuana use" (p.1), and that this change should be taken seriously.

In the literature review, the issues most relevant to the workplace included drug testing, accommodation and addiction, safety-sensitive work, reaction and response to legalization, as well as the case law and evidence-based research which should guide the development of policy and practice.

Methodology

We sought the richer and more comprehensive data of a qualitative methodology (Bryman, Bell, Mills, Yue, 2011) in which six semi-structured interviews (McCracken, 1998) were conducted with senior leaders in HR including managers and consultants. The industries included construction contracting, food, home improvement retail, office supply retail, and two private HR consultants. Although the interviews were conducted in eastern Canada and in reference to Canadian workplaces, some of the organizations conduct business outside the region and, occasionally, outside the country. Purposive sampling was used to select participants, but we relied on snowball recruitment, in which each participant was identified by another HR professional (Bryman et al., 2011). Study participants were selected to be interviewed on the basis of only two criteria: were they working as HR practitioners or consultants with responsibility for the implementation or application of drug and alcohol policy in the workplace; or, were they responsible for training or coaching those who performed this function. The participants consisted of two men and four women; two were employed as consultants and four as organizational managers.

Semi-structured interviews allowed the researcher to guide the conversations into emergent issues. The interviews took place between July and September 2018, before Bill C-45 came into force on October 17th,

2018. Each interview included grand tour questions (For example, please tell me about the most recent time you dealt with a case of drug or alcohol use in the workplace.) and began with demographic questions to gain an understanding of each workplace and to build trust. Discussing more common topics in the beginning (e.g., their education and daily tasks on the job), made them more willing to share their thoughts and feelings (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). 'Floating' and 'planned prompts,' such as "could you please explain…" or "why do you think that is" encouraged respondents to elaborate on points they raised, as well as to prompt certain themes identified in the literature "when they did not emerge spontaneously in the course of the interview" (McCracken, 1998, p.35). The interviews were transcribed and examined using the constant comparison method (Glaser, 1965) and grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), which allowed for the identification and analysis of categories and concepts, and to find emergent themes and the relationships between them. Some observations were expanded into themes common to all interviews, and some into unique or uncommon themes. This process "begins deeply embedded in the finest details of the interview transcript and, with each successive stage, moves upward to more general observations" (McCracken, 1998 p.43).

The first step of inquiry involved a critical review of the organizational literature related to cannabis, which was used to generate the relevant contours of the developments and important themes. Second, a review of precedent setting labour arbitration cases that were relevant to the use of cannabis in the workplace was necessary to develop a sense of what to expect from the participants. By developing a sense of the field, we were then able to recognize and delve into data that ran counter to expectations. The next step, an examination of our own assumptions about the nature of work in an organizational environment, was necessary in order to construct an interview guide and to manufacture distance (McCracken, 1988) from the topic and from my own biases. We were able to build an interview guide with the help of insight gained from the first two steps, which became the basis for the interview process. The interviews were recorded and transcribed for analysis and coding. Field notes were also taken during each interview. Each interview lasted from one half hour to more than one hour and provided more than 100 pages of interview data.

Glaser & Strauss (1967) describe the grounded theory method as "the discovery of theory from data systematically obtained from social research" (p.2). Themes emerge from data in an iterative manner that allows the researcher to identify theory from emergent themes (Bryman, Bell, Mills & Yue, 2011). Patton (2002) asserted that "grounded theory focuses on the process of generating theory rather than a particular theoretical content" (p.125), which contrasts grounded theory with other qualitative methods that focus on a specific aspect of human experience. Furthermore, grounded theory uses an inductive (bottom-up) investigation whereby the researcher discovers "patterns, themes, and categories in one's data" (Patton, 2002, p.453), and through interacting with the data, "findings emerge out of the data" (p.453).

Results

This section summarizes the key concepts and arguments discussed in each interview.

HR Manager of a Construction Company

About two thirds of employees at the construction company belonged to one of several unions. The manager was aware of the safety-sensitive nature of 'field positions' and office jobs that involved driving but believed the use of alcohol and drugs was not a significant issue. However, the manager related a current situation in which an employee consumed alcohol during working hours and was 'spoken to a couple times.' Because such minimal detail emerged, the researcher believed that there was no specific procedure to guide the disciplinary process. The manager indicated that testing was not typically used unless a client requested, there was an incident, or in the event of a return to work program. Typically, testing would not

be used on suspicion. If drug testing was requested, the company would contract a third-party company to conduct these tests.
The manager stated that, prior to 2017, there were no policies concerning alcohol and drug use, or testing. Policy had been informal and did not exist in written form, at least until the need was perceived or to be proactive knowing that legalization was coming but that such policy needed to be inclusive of all drugs and alcohol. The manager reviewed the policy and noted that it focused on health and safety, work performance, and included a section which allowed office employees to host events where alcohol was permitted during work hours. In addition, alcohol testing may be conducted only when there are 'reasonable grounds to expect that an employee in a safety-sensitive position is impaired' which partially contradicts her previous statement about refraining from drug testing solely 'on suspicion'. The manager indicated that legalization influenced the content included in the new policy. In addition, the manager emphasized that abuse should be addressed as a question of whether the employee is 'fit for duty,' and that there should be no difference between an issue with alcohol use compared to cannabis. Not much would change except that it was important to raise awareness of the policy, that this would ensure the knowledge that certain behaviour has limits, as well as the responsibility to 'report what they see.' However, the manager wondered if legalization may affect the frequency that employees report its use.

The manager claimed that most employees would make the sound decision to not arrive to work impaired. The manager believed that most partake in alcohol consumption away from work and that employees may generally be influenced by the legal substance only while off-duty, and that there should not be 'much of a stigma attached' to the consumption of a legal substance. However, if use results in negative consequences 'spill[ing] over into the workplace' then it becomes a serious issue. Nevertheless, "*people generally don't think it's a good idea to drink at work or be under the influence…"* That is, reasonable judgement is impaired when someone is suffering from addiction. No other reference to addiction and the legal requirement of accommodation was made. The manager also noted that media and other sources may be unnecessarily stoking fear and that it seemed to be a way for these interests to make money by targeting employers uncertain about its effect. However, it was clear that the legislation had prompted a response, even though the manager did not seem concerned.

Director of Finance of a Food Company

The senior manager interviewed explained that some positions, such as in production, included safety sensitive jobs, but that most of their responsibility was overseeing office workers. She stated that a response to an incident in a non-safety sensitive position should prioritize 'support' and 'assistance' based on each employee's circumstances. She left open the question of punitive approaches, because there were no incidents of this nature occurring. While not informed of the specifics of policy, the director said it included a 'robust' guide for employees. Any new policy from HR is accompanied by advance notice and training procedures to educate employees about the scope and context.

The director claimed that legalization was not anticipated to affect the workplace, although the monitoring and detection of cannabis use would be "a little bit harder" and could be a challenge to the provision of safe working conditions. Furthermore, the response to cannabis abuse would not be any different than the abuse of alcohol or other substances, except that resulting intoxication may be more difficult to detect. The director believed that cannabis use would become more socially accepted after legalization, such as has occurred with alcohol. She claimed that younger generations may find its use more acceptable than older generations and that research on the health issues associated with cannabis seemed to show it is not much worse than alcohol. In fact, it may have fewer health effects and the workplace will likely not be adversely affected. Other industries or institutions, such as police forces, may have the most difficulty with legalization. However, the representative had a positive view of legalization and made it clear that it would not be a big issue. Nevertheless, the need for accommodation and the issue of 'detection' will be significant challenges.

HR Manager of a Home Improvement Retailer

The HR manager related that a recent post-incident test was found to be positive for illicit drugs. Because it was serious and a clear contravention of policy, the employee was terminated for cause without first exploring accommodation for an addiction. Such incidents occurred about every four to six weeks, 'fairly infrequent' considering the size of the company. The most common issue is the requirement of a test following a serious accident that involves a vehicle or injury, or damaged company property. Our respondent claimed that many positions were clearly safety sensitive – such as fork-lift operators – at each location, but that legalization had prompted reconsideration of which jobs merited safety-sensitive status. Some positions would require more assessment to determine status and the definition of 'safety-sensitive' was under review in light of the legislation. In addition, health and safety was the company's main priority and if accommodation for a 'dependency' was required, the company was willing to explore options up to the point of undue hardship. However, if an employee did not disclose a dependency, and they tested positive after an accident, they would not be eligible to claim that they believed they have a dependency.

The manager was concerned that it may be common that employees believe it is acceptable to use cannabis while working in safety sensitive jobs, that legalization may represent a "get out of jail free card" to operate equipment after using, and that fitness for duty and impairment don't apply to them. He provided the example of an employee who was a regular recreational user who did not believe that cannabis use before operating a vehicle or heavy machinery was much of an issue. He believed that this was a serious issue, that many employees had a misconception about impairment, and that they did not understand that there can be residual impairment. He believed that they may think it is like alcohol, in that a couple drinks the night before was not a problem, but that, in contrast to alcohol, cannabis doesn't leave the system as quickly and impairment can last longer. The manager also acknowledged a lack of knowledge but that there would be no training, that 'education' needed to come from outside sources, and that it was more of a societal issue as opposed to a workplace specific issue. In addition, he believed that some may think they can bring cannabis to work or use it during work hours, that they may not appreciate that its prohibition in the workplace is the same as for alcohol.

The manager did acknowledge that training for managers and supervisors is essential to recognize 'impairment' and to ensure there is probable cause to act on a suspicion of drug or alcohol use. In addition, employees were required to sign off on the drug and alcohol policy on an annual basis, that they are regularly made aware of standards. He stated that testing in non-safety sensitive positions was not generally done unless it was a second offense and emphasized that a 'performance management discussion' would be the course of action in these situations. The employer had zero-tolerance for any employee under the influence, and that the policy was related to important outcomes such as the employer's reputation, productivity, and customer relations. The manager affirmed that off-duty use was treated similarly to alcohol, that employees must report to work fit for duty, which required good judgment in their off-duty behaviour. Given the possibility that some will make poor decisions, the respondent believed that most people understand their limits and can be trusted to use sound judgement. Moreover, the prevalence of its use may be influenced by legalization, but it was not clear how this would translate into the workplace. He claimed that cannabis had historically been listed under the illicit drug section in their manuals, and that once it became legal it would be listed with alcohol and that the policy would be similar. There would be a change of terms to 'cannabis' instead of 'marijuana', which was more specific and 'more of a proper term.' In addition, because its use had been more 'black and white' as it was an illicit drug, post-legalization it would be similar to alcohol use, in that there will be 'grey areas' in terms of accommodation, safety-sensitive positions, and determining impairment.

Testing also represented a challenge in that it will not be as straightforward as alcohol testing. How to determine impairment will require discussion about which test method to use and that they will need to look

at legal precedence. The manager believed the preferred method would be the swab test in that it should indicate how long it has been since ingestion. However, at the time there was no one specific way employers were instructed to test for cannabis, but that they would need to figure it out to ensure they could meet their obligation. He suggested that as long as employees come to work fit for duty, there was no judgement about what they engage in when not at work. However, if some choose to be impaired and it causes a safety or performance issue, the employer could no longer ignore off-duty conduct no matter how intrusive. While there may be an adjustment period, most would easily grasp its use once they make the comparison to alcohol. The manager asserted that cannabis use would soon be normalized, much as it has for alcohol, but that, hopefully, there would be no serious injuries or fatalities as a result of not being prepared in the meantime.

Office Supply Retailer

The respondent, a senior manager for the office supply company, indicated that the company was not unionized and there were no safety-sensitive positions, but there were safety sensitive jobs within the supply chain. The respondent described a case where an employee had brought cannabis to work, a breach of policy, that intoxicating substances cannot be on company premises. The employee was terminated for breaching policy, breach of trust, and lying during an investigation. He had also been subject to prior warnings and progressive discipline, which was a factor in dismissal. The case was unique when compared to the other study respondents, as it was not impairment that led to dismissal, but the breach of a policy. The respondent asserted that in non-safety sensitive positions, the incident would likely be a performance issue, but that a new version of the policy was about to be released, which legalization had prompted. It would prohibit impairment from several sources including 'drugs, alcohol, and prescription medication,' and have a policy to identify the requirements for accommodation. In addition, the company would not be able to accommodate anything that affects performance, but that if an employee discloses a need, they will be directed to one of their programs such as long-term disability, sick leave or other options. There was no specific mention of addiction, or if this would be considered under these policies. If an employee did not disclose a need for accommodation, none would be considered, and it would become a performance issue.

The respondent explained that they use a 'reasonable suspicion' test to determine whether an employee should be confronted. It was important to ask directly to ensure that the issue was not related to another condition that may resemble intoxication. If intoxicated, they would ensure the employee got home safely, and only ask if support was needed in a subsequent conversation. Depending on the outcome, the employee could be accommodated if appropriate, but if not, progressive discipline would be initiated. Interestingly, cannabis had never been explicit in their policy, and they had never used nor intended to use any drug testing. The manager related a situation involving an employee who had medical authorization to use cannabis off-duty. While the employee had disclosed this information, the issue was that he had offered to share with another employee, which the manager deemed inappropriate and akin to sharing prescription drugs. While there was no existing, specific policy, the employer issued a written warning as it seemed that any reasonable person would find the offer had been inappropriate. A 'reasonable person' would perceive that employees have good judgement and trust them to use it.

The respondent expressed concern about 'performance-based indications' of intoxication, and that managers and supervisors may not be willing or able to recognize these behaviours, and if they do, may not want to address them. In addition, the manager was concerned that employees may not understand that they cannot consume cannabis whenever and wherever they want once it is legalized. For example, employees may try to consume in the smoking area and feel a new-found freedom, which would likely cause complaints as some will not understand what boundaries exist, if any. Suggestions of how to deal with this issue were not forthcoming. However, they would distribute the new policy and provide some additional education to managers first, to ensure they were well prepared. This was important because managers may "turn a blind eye" to cannabis use if not provided with effective support. Subsequently, the

policy would be distributed to employees with a focus on making sure they understand that support is available, in order to help with the struggle of addiction.

The respondent also believed there were 'mixed messages' about how cannabis is beneficial and about the negative effects. While this may make some uncomfortable because of differing opinions about the drug, it was comparable to the differences of opinion that may exist about tattoos and piercings. In addition, managers were coached to appreciate that it is okay to have differences of opinion, but to make sure that there were boundaries and that these differences should not cause additional problems. For example, the respondent recognized each could have different perceptions and opinions about cannabis use, that the new legislation would be an 'education process for everyone,' and that it is going to have a direct impact on many workplaces. There would have to be direct conversations immediately. However, perceptions will change over time, in the same way that perceptions toward tattoos and piercings have changed over time. While people will need to be educated and questions answered, as well as share their views and have them challenged in turn, there were no suggestions of how this may be facilitated.

Private HR Consultant 1

The participant explained that the service provided to clients primarily included training and professional development for companies in construction, as well as in other safety-sensitive industries. He did not get directly involved in his clients' disciplinary decisions except to provide education, help with gathering information, and background knowledge on the current legislation and legal precedence, which was regularly provided so that employers could make correct decisions. There were concerns about the pending legislation, as employers tried to prepare for legalization, and many had considerable lack of understanding. In addition, there was concern that front-line supervisors and managers could not effectively identify a person under the influence, and that this could be a significant issue as employers may be accused of enabling employees to be unfit for duty.

The consultant identified construction as the industry most concerned with legalization, and that most consulting time was directed to the 'blue-collar world.' Often, employers must be reminded that cannabis is just another drug. Safety-sensitive work may require some mandatory drug testing. Over time, cannabis will become just another controlled substance, much the same as alcohol. He claimed that employees often mistakenly assume that American experience is the same as that in Canada, even though laws and legislation are quite different. In Canada, there are more limitations on who can be tested and under what circumstance. Our participant asserted the importance of categorizing jobs as safety-sensitive, and that this is related to whether to perform drug tests; determining which jobs are safety-sensitive may be the biggest challenge. Some employers will choose to enforce policies that are too strict without taking the time to consider their legal obligation, which will likely lead to increased discrimination and labour arbitration. For example, in recent cases employees have been reinstated after termination for drug use, where accommodation should have been the preferred response.

The consultant explained that the effects of cannabis must be clearly established, stressing the importance of due diligence and risk assessment. Employers need to educate themselves on the use of non-medical marijuana; they just can't bury their heads. Larger companies are usually more educated than the medium and smaller sized but are only partially prepared themselves. This could be attributed to a lack of HR specialization in smaller companies, as they have fewer resources and are not as aware of specific issues. Smaller companies have been "winging it… rolling the dice." The consultant claimed that about 7 out of 10 small businesses don't even have a progressive discipline policy or know how it is applied. Moreover, it is not only drugs that employers are not prepared for, it is other issues that policy should address as well, such as harassment, discrimination, and the duty to accommodate.

The consultant stressed the importance of having non-accusing conversations with employees who are suspected of being under the influence during work hours, in that there could be a human rights issue which might require accommodation. For example, aging workers in blue-collar jobs may be self-medicating in order to deal with pain that accompanies aging, such as might be necessary with back and joint pain. Many employers are underprepared to deal with these complex situations, especially given competing obligations, such as an obligation to get the job done. Some organizations "turn a blind eye" to employees coming to work high, and likely have been for some time, because there is a shortage of good labour. Furthermore, many employers do not know what is allowed and either implement bad policy or turn a blind eye because they don't want, or don't know how, to deal with it.

In the past, other substances such as alcohol and tobacco were much more accepted in the workplace but now are rarely seen. For example, it would not have been uncommon for office workers to go to a pub over lunch several decades ago and return to work having consumed several drinks. Today, alcohol is not likely to be in evidence. Similarly, cannabis has been an issue that was not talked about, that it was 'in the dark shadow' where people knew it was being used but ignored it. It may have been addressed only if the employer had a very strict policy and they were aware of the safety risks; otherwise, it was not a concern. The consultant claimed that employers usually do not need to make drastic changes to policy, but that legalization may prompt them to start implementing proper policy, that it was a wakeup call. For companies who are well prepared, it will likely not cause big changes or issues. However, for those not well prepared and who have not been practicing due diligence, it will be much more serious.

The consultant also believed that the media and industry in general had portrayed cannabis as safe and that it was not possible to get addicted, so that it will become more broadly accepted. In addition, the stigma associated with cannabis is not as common today as twenty years ago, and that people are aware that many of us use regularly. Several decades ago, some "drank too much," and there were generally permissive attitudes, which is also likely to be the case with cannabis. In addition, employers may not acknowledge drug use, and may not care what employees do on their own time, as long as they do their job. An additional comparison was drawn with tobacco; if employees smoke, the employer usually does not care as long as the job is completed. Although tobacco does not impair, excessive smoke breaks create a performance issue. In addition, there was stigma attached to substances such as tobacco and alcohol; where it was once acceptable to consume these at work, a significant shift in attitude has occurred. The consultant also asserted that some may feel entitled to use cannabis, even if it compromises safety, because they are medically authorized or that they believe they can use it freely because it is legal. However, employers must strike a balance between the duty to provide a safe workplace and their duty to accommodate, which should not be as difficult as it first seems.

Private HR Consultant 2

The second HR consultant specialized specifically in workplace drug and alcohol policy; a pharmacy degree and masters in adult education is used to consult clients from a HR perspective, as well as from a scientific perspective. She understood the science of drugs and alcohol, as well as the science of testing, all the better to educate and consult clients based on evidence rather than judgement only. In the consulting practice, the focus is education, not a punitive approach, and a consistent emphasis on health and safety. The participant acknowledged that many employers do not wish to take this approach, they just want to fire employees. While she would not work with these employers, in some cases, attitudes had been changed with persuasive argument. The approach favoured by the consultant can be favorable to both union and employer, as no union would argue that a focus on health and safety was a bad thing. It is a matter of balancing responsibility for a safe workplace and related due diligence, with the requirement to respect privacy and human rights. The consultant had a network of professionals from the 'world of drug and alcohol abuse' who could be used as a resource. In addition, reading, attending conferences in both Canada and the United States, and memberships on societies, boards and panels related to these issues are sources of development and growth.

Although some specific training programs are available, they may not be effective, which drove her to provide the highest quality consulting.

The consultant asserted that testing is very important in both the union and non-union workplace. However, the reality is that some employers do not do it well, which results in bad decisions, lawsuits, and bad press. It is a significant issue which must be addressed as the work was primarily with employers who have a significant number of safety-sensitive positions, and a lack of appreciation for the importance of classification. Employers cannot simply say that their entire workplace is safety sensitive. They must go through a deliberate, thoughtful process to demonstrate careful consideration and an objective assessment. She believed that if best practices were followed, drug testing after an incident, or with reasonable cause, should be applied across all positions, regardless of safety sensitivity. Employers should not only be concerned with health and safety but also with organizational reputation and productivity. Policy applied consistently has a much greater probability of success than if it is perceived to target a specific group. A sense of inequity may undermine satisfaction as much as unsafe work will. Therefore, policy must be seen to be fair, applied consistently whether the employees are in safety-sensitive positions.

The consultant believed that many people are not aware of what constitutes addiction and how it should be managed. In addition, there is a need for proper process in cases where employees use medical cannabis or any drug that could impair, especially when the work is safety sensitive. However, these processes are often not followed appropriately by HR professionals. For example, HR should consult an occupational medicine physician to develop an accommodation plan, who can then inform the employee's GP about the appropriateness of the medication considering the nature of the work. However, employers often do not access the proper healthcare professionals to ensure proper accommodation and may face even greater challenge as a result. Moreover, there is no evidence for cannabis use for medical purposes, and that it is only possible to get a medical authorization, and not a prescription. It is common for the authorizing doctor to retract their authorization once contacted about the nature of the work, because it is either not specifically required for health or they are able to use a different medication.

Employers should plan how they will educate about cannabis use, as well as its implications and consequences for work. Because cannabis is relatively safe and legal, employees may believe they can use it whenever they want. HR practitioners need to appreciate that education is a process that cannot be accomplished in one or two training sessions. Training should be ongoing and HR practitioners may not have the expertise or bother to acquire it. In addition, policies must be accessible as they are often written by lawyers who use technical language. Employees must be shown that cannabis will be treated similarly to alcohol, except to note that the effect on the body is very different. Because cannabis is fat soluble, it sticks to fat cells in our brain and other parts of the body. Depending on body composition, it may stick around a lot longer in some people. While there is an acute high that everyone is worried about, there may also be residual impairment that may not be apparent. Residual impairment can remain for up to thirty days in some people, so smoking cannabis off-duty can affect whether we are fit for work and may also affect ability to pass a drug-test. This information should be relayed effectively so that employees can make informed decisions about use. They should be able to appreciate that cannabis use is a personal decision which could affect performance; the individual should know that consumption, even in an off-duty context, can affect job tenure and safety, of themselves and of others. The consultant stated that it is common for drug and alcohol policy to be missing as employers, "ignore and enable substance use because they don't know how to deal with it." They often use improper testing and are quick to fire employees for a positive test, as they "don't see addiction as an illness, they see it as a character flaw and a problem that they need to get rid of."

The consultant claimed that there are societal stigmas around addiction and addiction education that exist everywhere including top management where these important concepts are misunderstood. How a person uses language to frame addiction, or the addict, may indicate biases and stigmas, such as "going for the

cure" or "we'll fix them" or "we'll catch them." This punitive approach does little to promote health or wellness. Even when employers do understand their duty to accommodate, and they follow the steps to get help, it is common to not take the appropriate steps to determine the employee's needs. As a result, appropriate help – a personalized treatment plan to meet unique needs – is not provided. Accommodation should not be 'one size fits all.' A large part of the consultant's work is to facilitate a culture that creates an environment where health and wellness are valued, and where a punitive approach is not automatic. She believed employers pay attention because they are unsure of how legalization will affect their workplace and responsibility. However, cannabis should not be singled out as unique or unusual as it has been in use medicinally and recreationally for millenia; it should simply be included in the authorized or legal drugs section of their policy. Nevertheless, a permissive culture around substance use exists and Nova Scotia, particularly, has the highest per capita cannabis use in the country. She believed that education was the most important issue facing employers because people are unaware of the risks associated with cannabis use, and that this may be accentuated by the stigma attached to its consumption. There are two types of attitudes: first, some make disparaging remarks about people who use cannabis; and second, some people who use cannabis think that they have a right to use wherever they like, and that it's a cure for everything. There needs to be awareness and openness on both sides, about proper and responsible use, as well as about addiction as illness and that it is possible to be addicted to cannabis.

Findings and Discussion

Theme 1: A Lack of Awareness and 'Turning a Blind Eye'

The construction company respondent did not seem to believe that legalization, or even the use of other drugs and alcohol, was an issue that needed a lot of attention. Nor would the prevalence of use increase as a result of the new legislation, further reinforcing their lack of concern. The respondent seemed unconcerned about safety, and only briefly mentioned the concepts of 'fit for duty' and due diligence. There seemed to be a lack of awareness of the implications. The respondent revealed that the employer did not conduct its own testing, and that it was only done when contracting clients requested. The respondent did not reveal knowledge of the types of drug tests and, it seemed evident, did not completely understand their own policy. The food company respondent did not believe that the use of drugs or alcohol was an issue and that legalization was not a big issue. In addition, the detection of cannabis use will be the greatest challenge. The accuracy of drug testing methods was questioned, as well as the ability of managers to spot impairment. Although the respondent demonstrated a lack of awareness of the implications of cannabis, some of the basic issues in drug-testing were understood. However, the home improvement respondent was aware of the duty to accommodate, although it seemed the approach was more punitive. The respondent asserted that this was due to the prioritization of health and safety. In addition, legalization was seen to be a significant event that needed to be appreciated for its health and safety implications.

Theme 2: Need for Policy Review, Development, and Modification

Revisiting, editing, and creating new policy was mentioned by all study participants. For example, legalization had prompted the construction company to create its first policy. The participant explained that the policy had been formally written in 2017, when previously it had been a more informal rule. It seems that legalization had been a signal of the need for more formal policy. Interestingly, this did not seem to match the perception that legalization was not a big issue. The food company respondent was not aware of any change to current policy except that cannabis use would be treated similarly to how alcohol. On the other hand, the home improvement respondent asserted that the new legislation had prompted the company to undergo a recategorization of safety-sensitive jobs, to better address drug testing protocol. In addition, the respondent claimed that they had written cannabis into policy where alcohol was located, an indication that policy related to cannabis was to be similar. The office supply respondent believed that legalization

had prompted improvement of policy in a general sense, that policies had been modified to include accommodation and a zero-tolerance approach to impairment. Although these issues already existed, it seemed that a shift in policy was a by-product of preparation.

Theme 3: Emphasis on Education Rather Than a Punitive Approach

The perceived need for education seemed to be related to the approach favoured. Where there was less perceived need for education, employers seemed more likely to take a punitive approach. However, the consultants emphasized education to mitigate risk and to deal with issues that emerge from legalization. Coincidentally, both consultants offered a health and safety focused approach in their practices. Both thought that education on cannabis impairment was necessary, as well as modification or updating policy to address cannabis legalization. Nevertheless, both consultants also believed that legalization should not be considered a big shift, since a well drafted drug and alcohol policy would likely already include the needed protocol. The food company respondent emphasized a non-punitive approach and noted the importance of support to ensure help is received. The respondent also believed that HR was an effective agent to introduce new policy and training, leading the researchers to believe that a theme of education and policy communication was emerging. The construction company respondent also asserted that employees could be trusted to make good judgements about use and impairment, and to act accordingly when reporting to work. However, company policy should be emphasized in communication to ensure understanding of the rules, although there was no mention of training. It was evident that education was not seen as an important method for dealing with legalization issues. There was also little evidence to indicate whether a punitive or non-punitive approach would be employed.

The home improvement respondent seemed to take a more punitive approach and claimed that an employee had been terminated for having illicit drugs in their system without determining whether accommodation was needed. The respondent believed that there is a misconception about the impairment associated with cannabis but did not indicate that measures were being taken to educate. However, employees were required to review and sign the drug and alcohol policy each year. This may be a way to address awareness of misconceptions and the employer's approach, although it could be argued that there are other more effective methods. The office supply respondent believed there was significant misinformation, but that there was no indication that training would be offered. However, the employer would train managers how to properly enforce policy once they are ready to distribute. Moreover, the respondent believed that without education, front-line managers were likely to ignore drug or alcohol use even if they are aware, because they are ill-equipped to address them. This raised a question about previous policy, since these changes did not address all new issues. That is, if front-line employees were not prepared, is it possible that the employer had been ignoring drug and alcohol issues all along due to lack of knowledge of how to address them in the first place?

Theme 4: Social and Workplace Culture, Drug and Alcohol Use, Stigma and Attitude

The consultants believed that both alcohol and cannabis enjoyed a relatively permissive culture in Canada. In addition, they claimed that there is a stigma toward people who use, and an attitude from people who use who feel a moral entitlement that they can use cannabis whenever and wherever they desire. An especially permissive attitude to alcohol use was also found in the construction company. For example, the participant claimed that exceptions could be made to allow alcohol during work hours during office events. The food company respondent claimed that while alcohol is more socially acceptable, cannabis will become more accepted over time and a more permissive attitude will follow. Alternatively, the home improvement respondent was concerned that employees would not understand that cannabis was not allowed, and that they would believe that they can use it wherever and whenever they want, either because it is legal or because they have medical authorization. The office retail respondent was also concerned that employees

would not appreciate that cannabis use was not permitted, essentially identifying a concern that they would feel entitled to use.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to explore how senior leaders in HR including managers and consultants perceived the challenge of the legalization of cannabis. The findings reveal the very real need to modify and improve drug and alcohol policy and practice. The literature often explains 'how' to deal with the issues involved in legalization such as adopting a zero-tolerance policy and treating cannabis similarly to alcohol (Nagele-Piazza, 2018). However, it does not indicate whether employers believe it is necessary, or if they have been prompted to revisit current policy. We found that legalization spurred the review of existing policy and some also found it was a cue to improve policy not specifically related to cannabis or its legalization. This suggests that employers are more aware of the inadequacies of their policy, prompted by legalization. We also found that many have 'turned a blind eye' to drug and alcohol use and that they have only revisited policy because of legalization, as they have been unaware of their responsibility and unsure how to react. In one case, legalization prompted a first ever formal, written policy. We found this surprising, although it could be explained as a process of formalization as the company grows and matures. Nevertheless, we wonder why this employer would not have seen the need for formal policy given the apparent safety risk on a construction site.

Compliance with the law did not seem to have been thoroughly incorporated into policy and some managers seemed to lack knowledge of three key concepts. Only the consultants demonstrated distinct understanding of the legal basis of accommodation and how it should be implemented. Only one other participant (home improvement retailer) mentioned the use of legal precedence to determine best practice in policy. In addition, the identification of safety sensitive positions was raised by several participants, although only one indicated that their company was actively reassessing jobs to ensure they were properly categorized according to current human rights law. However, some participants did seem to possess some knowledge of their safety-sensitive positions even if they did not elaborate. Drug testing was also a concern except that managers were not fully aware of its implications in that they seemed to be generally unaware of the types of testing and when they should be used. Some indicated that their company did not test for drugs at all or that they outsourced their testing to a third party, and there was general lack of awareness of associated processes or issues.

The purpose of this research was not to make any claim of generalizability past this specific context. Sample size and scope were limited to convenience sampling; we may have sampled from a wider variety of industries and participants more specifically in senior HR roles only. Further research could explore the following themes. Why does there seem to be a contrast between the response to health and safety issues, usually confined to safety-sensitive positions, and job performance. Are these themes separate constructs or should they be considered as a single phenomenon? In addition, to what extent are disparaging views still prevalent and how might these biases affect a manager's attributions about a subordinate. Do managers have more progressive attitudes, or a stricter, more punitive attitude. Does this affect appraisal or other high-stakes employment decisions? A common belief of study respondents seemed to be that employees would feel entitled to use cannabis in the workplace once it is legalized. Is this true and, if so, is it problematic? Finally, there seemed to be a relationship between the use of education to mitigate inappropriate responses to legalization, and the attitude of managers. Our analysis seemed to support a connection between a punitive approach and a lesser emphasis on education, whereas study participants who had a greater educational focus were more likely to take a health and safety approach. Is there a relationship and does it matter?

Appendix A: Interview Guide

Interview Guide

Technical Check
- Recording Device Ready and Recording Started
- Materials for Notes Ready

Date:
Place/Location:
Name of Participant:
Contact Information:

- Inform participant of the purpose of the study
- How the interview will be conducted
- Sign the consent form and agree to proceed

Background and Demographic Questions

- Current Position/Job Title
- Years' experience in Present Job? in Field?
- Previous Position(s) Held
- Education, Training and Area of Expertise
- Could you please tell me a bit about your work as a Human Resource Manager, including your roles and responsibilities, how you became one, and any other important information?
- Current Company/ What the employer does?
- Do you currently work in a unionized or non-unionized workplace?
- Is your workplace considered Safety-Sensitive? All positions or just some?
- How many employees work for the company?

Single Case Question (Employee)
- Can you please tell me about the most recent time that you dealt with a case of drug and/or alcohol use in the workplace and the process that was used to deal with it?

  Mini Tour
  - Was the employee unionized?
  - Was the employee a temporary or part-time employee?
  - How long did they work for the company before this incident? Was it within the past year?
  - Was this person terminated, or was only disciplinary action taken? Did the employee have any disciplinary history?
  - Was this a case of drug abuse or addiction, or was it simply recreational?
  - How was the intoxication or drug use identified and confirmed in this case?
  - Can you tell me about an employee meeting or disciplinary action against and employee related to cannabis use that was particularly memorable?

If Not Safety Sensitive

- How do you proceed with a case of drug or alcohol abuse in the workplace since you are in a workplace where most jobs are not safety-sensitive?
  - Off-duty conduct? How do you anticipate casual use of cannabis off-duty to affect employees who are on-duty?
  - How will you deal with this?

Policy

Past

- Can you please explain the policies and procedures that have historically been in place, which address the use of alcohol or drugs in the workplace?
  - Do these address the use of Cannabis specifically?
  - Why do you think that is?
  - Mandatory Drug Testing?

Present

- Can you please explain how any policies or procedures been modified or created to help deal with the pending legalization of Cannabis?
- What do you anticipate the workplace issues to be involved with the legalization of cannabis?
  - Has this recently been of great concern in your workplace?
  - Have you implemented other ways of measuring cannabis intoxication? (this should address the perceived reliability of urine testing or other testing procedures)

Perception of Cannabis

- What is the **difference** between a discipline issue with alcohol versus with cannabis?
  - How does legalization affect this?
- Do you think that overarching moral judgements or stigmas exist in regard to Cannabis use in the workplace in a general sense?
  - What about in terms of this workplace specifically?
- How do you believe casual alcohol and drug use is perceived by employees in the workplace? Specific to this workplace, as well as in a general sense?
  - How do you think cannabis legalization will affect its perception your workplace? Are you expecting increased incidents (intoxication, dependencies/addictions, casual users)?
- **If yes to existing stigmas**, how do you anticipate legalization to shift or affect these stigmas/judgements looking into the future.

Themes to work with

- Safety sensitive workplace
- Drug Testing (looking for terms like; reliability, policy, balance of interests, determining impairment, invasive)
- Human Rights (privacy of employees, accommodation of disabilities, or addiction)

ASK FOR REFERRALS TO OTHER HR MANAGERS

End of Interview Guide

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BREAKING THE IRON CAGE: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE BRITISH COLUMBIA EGG MARKETING BOARD MEETING MINUTES

This paper explores the minutes of an industry-controlled marketing board in 2016-17. The research investigates discourses related to the public perception of animal welfare and health of both the chickens and the consumers of eggs. These discourses are complicated by issues of production safety and efficiency as well as traditions. The egg producers attempt to understand the disconnect between media and social media admonitions to eliminate caging and other conventional practices while in the marketplace sales of higher-priced, cage-free or other speciality eggs do not materialize. The board attempts to see the future while maintaining the profitability of current members and encouraging new entrants to explore innovation.

Introduction

The British Columbian Egg Marketing Board's vision is to build "a cohesive and sustainable growing BC egg industry". They state that they aim to educate the community of the importance of BC eggs, while also allowing stakeholders to meet the demands of the marketplace (BCEMB, 2017). It is the aim of this study to surface how the British Columbia Egg Marketing Board is reaching this goal, through a content analysis of their meeting minutes. Text from meeting minutes published on the British Columbia Egg Marketing Board's governance webpage serves as the data for this work. A content analysis was performed to highlight the main topics important to egg producers in BC and the themes found in their discussion as reported.

Marketing boards are responsible for assessing the demand of the supply-managed product and issuing quota out to the producers (Gibson, 2016). That is, they assess the market, determine the number of eggs (in this case) and tell each farmer how many eggs they can sell. In recent years markets have become more sophisticate moving from the traditional size and colour systems to include such concepts as free-range, cage-free, organic, and even functional changes such as Omega-3 eggs (Masoumeh Bejaei, 2009; M Bejaei, Wiseman, & Cheng, 2011; Pelletier et al., 2018). The marketing board participates in the development of the producers of each type and manages production within the quota system.

British Columbia was selected for study because the province is often perceived to be ahead of the game on social and environmental issues. This can be seen in the egg industry. The BC Egg Marketing Board had already begun to encourage producers to move towards a cage-free production system before Egg Farmers of Canada announced the transition to alternative housing in 2016. With the labelling of the housing methods in grocery stores and specialized pricing depending on the housing method, many farmers have begun the switch to new housing systems. By investigating the discourses found in meeting minutes, this research endeavours to surface future directions of the supply-managed industry.

Literature Review

Quota and Supply Management

In Canada, milk, cheese, eggs, chicken and turkey are supply managed. The Farm Products Council of Canada (FPCC) is responsible for the supervision of the national marketing agencies involved in supply management. According to the Egg Farmer's of Canada (EFC) website, supply management is said to provide stability for consumers and farmers by ensuring that supply mirrors the forecasted demand (Clarke, 2016). They also claim that prior to supply management, producers were subject to being unable to cover production costs, and consumers were caught up in constant price wars followed by steep increases.

Intervention into the agricultural market by government date back to before the great depression. In the 1960s marketing boards were created as a response to economic instability. A belief in economies of scale persuaded the government to establish industry controls. By managing supply chains marketing boards reduce inefficiencies promoting competition among producers (on quality) and sellers (on price) without perversion by unfair supply and distribution systems (Heminthavong, 2018). This has been since enacted as a long-standing agricultural policy (Veeman, 1987). The Farm Products Act of 1985 was promulgated to protect consumer and producer interests while also promoting competitive production within the industry.

The Egg Farmers of Canada (EFC) or Canadian Egg Marketing Agency was established in 1972 and was added under the Farm Products Act (Farm Products Agencies Act, 1985). Provincial marketing boards were created for the egg and poultry industries to achieve the goals stated previously on a provincial level. These boards when initially developed, were very similar to marketing boards in Australia and New Zealand (Veeman, 1987). Australia ultimately ended their supply management program for eggs in the 1980s, and later deregulated dairy (milk, cheese etc.) in 2001 (Muirhead, 2016). New Zealand also ended its supply management system in 1980 (Reynolds, 2012). The national board is responsible for determining the forecasted demand, and then dividing out the quota to the provincial boards, who will then allocate it to producers.

As of 2016, there are 1062 registered quota holding egg farms in Canada (Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, 2017). Ontario has the largest percentage of quota at 36.1%, Quebec is the second-largest with 19.7%. Western Canada and the Northwest Territories share 36.7%, and Eastern Canada holds the remaining quota allocation at 7.5% (Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, 2017). There are two principles stated by the British Columbia Egg Marketing Board (BCEMB) regarding the governance of quota in British Columbia.

> "The first principle is that quota has no monetary value, regardless of the fact that it acquires value in the market place when traded amongst producers. The second principle is that quota remains under the exclusive control of the Egg Board at all times, meaning that a transfer of quota between two producers does not imply a change in the 'ownership' of that quota"(BCEMB, 2015b).

The national marketing board, EFC, issues the quota to the province, which then allocates said quota to producers for free. Producers are then allowed to trade their quota using the BCEMB's Quota Exchange. While the quota itself is still said to have no value, the trading price is based on the cash flow of the quota (BCEMB, 2015b).

Poultry Housing

In 2016, the national marketing board for egg production in Canada, Egg Farmers of Canada, announced that they would be transitioning to a cage-free industry. Conventional (battery) cages have been the industry standard worldwide since the 1950s, but consumer pressure towards more humanely produced eggs has prompted the moratorium on conventional cages in favour of alternative housing (van Asselt et al., 2015). Conventional cages were so popular because it allowed farmers to produce eggs on a large scale while mechanising the process as much as possible. This allowed for reduced production costs and improved flock management, as the farmers were able to monitor every facet of the hen's life (Boer & Cornelissen, 2002). Generally, a conventional cage houses four to eight hens and cages must allow a minimum of 432 cm^2 per white bird and 484 cm^2 for a brown bird (NFACC, 2017). These are the regulations outlined in the 2017 Pullet and Laying Hens Code of Practice, published by the National Farm Animal Care Council. Given that the industry is in the midst of their transition away from conventional housing, this code of practice has a variety of requirements depending on the stage of transition of the producer. This will be discussed more in the Canadian Policy section of this review (NFACC, 2017). As farmers shift from the current system to the alternative housing systems, production costs will increase as they strive to maintain production levels in these new housing systems (Boer & Cornelissen, 2002). Some research has shown that along with increased costs, some of these systems may impose an increased risk to the environment, as they will be a less controlled environment (van Asselt et al., 2015).

The primary alternative housing options available in egg production includes enriched housing, free-run, and free-range (Sherwin C M, Richards G J, Nicol C L, 2010). There are variations within these systems that farmers can choose depending on what they feel is appropriate. **Free run** is generally a barned housing system, with some producers offering exterior runs sometimes call "Winter Gardens" for the hens, often covered to protect from predators (Jendral, 2005). These exterior runs are different from the runs free-range chickens would have, as they are more of a porch than a yard. Free run systems may also make use of aviaries, a multi-tiered system that allows for better use of the building's height (Sumner et al., 2011). The aviary will also allow for a higher density of hens due to increased surface space. **Enriched housing** systems are similar to the conventional cages except that they allow for more space per chicken. The cages also have furnishings, which allow the hens to exhibit natural behaviours, such as scratching and dust bathing (Weeks, Lambton, & Williams, 2016). Enriched housing or furnished cages allow for the hens to display these natural behaviours, while also allowing farmers to maintain the majority of the control over the chickens that they would have in conventional cages (Lay, Jr. ,D.,C. et al., 2011). These cages will typically offer the hens more space, as well as perches and a designated laying area. It was noted that in the case of Sweden, where beak trimming has been banned, enriched housing greatly reduced the occurrence of cannibalism and feather pecking when compared to non-cage systems (Jendral, 2005). Production levels and cost within the enriched cage systems are comparable to those of the conventional system, yet some countries in Europe have included enriched housing with conventional cages when pricing and grading eggs, as is the same case in British Columbia. As a result of having the same grade as conventionally produced eggs, European producers with these enriched systems in place do not receive a premium for eggs (Jendral, 2005).

Many countries have seen the shift in public concern regarding animal welfare with Switzerland prohibiting conventional cages in the late 1970s after passing stricter policies surrounding animal welfare and Germany banning them in 2002. This led to the eventual banning of battery cages by the European Union in 2012 (Rodenburg et al., 2008). Enriched or furnished cages were seen as an alternative for farmers to still have hens in cages while still following the ban on the battery cages. Given the criticism that "a cage is still a cage" and eggs that are produced in enriched cages carry the same grade as those produced in battery cages have resulted in most producers opting for other housing options (Appleby, 2003). This decision may also be influenced by the fear that enriched housing may also be banned in the future, as it has been in Switzerland.

Methods

Data were collected as described below and subjected to content analysis, cluster analysis and thematic analysis. This approach permits the surfacing of the discourses found in the data. Content analysis allows inferences to be made using a collection of text to determine themes, concepts, and theories on the research topic (Kondracki, Wellman, & Amundson, 2002). Cluster analysis enables the bringing together of micro-text to generate narratives or pieces of discourse (Fairclough, 1989; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Jones, 2019; Silverman, 2005). The thematic analysis set the scene for understanding what the speakers feel is important and their intended action (Aronson, 1994; Attride-Stirling, 2001; Krippendorf, 2004, 2008). Themes evoke discourses, discourses surface intentions.

The data was collected from the BC Egg Marketing Board's governance webpage (https://bcegg.com/our-story/board/). Meeting minutes are posted online as a part of the marketing board's commitment to transparency. The meeting minutes range in date from March 26th, 2015 to March 29th, 2017. In total, 34 documents were retrieved from the marketing board. The documents, downloaded as PDFs, were all converted into text documents and had minor edits to remove the board's letterhead, and meeting attendees. This was done as these repeated words and phrases skewed the text analysis. This also helped to keep all the documents uniform, as formatting changed throughout the meeting minutes. The text were read through with initial themes being outlined to be pricing, quota, and housing. Coding was completed by the first author after running the corpus through Voyant tools. Voyant tools is an online text-analysis website. This resource was used to help determine more specific key themes prior to coding. The Voyant Word link function and term frequency function were used to highlight related words and phrases which were repeated throughout the text. This allowed for more specific codes to be developed. The coding was then completed using MaxQDA, the code key is shown below in Table 1. The additional themes of food security and outreach were coded to be considered during the Cage-Free transition discussion, but they are not exclusively related and were therefore not placed under that parent code.

Table 1: Coding Key

Parent code	Code
	Quota
Quota	Quota Exchange
Quota	New Entrants
Quota	Quota Utilization
	Pricing
Pricing	Organic Pricing
	Cage-Free Transition
Cage-Free Transition	Conventional cages
Cage-Free Transition	Enriched
Cage-Free Transition	Free Run & Free Range
Cage-Free Transition	MultiTier/Aviary
Cage-Free Transition/Pricing	Speciality
	Food Security
	Outreach

Results and Discussion

Quota was shown to be a dominant theme throughout the body of text. Housing was an area of interest selected for further analysis as it was mentioned several times through the coding process using a variety of different wordings. The term "speciality" was a frequently used term and referred to free-range, free run, and organic eggs. British Columbia initiated their speciality egg classification in 2008 and established a separate quota allotment for producers using these production systems. They are presently (as of 2019) the only province to do so. Speciality eggs also have a different price, as the cost of production is higher (Schmidt, 2008). Conventional housing was generally used in place of the term "battery cages" when discussing the current housing system in place across much of the industry. Enriched housing was sometimes discussed using the term "furnishings" or "furnished cages".

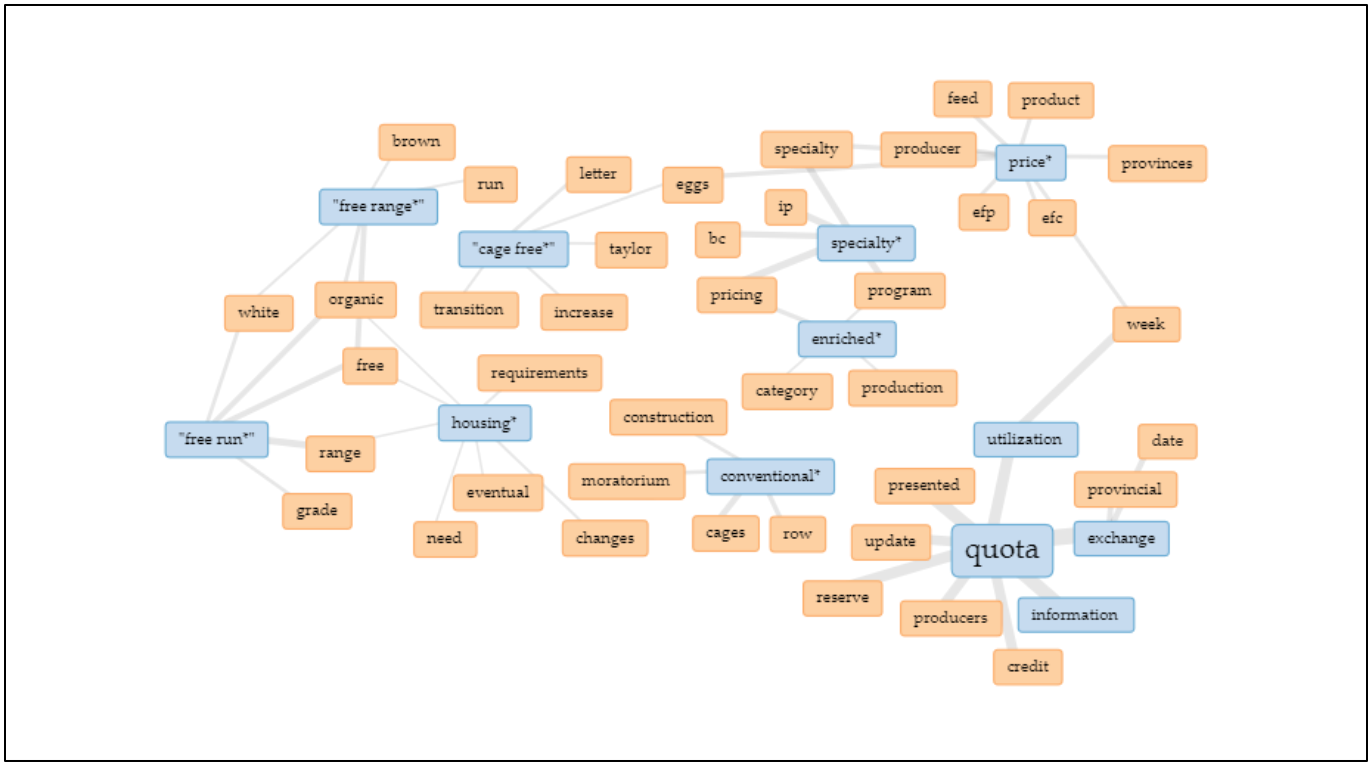

Figure 1: Word Map Links

The word map shown in Figure 1, was created using Voyant tools. The eight words chosen as the primary words were selected based on the most common words used to describe the two main topics, quota and housing. Pricing links to quota through utilization via "week". This link was due to utilization levels being reported and pricing change decisions being labelled by week. This does not show a significant relationship between housing and quota, so it is determined that quota issues are not related to housing issues and are discussed separately throughout the meeting minutes used in this analysis. As many of the key terms are related to housing, it makes sense that so many of those words link together.

The coding results showed that quota was the most frequent parent theme discussed throughout the meeting minutes, followed by pricing, and the cage-free transition. In addition to these primary themes, there was also discussion of food security measure, and outreach attempts by the board to the BC SPCA and grocery chains. Pricing was primarily in relation to speciality egg pricing, as well as pricing options for enriched produced eggs.

Table 2: Coding Results

Parent code	Code	Coded segments of all documents	% Coded segments of all documents	% Coded segments of activated documents	Documents
	Quota	119	39.40	39.40	21
Quota	Quota Exchange	24	7.95	7.95	14
Quota	New Entrants	16	5.30	5.30	10
Quota	Quota Utilization	12	3.97	3.97	11
	Pricing	31	10.26	10.26	15
Pricing	Organic Pricing	3	0.99	0.99	3
	Cage-free Transition	13	4.30	4.30	9
Cage-free Transition	Conventional cages	8	2.65	2.65	5
Cage-free Transition	Enriched	6	1.99	1.99	6
Cage-free Transition	Free Run & Free Range	6	1.99	1.99	5
Cage-free Transition	MultiTier/Aviary	2	0.66	0.66	1
Cage-free Transition/Pricing	Specialty	45	14.90	14.90	17
	Food Security	7	2.32	2.32	6
	Outreach	9	2.98	2.98	7

Quota Results

Given that quota management and allocation is the primary responsibility of the marketing board, it was not surprising to find that this was the most common theme throughout the body of text analyzed. Within the text, there were three main quota topics discussed, new producers and the allotment of quota to these new entrants, quota utilization, and quota exchange.

New entrant and new producer were often used interchangeably. The New Producer Program began in 2012, with the commitment to allow 2 new entrants per year (BCEMB, 2015a). Annual draws are completed to determine the final successful applicant. In 2016 a total of 12 applicants were chosen in four categories, small lot permit, outside lower mainland BC, in close proximity to Terrace, BC, and any region in BC. Completing the draw in 2016, the board has met their commitment of new applicants up until 2020. In the New Producer Program 2016 document, it states that the board will not restrict production type, only that hens may not be conventionally housed (BCEMB, 2015a). This is in line with the literature surrounding the transition to cage-free. Marketing boards are attempting to educate the producers on the housing options available to them, but not restricting them as to which systems they use. There is a slight difference in the case of British Columbia, as they currently have a speciality quota system in place to account for the higher cost of production of free-range, free run and organic eggs. Applicants must complete a lengthy application and review process before making it to the final draw. From the meeting minutes for December 7-8 of 2016, "The Board will not initiate any further New Producer Program draws until the market stabilizes as the intent is to set new applicants up for success". Over three months later, during the March 29th, 2017 meeting, the staff was directed to determine measures of success of the current new producers so they would be able to gauge how effective their efforts have been thus far in supporting growth in the industry.

Quota utilization percentage for the provinces is set by the National Egg Board. In December of 2015, the provinces stated that they were in negotiations to have their utilization limit increased from 97% to 100%. It was not stated in the minutes that followed if these negotiations were successful or not. Given a table market shortage at the time, the board decided to increase the utilization limit. In the most recent minutes reviewed, the rolling average for the year was 95% (as of week 11). It should also be noted, of the five cases in which a weekly utilization was mentioned, only three of them stated the percentage. Two cases merely stated that the utilization was "presented for information". During the December 10th meeting where the utilization was increased, the board also approved that any producers that were unable to house 100% capacity, would not be eligible to earn quota credits until capacity was increased. This was linked to the Early Fowl Removal (EFR) program which was discussed at points throughout the texts. This program was first mentioned during the October 24th, 2016 meeting, with a proposal being presented during the December 7th-8th, 2016 meeting. The program was proposed to prevent utilization from reaching a projected 108.4% rolling average in 2017-2018. The board states that "The purpose of the Early Fowl Removal program is to provide compensation in the form of extra quota credits to producers who help lower BC's 2017 rolling average by removing earlier than their standard production cycle while never interrupting our mandate to supply the market with its demanded production." If the average utilization were to exceed 100%, the province would be subject to liquid damages. The BCEMB has had all producers commit to taking 100% of their issuances, while also putting this EFR program in place to help mitigate any utilization excess.

The final key factor when discussing quota management within the BCEMB minutes was the quota exchange. The exchange is said to be models as a "non-truncated uniform double auction with 75% volume rule", but they are essentially following the economic equilibrium with offers and bids mimicking the supply and demand curves. (BCEMB, 2015b). The board has set the requirement to be considered a commercial producer (i.e. quota holder), you must have at least 400 birds. Small lot permits are issued to producers with 100-399 birds, with persons with 99 birds or less are considered unregulated production. In August of 2015, BCEMB posted a reform to the BC Egg Quota Exchange. Within the document, it stated that the exchange lacks transparency and does not offer equal opportunities. This led them to enact their SAFET (Strategic, Accountable, Fair, Effective, Transparent, and Inclusive) principles (BCEMB, 2015b). It is their intention that this process will help producers navigate and understand the exchange process. Within the paper discussing the reform, quota allotment to producers who are able to grow was also discussed, and from the meeting minutes on May 27th 2017, there seemed to be a desire to give preference or "fast-track" quota to these producers. Following the reform, a survey was sent out three-time to producers, graders, and processors with 49 people responding. The highlights of the feedback were

presented during the Sept 25th 2015 meeting. The largest concern from respondents was the time transfer must, the board decided they would change the transfer time from 60 days to 120 days. They also changed the limit of 10,000 birds over 5 years to 20,000 birds and changed increments from $10 to $5 as a result of the survey feedback. This showed that the board is actively taking the considerations of producers into account when making decisions, provided producers make their opinions know.

During the Dec 7th-8th 2016 meeting, interesting comments were made with regards to an exchange which was set to occur. The exchange was specifically looking at caged quota being exchanged, as there is limited demand for the speciality eggs. "A large amount of caged production is being sold on this exchange. Replacing production we are short on with speciality product that graders cannot market at this time does not coincide with the principle of supply management. It is inequitable to our producers as the benefits that would be experienced by a few would come at the expense of the whole." As mentioned during the literature review, the industry has decided to transition to cage-free production, but it seems from this excerpt of the meeting minutes that there may not be sufficient demand for the speciality eggs produced in the non-cage systems while there is a less expensive alternative present. The decision to make this transition was signalled by consumer pressures to create a higher quality of life for the hen, but that consumer involvement may not translate to purchasing the higher cost goods produced by those happier hens. The board supported the decision of graders to not bid speciality production types but encouraged producers to wait until the market demand would support their production type.

Housing Results

Given the impending industry shift to the cage-free systems, housing was discussed throughout the body of text reviewed. During the discussion of the quota exchange, there were comments made surrounding the lack of consumer demand for speciality eggs during the Dec 7th-8th 2016 meeting. Before this meeting, there had been a discussion surrounding a survey being conducted to evaluate public opinion surrounding the transition to Cage-free egg production. During the April 21st 2016 meeting, the board agreed to action pursuing "outside and internal surveys on issues related to Cage-free transitioning" to help their producers make decisions about what housing would best serve them in the future. There was brief mention of a public survey during the meeting held at the beginning of June of that year, but there has been no further discussion surrounding the survey in the subsequent meeting minutes. Given that the national marketing board has already decided that the transition will be occurring and have already conducted a large amount of research surrounding the transition, the BCEMB may have decided, although this is not specifically stated in the minutes reviewed, that conducting a survey would not glean any new information. In the same meeting in April, there was also discussion regarding how the shift to cage-free production would impact producers' insurance. The literature has told us that cage-free systems, like free-range and free run, have an increased risk of Salmonella enteritidis (Se). The board made note to recommend all producers discuss this issue with their insurance providers to see how this may affect their costs. An increase in insurance costs is just one of the many ways that the cage-free systems leads to a higher cost of production, justifying the speciality classification and price that BC has put into place. Management also contacted the Canadian Egg Industry Reciprocal Alliance (CEIRA), an insurance exchange, to explain the BC specialty-pricing model. An update to the CEIRA report was give in Oct of 2016, as a result another letter was written to address specialty production being treated the same as caged. Given that specialty producers have a higher risk of Se, the board seems to be pushing for the CEIRA to follow their lead in separating the production types, so that specialty producers are not expected by the insurance providers to have similar loss rates as those with caged production.

There are concerns surrounding each of the housing options available to producers. Notably the issue surrounding pricing of eggs produced in enriched housing, or furnished cages. The first mention of separate pricing for the enriched cages' eggs was during the September 2015 meeting, in which they were asking Egg Industry Advisory Committee (EIAC) for pricing feedback. In the most recent meeting, March 29th

2017, the board determined that they would wait until Egg Farmers of Canada released the cost of production review, later this year, to see if enriched pricing would be nationally adopted. If not adopted, they would reconsider a provincial pricing structure, as multiple other provinces have signaled similar plans. The BCEMB's decision to wait for the cost of production review is likely related to their specialty eggs being underpriced by out of province eggs. During the April 2016 meeting, they listed that getting the other provinces to add specialty pricing was a part of their strategic plan, soliciting a Specialty Advocate to lead this initiative. At the January 25th 2017 meeting, the board announced that the Western provinces will be enacting their specialty pricing model shortly. There was no confirmation of this occurring in the following two months of meeting minutes reviewed. The board has also made efforts to educate the consumers on the efforts being made surrounding the Cage-free transition. The BCEMB has been making efforts to build a strong relationship with the BC SPCA since April 1, 2016 with the focus of understanding animal welfare, the certification process and the importance of an accurate portrayal with the egg industry. The BCEMB has placed an importance on securing the endorsement of the BC SPCA of their production practices. This is likely in an effort to strengthen public support for the shift in production housing systems. It is important for consumer support, for the transition, to be high given that prices will increase as more producers make the change to Cage-free. Additional outreach attempts were made by the board to grocery chains. The January 25th 2017 meeting reports that this initiative has proven itself to be successful. The board and grocers are sharing consumer research and are running "Ask an Egg Farmer" programs at certain store locations in Vancouver. This shows excellent initiative to not only get consumers educated but also allows for producers to get involved.

A good portion of the discussion surrounding the transition from caged systems was in relation to the Code of Practice that was released in 2017. The Codes of Practice for pullets and laying hens are developed nationally and provide specific guidelines surrounding the care and handling of the hens. The BCEMB reviewed a draft of the Code of Practice during the July 26th 2016 meeting with the assistance of their Production Management Committee (PMC). The large majority of the PMC's recommendations were administrative and suggestions relating to the wordings of certain items. They asked for clearer definitions of "floor" and "nest curtains" and also recommended that the feeder and water standard be based on the American Humane Society or the BCSPCA's feed space allotment, which is 3 inches (7.62 cm) or 5 cm per bird respectively, rather than the proposed 10 cm per bird. Upon review of the final published Code of Practice, the feeders and waterers accessible space was changed to 7 cm per bird, as was suggested by the British Columbian PMC.

The EFC officially banned the construction retrofits, renovations or add-ons to existing conventional cages as of July 1st, 2016. In November of that same year Running W Farms, a producer with conventional cages put a request through to the BCEMB to allow them to replace a row of collapsed cages. The producer stated that enriched cages would not fit into a barn, and a complete renovation would be required. The board held a decision until the next month, as not all directors were present. During the December meeting, Running W was granted special permission, on the basis that the "moratorium did not take into account partial losses due to exceptional circumstances". The producer was warned that given their admission that their facility is not compatible with new equipment, insurance may be an issue. This decision by the board signals that officials are willing to make the transition as even-handed as possible for their producers. With such a large change being undertaken in the industry, it is important for governing bodies to remain flexible to not create any unnecessary animosity.

Conclusion

The British Columbia Egg Marketing Board has shown that they are committed to reaching the goals set out on their website, specifically transparency. Otherwise, this study would not have been able to occur. By posting their meeting minutes on their website, analysis of the themes and discussion were possible. The motive for this transparency is open to interpretation as some discourse indicates a genuine desire to share

information while others may have disclosed an impression management motive. The industry is concerned with external discourses related to animal welfare and product safety.

Pricing is the subject of much of the minuted discussion. The essence of a marketing board's role in a supply-managed industry is to control farmgate pricing in order to ensure the survival of most farms. This is achieved through supply controls (quota). Traditional market segments (size and colour of eggs) have been complicated by housing type and functional food models. Each segment has a unique cost of production issues as well as unclear demand profiles. It can be concluded that the very complicated issue of quota is of the utmost importance to the marketing board, as the issuance of quota to the producers is their primary topic of discourse.

At issue is the market experience of price-based sales. Higher priced eggs do not sell as well as lower priced. Perceived quality, such as cage-free, enriched housing, furnished cages as well as Omega-3 eggs have support in public discourse but sales do not reflect the media and social media interest. The minutes reflect indecision as to whether the public discourse represents a future market change, expected government regulation or the development of a small niche market. Each of these themes is represented but not resolved.

New Entrants are more likely to enact new methods than established farms. The marketing board ensure that new farmers are allowed to enter the market through their New Producer Program (lack of opportunities for new entrants is a frequent criticism of supply-management).

The board has shown interest in serving its producers in more ways than the allocation of quota. This was seen through the discussion of the Cage-free transition. Through the study, it has been made clear that there is still a lot of uncertainty surrounding the logistics of the transition, but both the provincial marketing board, as well as the national board, are making efforts to educate producers on the housing options available. There are many unanswered questions, as was seen in the discussions surrounding Salmonella enteritidis (Se) insurance and the pricing of speciality and enriched eggs.

Those producing the more expensive speciality eggs face decreased demand as consumers chose the lower-priced caged produced eggs, as the consumer will generally choose the lower-priced goods. These early adopters of the new systems may now be facing difficulties, but as the market changes and if government intervenes for political reasons, consumers will be forced to pay the higher prices. Only time can surface the impact on demand or the possible introduction of substitute products (for example almond, flax or chia eggs).

Along with empowering their producers, the board has also aimed to engage the community. Their grocery outreach initiative and their continued work with the BC SPCA have shown that they are committed to this goal. As the industry moves forward with the Cage-free transition over the next 20 years, it will be interesting to see how these boards deal with the issues like pricing competition from lower-priced substitutes will impact the market.

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THE APPLICATION OF COGNITIVE DISSONANCE THEORY IN MANAGEMENT AND MARKETING

Cognitive dissonance is a negative affective state that results from an individual experiencing two or more contradicting thoughts. It influences their decision-making abilities by altering their existing attitude, belief, or behavior. The theory assumes that individuals prefer cognitive consistency and any deviation to that will create an unpleasant feeling. As a result of cognitive dissonance, individuals come under pressure to remove one of the two or more contradicting cognitions to restore consistency and to justify their action. In other words, cognitive dissonance theory (CDT) describes how people make sense of the complex world when they find themselves acting surprisingly or irrationally. Since its inception in 1957 by Festinger the theory has been extensively used by management researchers to help explain complex issues. In an organizational context, cognitive dissonance plays a crucial role in key decision making and judgement evaluation. Hence the study of cognitive dissonance draws attention from a wide range of management researchers. This paper provides a review of the key literature and findings in the field of management and marketing which use CDT to solve complex organizational issues.

Introduction

In 1957, Leon Festinger introduced the concept of Cognitive Dissonance Theory (CDT) within the field of social psychology. The word "Cognition" comes from the Latin root “Cognoscere," which means "to know" and is defined as the "accumulation of information that we have acquired through our perceptions of reality" (Akpan, Beard, & Notar, 2018, p.1). Cognition is a subjective perspective that varies across individuals based on their knowledge, belief, opinion, and value system. Dissonance is the lack of agreement or existence of non-fitting relations among cognitions; for example, it may be the difference between what we see and what we are told, and it is a ubiquitous but powerful tool that appears in every aspect of our daily activities and decision-making processes (Festinger, 1957). Hence cognitive dissonance is a negative affective state that results from an individual experiencing two or more contradicting thoughts, which influence the decision-making ability of individuals by altering their existing attitude, belief, or behavior (Festinger, 1957; Hinojosa, Gardner, Walker, Cogliser, & Gullifor, 2017). As a result of cognitive dissonance, individuals come under pressure to remove one of the two or more contradicting cognitions to restore consistency and to justify their action (Bem, 1967; Leod, 2018). In other words, CDT describes how people make sense of the complex world when they find themselves acting surprisingly or irrationally (Stone & Fernandez, 2008).

Cognitive Dissonance Theory

Festinger (1957) first proposed that cognitive dissonance is a common psychological phenomenon that individuals experience daily (Jackson & Hogg, 2010). CDT attempts to account for patterns of observed functional relations between current stimuli and responses by creating some hypothetical process (Bem, 1967). For example, cognitive dissonance can occur for a smoker who is trying to quit (first cognition) while lighting up another cigarette (second cognition). Consistent with the basic social norms, people often face dissonance for believing that lying is wrong (first cognition) and being forced to lie (second cognition). Due to such conflicts, politicians who propose legislation to restrict certain forms of behavior (first cognition) get caught in the future for engaging in the same practices they tried to limit (second cognition). In this context, we can argue that at least one of the cognitions is dissonant or inconsistent with one or more related cognitive elements like attitudes, values or beliefs (Jackson & Hogg, 2010).

Festinger concludes that contradictive states between cognitions create a negative drive state that motivates a desire to restore consistency. Psychological research supports this assumption by showing that when dissonance creates a phenomenologically aversive state of arousal that people interpret as psychological discomfort, it can motivate them to seek ways to reduce the discomfort (Jackson & Hogg, 2010). Festinger (1957) proposed two basic hypotheses to understand the implicit meaning of cognitive dissonance. (1) The existence of dissonance, being psychologically uncomfortable, will motivate the person to try to reduce the dissonance and achieve consonance and (2) when dissonance is present, in addition to trying to reduce it, the person will actively avoid situations and information which will likely increase the dissonance.

One of the principal and significant effects of cognitive dissonance is a change in attitude. Attitude change can be expected to be in line with the cognition that is more resistive to change because if a person behaves in a particular manner, it is often challenging to undo that behavior (Harmon-Jones, 2007). Thus, CDT is based upon a general assumption that people always attempt to appear reasonable and thus they need to ensure that their behavior is consistent with their attitude toward an event (Jermias, 2001). So, when they act in a way that is inconsistent with their opinion, they experience tension and attempt to reduce this tension. This is when people experience dissonance, the negative state that arises when a person experiencing two or more different cognitions and cognition as a broader sense includes personal beliefs, attitudes, and opinions (Festinger, 1957). It is quite interesting that Festinger uses a mathematical equation to describe dissonance. The equation states the magnitude of dissonance experienced $M = D/(D+C)$ where D is the sum of experienced cognitions that are dissonant from a referent cognition, and C represents the number of experienced cognitions that are consonant with the same referent cognition (as cited in Hinojosa et al., 2017). To reduce dissonance, individuals could add consonant cognition and subtract dissonant cognition, or increase the importance of consonant cognition to decrease the significance of dissonant cognition (Harmon-Jones, 2007). The core framework of CDT refers to a four-step process of dissonance arousal and reduction (Hinojosa et al., 2017).

- Cognitive discrepancy
- Dissonance
- Motivation
- Discrepancy reduction

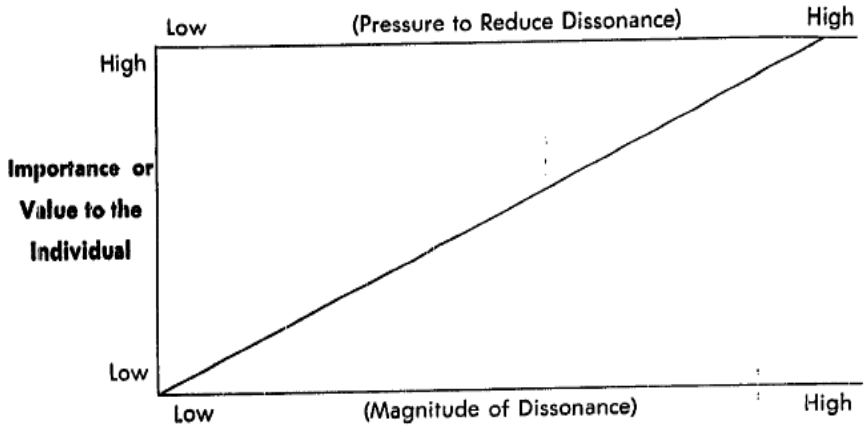
Cognitive discrepancy occurs when an individual experience conflict between two or more cognitions as a result of cognitive discrepancy. Each possible scenario of a cognitive discrepancy is often coupled with a specific prediction that will very likely reduce discrepancy (Cooper, 2011). CDT assumes that individuals prefer cognitive consistency and any deviation to that will create an unpleasant feeling. Factors like free choice, counter-attitudinal behaviors, and effort/behavioral commitment cause cognitive discrepancy which quickly escalates to dissonance. Dissonance can be referred to as the negatively affected cognitive state and resultant feelings of discomfort as a result of cognitive discrepancy (Cooper, 2011; Harmon-Jones, 2007).

Interestingly, dissonance acts as a motivator that influences people to seek for cognitive consistency and a pleasant state (Hinojosa et al., 2017). Finally, people alter their cognitions to reduce dissonance and thus reducing the discrepancy.

The key phenomena of CDT have three main paradigms (i) forced compliance studies (ii) free choice studies and (iii) exposure to information studies (Bem, 1967; Hinojosa et al., 2017). In the forced compliance paradigm, the attitudinal changes of an individual are monitored, where the individual is forced to get engaged in some task or behavior that would influence their endorsement of a particular set of belief or attitudes. The second paradigm draws a conclusion when individuals tend to decide based on their independent and free choice. The theory suggests that individuals in this scenario may experience dissonance because of (i) unfavorable aspects of the chosen alternative or (ii) favorable aspects of the rejected alternative. To reduce the pressure to achieve cognitive stability individuals exaggerate the favorable features of the chosen alternatives and understate its unfavorable aspects (Festinger 1964; Bem, 1967). The exposure to information paradigm focusses on situations when individuals involuntarily get exposed to information that is discrepant with information they already possess. This paradigm also addresses the effect of an individual's willingness to expose her/himself voluntarily to dissonant information (Dramel,1962; Festinger, 1957).

In Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance two elements in an individual's cognition may be irrelevant, i.e. one cognition element may imply nothing concerning the other. If two cognitive elements are related, however, they are either dissonant or consonant. Cognitive dissonance, therefore, is the existence of nonfitting relation among different cognitions (Comegys, 1976).

Figure-1



(Dissonance Importance, Magnitude and Reduction Pressure, Comegys, 1976)

From figure-1 it can be seen that, if two thought elements are dissonant with one another, the magnitude of dissonance will be a function of the importance or value of the element to the individual. Hence the greater the magnitude of dissonance the greater the pressure to reduce it (Comegys, 1976). In this context, it can be argued that minor mistakes in judgment like giving a dime to a blind person, who is later revealed as being able to see, will generate dissonance of low magnitude. The reason behind the low magnitude dissonance, in this case, can be attributed to the trifling sum of money given away by the defrauded giver, which holds less importance to the individual. But in situations where a large financial commitment is involved, as a result of judgmental mistakes, individuals may find themselves in much more demanding psychological situation with dissonance of higher magnitude. As an immediate effect, the individual may involve himself in dissonant reduction and reinforcement techniques such as avoiding unfavorable inputs or reading favorable literature to gain endorsement from his immediate surrounding (Comegys, 1976).

Cooper and Fazio (1984) proposed the aversive consequences model of CDT (also called the new look perspective). It highlights that the self is irrelevant to create dissonance, rather dissonance occurs when an individual feels personally responsible for aversive consequences. They state, "Dissonance has precious little to do with the inconsistency among cognitions per se, but rather with the production of a consequence that is unwanted" (as cited in Harmon-Jones & Harmon-Jones, 2007, p. 10). Cooper and Worchel (1970) designed an experiment to test the theory, and their results show that only when a person feels personally responsible for producing an aversive consequence, dissonance-related attitude change occurs. To look deeper into the theory and its application in management research, existing literature and previous research findings have been summarized below to study the application of CDT in Management and Marketing,

Table 1 - Cognitive Dissonance Literature in Management Studies

Citations	Who experience Dissonance	Context
(Bacharach, Bamberger & Sonnenstuhl, 1996)	Managers and Employees in different scenarios	Organizational Transformation process
(Burnes, 1996)	Managers	Planned and emergent models of Organizational Change
(Burnes & James, 1995)	employees	organizational culture and cognitive dissonance and their influence on employee involvement during change management
(Comegys, 1976)	Entrepreneur	Influence of cognitive dissonance on entrepreneurial behavior
(Doran, Stone, Brief & George, 1991)	Employees	Cognitive dissonance and Behavioral Intention
(Dozier & Miceli, 1985)	Organization Members	Organizational or Social Whistle blowing
(Lii, 2001).	Managers	Business ethics judgment and Personal Gain
(Harmon-Jones & Mills, 1999)	Individuals in general	Social Psychology
(Hannan & Freeman, 1984)	Individuals or Organization	Structural inertia during Organizational Change
(Schwepker, 1999)	Salespersons in organizations	Ethical conflicts in organizations
(Halbesleben & Buckley, 1962)	Managers	Performance Evaluation Process
(Sronce & McKinley, 2006)	Employees with experience as layoff agents	Organizational downsizing
(Maertz, Hassan & Magnusson, 2009).	Expatriate	Adjustment in organizations

Table 2 - Cognitive Dissonance Literature in Marketing

Citations	Who experience Dissonance	Context
(Ehrlich, Guttman, Schönbach & Mills, 1957)	New and old car owners	Readership of auto advertising in selective exposure to information following decision
(Engel, 1963)	New consumers	Automobile buying
(O'Neill & Palmer, 2004)	Consumers	Consumer perceptions of service quality over time
(Connole, Benson & Khera, 1977)	Innovators	New product development
(Cummings & Venkatesan, 1976)	Consumers	Review of consumer behavior literature relating to cognitive dissonance
(Oshikawa, 1969)		Critique paper
(Sweeney, Hausknecht & Soutar, 2000)		Scale development paper
(Kaish, 1967)	Consumers	Classification of consumer goods based on behavioral criteria
(Hunt, 1970)	New buyers	Post-transaction communications from retailers
(Korgaonkar & Moschis, 1982)	Consumers	Product Performance and prior expectations
(Soutar & Sweeney, 2003)		Development of dissonance segments in consumer research

Cognitive Dissonance in Management

There is a significant difference between the applicability of CDT in the field of social psychology and the field of management. In social psychology, CDT focuses primarily on the nature and type of discrepancy reduction that occurs in response to dissonance. On the other hand, some management research does not predict discrepancy reduction but instead predict negative consequences of unresolved dissonance (Kammeyer-Mueller, Simon, & Rich, 2012; Grandey, Chi & Diamond, 2013; Hinojosa et al., 2017). CDT has been adopted and used by management scholars to address various issues in the field, such as management of change. Management of change in organizations can be addressed by using the free choice paradigm of CDT.

Dissonance in Change Management

The theory states that dissonance is likely to occur after a decision, which requires a change in existing belief, attitude or behavior. If the decision is difficult, then there will be a greater motivation to reduce the dissonance (Harmon-Jones & Mills, 1999). To reduce dissonance when individuals adopt/accept a new cognition by altering one of the dissonant cognitions, they will adopt the behavioral shift only if they believe that they have the freedom to change that behavior. If the change is forced, it is more likely to create dissonance of higher magnitude (Burnes, Hakeem, and Culture, 1995). This concept can be applied in an organizational context. In the context of organizational change, since employees are influenced by various dissonance-arousing situations, it is essential to involve employees in significant decision making to ensure safe and effective execution and management of change (Burnes, Hakeem, & Culture, 1995). Organizational change can also be addressed by logics of action, which can be defined as the implicit relationship between means and ends lying beneath the specific actions, policies, and activities of the members of the organization. This may lead to both individual and group work (Bacharach, Bamberger &

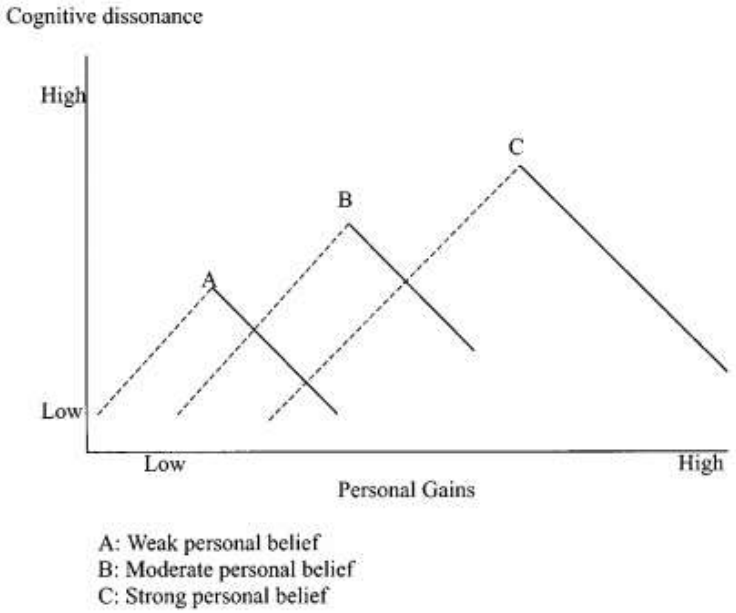
Sonnenstuhl, 1996; Burnes, 1996; Telci, Maden, & Kantur, 2011). In another study, Le Mens, Hann, and Polos (2015) examine the various effects of age-related structural inertia and organizational performance by drawing theoretical reference from key CDT concepts and approaches like self-consistency theory and behavioral commitment. The authors conclude that in older organizations employees resist organizational change to avoid the introduction of new dissonance. Although actors in the institutional level may alter their logics of action immediately after an environmental change, these new logics may contradict with those held at the core level (i.e., managerial and technical). (Bacharach, Bamberger & Sonnenstuhl, 1996)To maintain their cognitive consistency, actors at the core may stick to old attitudes and behaviors at least in the short run; but over time, inconsistencies are likely to be resolved with the realignment of cognitive structures, resulting in the stable states proposed by both institutionalists and ecologists (Hannan & Freeman, 1984; DiMaggio, 1988; Telci et al., 2011).

Cognitive Dissonance and Organizational Ethics

CDT helps in the comprehension of various psychological processes behind resistance to change or resistance to adapt to change at various organizational levels, including alignment, misalignment or realignment stages of organizational transformation (Schwepker, 1999). Researchers in the field of management have also used CDT to study and explain the effects of business ethics judgment in an organizational context. As a characteristic attribute, employees seek a certain degree of consistency between their ethical value system and ethical elements in their organization's work culture (Telci et al., 2011). To preserve their ethics, employees will expect support from the top management in return for their ethical behavior, an organizational environment which will support the ethical behavior of employees, and employees will expect career success as well as a result of their ethical practice in the organization. If employees for some reason feel that these expectations are not fulfilled in their organization, there will be a dissonance which will result in reduced job satisfaction. Here it can be noted that any incongruence between the ethical or moral values of the top management and employees will result in a moral controversy and cognitive dissonance, which will also deteriorate job satisfaction (Dozier & Miceli, 1985; Schwepker, 1999)

Lii (2001) looked into the forced compliance model of CDT and studied the effects of cognitive dissonance on managers after making business ethics judgment. He concluded that the degree of cognitive dissonance experienced by managers after making business ethics judgment is contingent upon (1) the nature of the judgment; (2) the magnitude of personal gain involved in the situation; and (3) manager's moral development. To study the effects, two hundred and thirty-eight managers who attended nondegree graduate management offered by universities were asked to participate in the study voluntarily by answering a questionnaire.

Figure: 2



Cognitive Dissonance Under Forced Compliance. (Lii, 2001)

In the questionnaire, the participants were asked to make a business decision involving a situation of unfair competition. The unfair competition included preventing competitors by proclaiming a product benefit in an advertisement with no scientific evidence. Participants were asked whether they would engage in such a business, given that personal gains were manipulated. In one situation there was no personal gain, and in two other situations, there were NT$ 100,000.00 (high personal gain) and NT 50,000.00 (low personal gain). Each participant made the business judgment for only one situation. Participants' moral judgment and the degree of cognitive dissonance were measured after making the decision. Results of the test were interesting (see figure:2). The study demonstrated that in a situation where low personal gains were involved, individuals with a lower degree of moral development making an unethical judgment experience a significantly higher degree of cognitive dissonance than most of the other participants (Lii, 2001). When high personal gains were involved, individuals with a lower degree of moral development making an ethical decision experience significantly higher degree of cognitive dissonance than others.

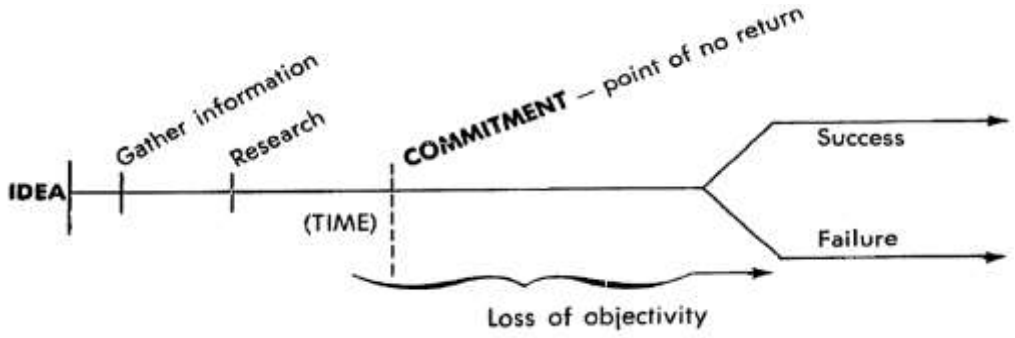
Further, the researchers also found that cognitive dissonance for participants with a higher degree of moral development making unethical judgments in a high personal gain situation is significantly higher than that of the participants with a lower degree of moral development making ethical judgments in a low personal gain situation (Lii, 2001). Hence, moral development of an individual may also influence the level of dissonance experienced before and after an ethical decision. Managers may have to make decisions for the benefit of the organization, where those decisions may conflict with their personal values (Lii, 2001).

CDT and Entrepreneurial Behavior

Examining the role of cognitive dissonance in studying entrepreneurial behavior is another area of study in the field of management research. Comegys (1976) studied the effects of cognitive dissonance on entrepreneurial behavior and concluded that entrepreneurs make substantial psychological and financial investments in terms of time, money and effort to realize an idea. The authors argue that once the entrepreneur has the idea, they then proceed to gather information and conduct research as to its feasibility.

At some stage in the entrepreneurial process, the individual becomes highly committed, which may be a psychological effect before making a financial investment.

Figure:3



(Entrepreneurial Process Continuum, Comegys, 1976)

Generally, the more the psychological commitment, the more difficult it is for the entrepreneur to undo their action or turn back on their decision making. In order to realize an idea, the entrepreneur may become over committed to it and lose their objectivity, while at the same time raising questions about the feasibility of their investment decision. Two basic criteria are necessary for this super committed stage, which can also be termed as the point of no return: (i) the belief must have held with deep conviction, and it must have some relevance to action to what the believer does or how they behave; (ii) the person holding the belief must have committed themselves for the sake of their belief, and they must have taken some very important decision to realize their idea that is difficult to withdraw. The author points out that cognitive dissonance, in this case, triggers this loss of objectivity, which when appearing at the early stages of entrepreneurship, will create risk for the entrepreneur which should be taken care of by the objectivity of outside advisors (Comegys, 1976). In the field of entrepreneurship research, Ambos and Birkinshaw (2010) used the concept of collective cognitive dissonance as a basis to study the evolution and transition of new ventures. The authors define two different changes in new ventures: incremental change and radical change. While incremental change refers to minor changes to create greater coherence between the elements of the archetypes, the latter occurs when organizational leaders discard an old interpretive scheme and are supplanted with a new one. To get a holistic perspective on new venture evolution, the authors used the theoretical lens of "archetypes" which provides rich insights into the multiple contributory factors that shape the evolutionary process of new ventures and inter-archetype transitions triggered by the collective cognitive dissonance of the venture leaders which can be resolved by internal negotiation. Here, by the term collective “cognitive dissonance” of the venture leaders, the authors referred to the gap between their old interpretive scheme and the emerging reality for the venture.

CDT in Information Systems Management

Along with the discussion of the evolution of CDT over the past decades, it is interesting to understand how the theory is being used in the general management literature. In the IS domain, the theory is mostly used to explain the adoption and continuance use of any technology. For example, Bhattacherjee, (2001) uses CDT to explain the continuance use of new technology by the users. He argues that users experience cognitive dissonance when their pre-acceptance usefulness perceptions of new technology are disconfirmed during actual use. So, to resolve dissonance rational users may modify their usefulness perceptions in order to be more consistent with reality. A similar argument is also made to explain information technology adoption behavior which suggests that as individuals tend to seek consistency among their cognitions, a discrepancy between perceived performance and expectations of a technology use, will most likely lead to a change in expectations to accommodate the perception (Liao, Palvia, & Chen, 2009). Studies also

show that active participation of employees in IS project development influences their attitude towards using the developed systems because as per CDT individuals hold attitudes that are consistent with their actions (Bassellier, Reich, & Benbasat, 2001).

CDT in Management Strategy

Apart from IS, CDT is also theorized in various strategy literature. Using a survey sample of 803 participants (top executives and fund managers in the USA), a study shows that executives use interpersonal influence to prevent institutional investors from using their power to change strategies which could benefit shareholders at the expense of top management (Westphal & Bednar, 2008). Investors experience cognitive dissonance when their actions create conflicts with the CEOs' preferences. Fong et al. (2010) studied the effect of CEO pay discrimination and overall firm performance from a CDT perspective. Drawing on the theories of organizational approaches to fairness, the authors suggested that CEOs whose pay deviates from the labor market are more likely to generate cognitive discrepancy. As a result they should be motivated to reduce the dissonance by (i) increasing their outcomes in terms of rewards (ii) altering their situation either materially (i.e withdrawal from the firm) or cognitively (i.e rationalization) or (iii) reducing their effort (Green berg, 1990; Green Berg, 1989; Fong et al., 2010).

Dissonance, Behavioral Intention, and Work Attitude

Behavioral intention and work attitude in an organizational context can also be addressed using CDT (Doran, Stone, Brief & George, 1991). Doran et al. (1991) concluded that behavioral intentions might be a cause as well as a consequence of attitudes and intentions which may have a significant association with subsequent satisfaction. The authors argued that employees entering an organization with higher intention to quit will subsequently report lower levels of job satisfaction than individuals entering the organization with an intention to stay, because they want consistency in cognition about their attitudes, i.e., behavior and behavioral intention. The free choice paradigm of CDT can explain the relationship between the intent to quit and job satisfaction when employee economic choices are higher (Brehm & Cohen, 1962). In this context, it can be argued that the pressure for cognitive consistency is higher when personal perception of choice is higher than when it is low (Brehm & Cohen, 1962).

CDT in Organizational Behavior

In addition to the above studies, attempts of dissonance reduction in the field of organizational behavior is also evident from previous scholarly work. Halbesleben & Buckley (1962) explained the manager's self-perception of their personal values to a misperceived social standard, which creates dissonance and affects their organizational outcome. Sronce & McKinley (2006) studied the role of cognitive dissonance in affecting individual perception of organizational downsizing. They describe that individuals with past organizational layoff experience perceive downsizing as inevitable and less of a breach of employment contract than those individuals with out any prior layoff experience, due to their dissonance reduction attempt. Maertz, Hassan & Magnusson (2009) studied the behaviors of expatriates using the self affirmation model of CDT and concluded that rationalization helps expatriates reduce their cognitive dissonance resulting from accepting or rejecting culturally acceptable behavior that is divergent from their own belief, values or attitudes (Maertz , Hassan & Magnusson, 2009).

Cognitive Dissonance in Marketing

Since its origin, CDT has been widely adopted into marketing literature. The theory is mostly used to explain consumer behavior, focusing on the dilemmas faced during various stages of purchasing behavior. Festinger's definition of cognitive dissonance argue for three types of dissonance arousal, (i) dissonance

may be aroused after making an important and difficult decision; (ii) after being forced to say or do something which is contrary to private attitude, belief or opinion; and, (iii) after being exposed to discrepant information. However, instead of suggesting the different modes of dissonance reduction, CDT proposes possible ways to reduce dissonance, which may include attitude change, opinion change, seeking and adapting consonant information, avoidance of dissonant information, perpetual distortion and behavior change (Oshikawa, 1969). In the paragraphs below an extensive review of marketing literature, that uses CDT, is provided.

In some of the early studies, researchers explore dissonance during post-purchasing behavior. For example, studies explore the impacts of advertisements on customers' dissonance after purchasing their preferred automobile (Ehrlich, Guttman, Schönbach, & Mills, 1957; Engel, 1963). The empirical study by Ehrlich et al. (1957) demonstrates that new car buyers read advertisements featuring their own car more often compared to other cars they considered before buying the new car. They highlight it as "the selective tendencies in readership" that helped them to get more information (as advertisements discuss only material favoring the featuring cars) about their own cars and reduce dissonance. Engel (1963) also explores the similar phenomena by interviewing 88 owners of Chevrolet owners to study the impacts of advertisement. He also finds similar results where attention to advertisements does not induce dissonance among the vehicle owners.

Integrating the original classification of consumer goods, i.e., convenience, shopping, and specialty goods with dissonance theory, Kaish (1967) provides a new and broadened definition to the existing classification. According to American Marketing Association, "Convenience goods are those consumers' goods which the consumer usually purchases frequently, immediately, and with a minimum of effort; shopping goods are those consumers' goods which the consumer in the process of selection and purchase characteristically compares on such bases as suitability, quality, price, and style; and specialty goods are those consumers' goods on which a significant group of buyers is habitually willing to make a special purchasing effort" (p. 28). However, Kaish (1967) argues that there exist several issues with these definitions such as there is no clear distinction between shopping goods and specialty goods. Secondly, these definitions do not explicitly focus on mental and physical efforts required to buy consumer goods. Thus, based on dissonance theory, he explains dissonance can occur in personal consumption situations as well as there is post-decisional dissonance. He suggests that factors like importance of a good, its functional differences from other goods, buyers' perception of the goods, and depth of assortments available influence the level of dissonance during purchasing of consumer goods. Based on these factors, he broadens the existing definitions of convenience, shopping, and specialty goods by considering their potentials to cause dissonance among the buyers.

Data Privacy in Marketing and Cognitive Dissonance

Service providers, by gaining widespread access to a consumer's personal information, can have unwanted effects like unwanted marketing communication, highly targeted and obtrusive marketing communication, privacy invasion and vulnerability to fraud, which all affect the regular lives of consumers (Martin & Murphy, 2017). Organized and scientific use of data by the service providers has significant marketing usage such as personalized product offerings and recommendations, free services, price discounts, and more media content with direct relevance to consumer interest, which can be transcribed from the user data generated by the consumers (Martin & Murphy, 2017). From a marketer's perspective, it can be argued that gaining access to user's personal information helps the service providers to operate more efficiently with better information. Research in this context demonstrates that marketing practices using consumer data has evolved rapidly and become the central to businesses. The research questions in this context shifted from whether consumers are willing to disclose their private information to how consumers react to who has access and control over their data (Martin & Murphy, 2017). On the issue of privacy, a respondent from a survey conducted by Pew research commented that "I share data every time I leave the house, whether I want to or not. The data isn't [sic] really the problem. It's who gets to see and use that data that creates

problems. It's too late to put that genie back in the bottle" (Rainie and Duggan 2016, p. 9). While people are keen to take advantages of the reward associated with various web-based application like social networking, e-commerce, location search, online dating and many more they also express concern about information about their identity being disclosed. Evidence from various sources and media articles indicate that people are willing to trade or share their personal information for relatively small rewards (Hann, Hui, Lee, & Png, 2007). This imbalance between expressed interest in internet usage and demonstrated concern about privacy has been termed as a privacy paradox (Ghosh & Singh, 2017) which is a direct result of cognitive dissonance.

Cognitive Dissonance in Consumer Behavior

Oshikawa in his 1969 article, criticizes the application of CDT in explaining consumer behavior mostly focusing on post-purchasing dissonance. While most of the previous studies used experimental research designs to explain dissonance in purchasing behavior (Ehrlich et al., 1957; Engel, 1963), Oshikawa (1969) points out various issues in such research designs such as built-in bias, etc. Further, he explains that the findings of these experiments are not unequivocal in support of dissonance theory. Thus, he concludes that in most instances, the theory is not adequate to explain consumer behavior before a purchase decision. In their literature review of usage of CDT in consumer behavior research, Cummings and Venkatesan (1976) also discuss various conceptual and empirical limitations of the theory in this context. Firstly, they highlight the issues related to the measurement of the magnitude of the dissonance. According to them, the existing scale is highly correlated to the measurement of general confidence and anxiety; hence the results obtained from using this scale are questionable. Secondly, they recommend the usage of appropriate correction to the regression artifacts used in CDT. Thirdly, they question the prerequisite conditions for producing dissonance among consumers. They argue that in consumer research while researchers follow experimental designs, they often fail to meet various pre-requisite conditions such as voluntary decision to buy a product, irrevocable commitment to the decision, etc. Fourthly, in experimental studies, researchers also fail to shield the participants against alternative modes of dissonance reduction. Fifthly, in consumer research, various studies manipulated different variables that are not related to the CDT. Finally, Cummings and Venkatesan (1976) highlight that there exist various alternate explanations to the studies that use CDT to explain consumer behavior. These alternate explanations essentially minimize the compelling evidence of the theory in consumer research. In conclusion, they provide various recommendations and future research directions to effectively incorporate CDT in consumer research literature.

Post Decision Dissonance in Marketing

Festinger's Theory of cognitive dissonance involves decision making as one of the main phenomena where the effect of cognitive dissonance is highly significant, because decision making involves choosing alternatives and the person involved in decision making has to cope with the cognitive elements of the attractive attributes of the rejected cognitions. Since the process of decision making involves the rejection of alternatives, post decision-making dissonance is an inevitable consequence of decision making. The magnitude of dissonance is highly influenced by the importance of the decision and the relative attractiveness of the rejected alternatives. Hence the more important the decision and the more attractive the rejected alternative(s), the greater the dissonance. One attribute of Festinger's theory suggests that the greater the number of alternatives a consumer considers before purchase the more is the dissonance.

In addition to the above argument, we can find many articles in consumer research that use CDT. For example, Hunt (1970) uses CDT to explain the importance of post-transaction communications from retailers that help reduce dissonance among new buyers and thus helpful in creating a long-term relationship between the buyer and retailers. He uses experimental design with two experimental groups and one control group to study the impacts of communications from retailers and the relative effectiveness of different types of communications towards consumers to reduce dissonance. The results show that customers who receive

post-transaction letters from retailers are likely to have less dissonance while having a more favorable attitude towards the store and high repurchase intentions. Interestingly, telephone calls from retailers produce negative impacts with customers feeling more dissonance and fewer repurchase intentions.

Product Innovation and Cognitive Dissonance

Few studies explore cognitive dissonance among innovators during various stages of product diffusion. For example, Connole, Benson, and Khera (1977) explore innovators' dissonance subsequent to the purchase of a product that has attributes significantly different from those of established brands. Following an experimental design in a context of new automobiles, the results show that innovators sought consonant information to a much greater extent than did the non-innovators. Thus, innovators feel more dissonance than that of non-innovators. They further discuss the practical implications of such a study by highlighting that adoption of a new product is largely dependent on the willingness of the innovators to adopt the product. Hence, marketers of new products should realize that their post-purchase communication responsibilities are substantially different toward innovators as opposed to that of non-innovators. In another study, researchers investigate the impacts of cognitive dissonance, expectations, and product performance on product evaluation (Korgaonkar & Moschis, 1982). The authors argue that for high involvement products pre-purchase expectations lead to more favorable post-purchase evaluations due to less dissonance. The results of their 2x2x2 factorial design suggest product involvement acts as a moderator in the post-decisional product evaluation process.

Dissonance Measurement in Consumer Research

As discussed earlier, one of the measure criticisms for CDT in consumer research is the issues related to measuring dissonance (Oshikawa, 1969; Cummings & Venkatesan, 1976). Consistent with this issue; several researchers propose to modify the existing scales and construct a new scale. For example, Oliver (1997) argues that as the area of consumer research is different from that psychology in which the concept of dissonance was first developed, a new scale must be developed to measure dissonance in the consumer research area. In 2000, Sweeney, Hausknecht, and Soutar developed a multidimensional scale to measure cognitive dissonance in purchase behavior. They argue that there exist distinct cognitive and emotional aspects of cognitive dissonance and hence a multidimensional scaling is required to measure both these aspects. Following the scale development approach proposed by Churchill (1979), Sweeney et al. (2000) first developed the initial set of 100 items from four exploratory focus group discussions with consumers. Secondly, the content validity of these items was assessed by twelve consumer behavior experts and 36 items were retained for each of the cognitive and emotional components (total 72 items). Using a student sample of 455 students, responses were collected for these 72 items. Exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis, content validity, and reliability of these items were conducted, and a 28-item scale was finalized for reexamination with the use of an independent and more diverse second data set. For this re-examination, data were collected from real customers, and the validity and reliability of these 28 items were measured. Finally, the multidimensional scale was developed with 22 items in total with three different dimensions, i.e., "emotional," "wisdom of purchase," and "concern over deal" with 15 items, 4 items, and 3 items respectively. The emotional dimension is defined as "a person's psychological discomfort subsequent to the purchase decision", wisdom of purchase is "a person's recognition after the purchase has been made that they may not have needed the product or may not have selected the appropriate one", and concern over deal is "a person's recognition after the purchase has been made that they may have been influenced against their own beliefs by sales staff" (p. 380). They conclude that this multidimensional scale can be used explicitly to measure dissonance in various stages of purchasing such as decision-making process before buying a product to the time of repeating the purchase of the same product. Soutar and Sweeney (2003) extend this scale development research to examine the presence of dissonance segments. Using k-means cluster analysis, they try to understand the level and pattern of cognitive dissonance in two different customer groups. The results show three different dissonance segments in consumer goods markets, i.e., high-

dissonance, low-dissonance, and concerned-about needing the purchase. It shows younger customers and customers who do not feel confident to evaluate product quality are more likely to experience dissonance. Hence, managers need to focus more on these groups and must train the sale-persons to deal with these segments effectively. Interestingly, sales staff increase customers' dissonance, particularly in the 'concern over the deal' dimension as it is based on a sense of being persuaded against one's own will to buy a product. Managers need to be aware of the pivotal role that sales staff play and ensure that they are supported in dissonance reducing tactics.

Discussion

From the literature discussed above, it is evident that the theory of cognitive dissonance has been extensively used by management scholars to explain organizational phenomena like employee attitude and behavior in the process of organizational change and to describe the psychological reasons of moral conflict during the change. In the field of entrepreneurship, the theory has helped researchers in studying and explaining managerial and entrepreneurial behavior by clarifying the primary reason behind individual attempts to increase consistency in decision making. CDT can also be extended to study organizational issues such as organizational justice, managerial and employee decision making, adaptation process of new employees or minorities in an organization, maintenance of group harmony and deviant employee behavior. Its use in the management context helped it to improve its generalizability across different domains. The theory has contributed to the existing knowledge by providing a base for logical explanations of various management discrepancies. One of the major applications of CDT is in the area of change management in a different organizational context, where the theory has been used extensively to study and understand factors that encourage or impede successful change. Employee involvement evolved as one of the main factors which can be used to reduce the dissonance involved with different parties in an organization. The theory also helps to explain the psychological process behind resistance to change at different levels of an organization during alignment, misalignment and realignment stages of transformation. The implications of the theory can be elaborated by looking into the role of human resources in possible dissonance reduction in transformed organizations.

The paper also discussed the role of moral conflict in organizational well being, as researchers perceive these conflicts as basic precursors of managerial discontent and employee dissatisfaction. CDT in this context can be used to understand the psychological reasons behind these moral conflicts and equip managers with tools to understand and reduce the conflicts. However, change management is an area which can be even more explored by using CDT. This is an attractive avenue for future research. In the organizational behavior domain in the field of management research, conflict between entrepreneurial behavior, behavioral intention and work attitude of employees have also been studied by management scholars extensively. Researchers made use of CDT as an explanatory mechanism to explain intention-behavior relationship rather than making any contribution to the theory itself. CDT gained attention from marketing researchers a few years after its inception by Festinger in 1957. The theory has been extended to explain various obvious phenomenon in the field of marketing such as consumer behavior in the post-purchase situation. A large number of studies were conducted to test how cognitive dissonance can explain consumer behavior. Researchers get mixed results from the studies; however, support for the theory was greater. Use of the theory in the field of management research has faced a significant decline because of the difficulty in measuring marketing constructs and dissonance in consumer behavior operationally. However, a scale developed by Sweeney et al. (2000) may ease the study of the theory.

Like any other management theory, CDT also exerts some boundary conditions "which help scholars assess the practicality, usefulness, and generalizability of the theory. The boundary conditions set the limitations in applying the theory" (Bacharach, 1989, p. 498). Evaluation of the boundary conditions concludes the potential applicability of a theory to provide unique predictions beyond other theories in a similar field. Hinojosa et al. (2017) discuss the boundary conditions associated with CDT with three basic assumptions:

(i)value assumptions; (ii)temporal assumptions; and, (iii) spatial assumptions. Value assumptions help in providing an implicit foundation for theories and help in understanding the theory through historical analysis and development of the theory. Value assumptions associated with CDT are similar to other theories of cognitive consistency in social psychology that individuals are driven to maintain cognitive consistency (Hinojosa et al., 2017). Temporal assumptions refer to the historical and future applicability of the theory (Bacharach, 1989). This assumption suggests that individuals will have fundamentally different responses to cognitive discrepancy when compared to a different timeframe in the past, and the future as well. Spatial assumptions refer to the units and levels of analysis to which the theory applies (Bacharach, 1989). Early development of CDT focused on the individual level of analysis, limiting its boundary conditions. In current management research, the scope of CDT in analyzing organizational issues can be applied to multi-level and between-person research designs and analysis (Harmon-Jones, 2007).

Conclusion

Application of CDT across management and marketing research domains is extensive and expanding at a steady pace. As CDT can be paired with other management theories due to its broad range of applicability, Hinojosa et al. (2017) recommend a three-course plan of general, methodological and theoretical recommendations to look in to for further research in CDT. The exploration of the temporal assumption of CDT and its applicability in an organizational context constitutes a meaningful paradigm for further research. A wide range of management disciplines can benefit from examining the temporal nature of cognitive discrepancy and the dissonance process. Study of topics like emotional labor, consumer behavior and digital privacy from a CDT perspective may be interesting topics of further research. Previous marketing research based on CDT has tried to focus mostly on consumer behavior and post-purchase dissonance. More scope for future research lies with phenomena involving decision making and market entry strategy from a marketer's perspective. Finally, in a marketing context, the three main paradigms of the theory such as forced compliance studies, free choice studies and exposure to information studies can be used extensively to study product innovation and market entry strategy of organizations. One of the main agendas of this paper is to comprehend previous research work involving CDT in the fields of management and marketing. The paper also explores future avenues for research that can make significant contributions on the already existing literature of CDT in the management domain.

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INTERDISCIPLINARY WORK WITH COWS: A STUDENT AUTOETHNOGRAPHY

Interdisciplinary research is challenging for all participants. This paper describes an undergraduate research assistant's first experience in a team working with academics from business, economics, animal science, engineering, and other fields. The student observed their interactions and operations. When observing, he noticed cultural differences among the disciplines found not only in the manner of analysis but also in the administrative and interactive approaches of the various departments (within the same faculty). The work surfaces challenges of interdisciplinary research as well as some probable causes of conflict within academia.

Introduction

This paper is informed by the experience of the first author as a researcher on a project that is studying the impact of a form of drainage and irrigation on greenhouse gas production in dairy farming. All the authors and other academics at the Dalhousie University Faculty of Agriculture are part of a larger cooperative project with other Faculties of Agriculture at research intensive (U15) Canadian universities; the project is funded by the Agriculture Greenhouse Gases Program (AGGP) of Agriculture and Agrifood Canada. Dalhousie University (at its Bible Hill / Truro, NS Agricultural Campus) has a herd of about 30 dairy cows and quota to sell the milk into the dairy system. These cows are led out to a pasture to graze each day (from spring to autumn). They graze on three types of plots: conventional pasture, pasture with drainage, and pasture that has a gated control system for drainage in which water is collected and reintroduced to the field in dry periods through irrigation. The team is exploring the theory that keeping water levels optimal will reduce greenhouse gas emissions and increase carbon sequestration via plant roots. (We will try to keep the hard science to a minimum for the rest of the paper).

For Gordon (the first author and researcher), being a part of the project has been his first experience working in academia, with academics from different fields. He says, "Working on the AGGP project, I was fortunate to be able to work with students and professors who have various educational backgrounds and experiences." As time went on, he realized that the differences would not all produce positive experiences; however, the opportunity gave him a unique view into the multidisciplinary world of academia and its related technical staff.

While working with the different departments Gordon had the opportunity to observe how each operates. To him, it seemed as if each area had its own culture, creating "culture differences" across the Bible Hill campus. In general, people define "cultural differences" as contrasts between beliefs, behaviours,

languages, and expressions that are specific to a nationality (Belfield, 2018). In this paper, the term "culture differences" is used to define the differences between corporate and organizational cultures among different research disciplines and departments.

Culture, relating to corporations and organizations is often summarized as the way people work and their unique way of operating, or in other words, "the way we do things around here" (Kim Jean Lee & Yu, 2004). Organizations, or in the case of this paper, the different departments (and sub-departments) on the Dalhousie Agriculture Campus, each have a different culture. This culture is usually defined through the members of the organization (Kim Jean Lee & Yu, 2004).

Gordon observed many unusual eccentricities of academic cultures as his time on the AGGP project continued and felt it would be worthwhile to record his observations and do further research on his findings. He brought this idea to his direct supervisor, PhD student Ashley MacDonald (second author) who consulted her supervisor Dr. Christopher Hartt (third author), who is also the Principal Investigator for the Dalhousie AGGP project. Autoethnography was suggested as a method; therefore, in addition to his regular work on the project, Gordon was required to record any interesting interactions and cultural clues along with reading about autoethnography.

Literature Review

Culture

The term *culture* comes from anthropology and is often related to ethnicity or national origins (sometimes race). Culture can be described as shared values and beliefs, which lead to similar choices. Researchers try to explain behaviour by individuals as a product of culture (Hofstede, 1994). This sort of analysis is useful to begin the understanding of an individual's actions; however, further work surfaces the reality that individuals, within even strong ethnic or national cultures, still vary. Some relate this to colonialism (Bhabha, 1994). Colonial influences are found in corporations and other organizations (such as the British-influenced colonial bureaucracy of India discussed by Bhabha). Organizational cultures may reflect colonial attitudes, they also may spring from other forms of past experiences of the formal and informal leaders in the organization (Dellheim, 1986; Helms Mills & Mills, 2000; Mulligan, 1987; Ravasi, 2006; Schiavone, Barratt-Pugh, Bahn, & Gakere, 2013; Williams, 1981).

Organizational culture expresses itself in expectations, experiences, philosophy, beliefs, and values that guide member behavior (Hartt, 2013, 2018, 2019). Culture impacts self-image, interactions among employees, relations with external stakeholders (especially clients and suppliers), as well as expectation of outcomes of these interactions. Culture produces unwritten rules followed by members as well as changes that are accepted or resisted (Deal & Kennedy, 1983; Needle, 2000). Cultures discovered through anthropology inform the study of business and organizational culture.

Business Culture informing Academic Culture

A key feature of cultural difference is the strength of hierarchy, an extension of the ideas of power distance and individualism. The greater the power distance, the stronger the hierarchy but an individualistic culture tends to struggle against hierarchy (Nell, Kappen, & Laamanen, 2017). Traditional business hierarchies rely on professional power, whereas new hierarchies are based on success in market. This implies the strength of the individual and the importance of success. Universities have hierarchies formed by research

decision making and authoritative speaking (Reitz, 2017). Hierarchies within universities can be influenced by faculty members using emulation to place higher than their peers.

Reitz (2017) states that academic knowledge has become the main way of measuring academics' abilities within Universities. Academics' publications, grants, awards, and supervised work are all taken in consideration when ranking, and especially when promoting to higher levels, within the hierarchy (Reitz, 2017). An academic may have the most publications or the most research experience, but this does not mean they have an authoritative role within the University. The modern corporation may have many different forms of hierarchy and consequently culture, primarily informed by success (Nell et al., 2017). It should be anticipated that definitions of success in an academic setting would inform hierarchy and possibly disrupt traditional forms. These disruptions may contribute to the variations in culture found in this study.

Academic Culture

Academic culture is simply corporate culture in an academic setting – usually a university. Therefore attitudes, beliefs, values, and perceptions shared by people who work or study in universities constitute culture. Where these are shared among a wide number of universities, they could be considered the building blocks of academic culture. But culture is often an expression of difference (Cole & Packer, 2019). We define our group as "not that group" and construct our culture as "different from the others". All members of academia may be a part of an academic community/culture, but universities are siloed into labs, disciplines, departments, and faculties. It is normal and healthy to have academic "culture differences" in an organization, but it is important to have some consistency in how each organization within a University operates. Specifically, having a strong academic community is important when there is a lack of resources at a university. If there is a lack of communication and a lack of community during a time of scarce resources, the result can end in conflict among faculties. This can lead to a loss of respect, which results in poor relationships (Dill, 1982). The Dalhousie Faculty of Agriculture prior to 2012 was a government entity suffering from severe resource restriction. Separate and strong cultures among the labs, sub-departments (disparate disciplines administered jointly) and departments seem to have formed.

Methods

Autoethnography is a subset of ethnography often written in the first person. Ethnography is a qualitative method of research aimed at surfacing the social relations producing situation – the events or opportunities that identify the culture's social requirements (Van Maanen, 2011). It is hands-on, requiring the researcher to be immersed in the events and tell the story of the participants. As a result, the method brings in ideas from anthropology, zoology and any other observational form of research (Bryman, Bell, Mills, & Yue, 2011). Ethnographies can be described as a broad way of observing natural events and interactions with unstructured data, as well as a research technique that is used in longer studies where the researcher is attempting to understand and become closer to the research group or community (Alvesson, 2003). Ethnographies are often used by interns or other temporary employees to learn from their worksites. If they are telling their own story the term "autoethnography" is used – a sort of autobiography of the situation.

Autoethnographies allow the researcher to be a part of the research and try to understand the personal experience. Autoethnographies are challenged by traditional academic researchers, as the research is not externally verified (Livesey & Runeson, 2018); however, autoethnographies have been used for qualitative research in sociology and anthropology for many years. Recently, autoethnographies have begun to be used more often in other disciplines, resulting in a higher ranking and verification of reliable research (Livesey & Runeson, 2018).

Ethnographies are considered to be a reliable and sufficient method of research as they involve more than just basic interviewing and questionnaires (Alvesson, 2003). An ethnographic researcher has the experience of being there throughout the entire research, which gives them the ability to understand and observe what is going on. While writing this ethnography, Gordon had the chance to participate in the research, giving him an entirely new outlook on observing the research group. "I would not have been able to gather as many observations on the corporate and organizational cultures that are on campus if I were just doing interviews and questionnaires."

In this paper general, the term "culture differences" relates to how departments (and sub-departments) vary in the way they communicate, interact and operate. In this research autoethnography, Gordon reflects on his personal experiences working in and amongst these culture differences during his time on the AGGP project. Gordon also reflects on the importance of culture differences on a university campus, as well as the importance of relationships between and among academics.

The data for this autoethnography consists of notes, memories and impressions of the first author, and opinions of the co-authors on the previous draft (written solely by the first author). Further revisions were made after presentation of the paper to the Atlantic Schools of Business Conference in 2019, and feedback from Gordon's colleagues taking Strategic Management Course at the Agriculture Campus. The initial data was collected during the time Gordon worked on the project (February 2019 to early September 2019); during the period May 1 to August 31, Gordon and one other student were full-time employees of the project. Their tasks were complementary and interdependent while each had primary responsibility for specific areas. Gordon was the primary contact with the barn staff (who control the cows), animal science, management, accounting, and economics researchers; he had less contact in the engineering group, which was assigned to the other student as she is studying engineering.

The analysis was also impacted by the decision for Gordon to be supervised by Dr. Hartt and Ms. MacDonald in his fourth-year thesis project – which is related to the AGGP research. Reflexively, this research should be viewed as influenced by ongoing relationships with that team. This is a departure from many autoethnographies, which relate temporary situations but not unprecedented (Boje & Tyler, 2009).

Context of the Research

The Agriculture Greenhouse Gases Program is being run at three different University campuses across Canada: the University of Saskatchewan, McGill University and Dalhousie (in the Faculty of Agriculture located at the Agriculture Campus). The research project being undertaken for the AGGP at Dalhousie is related to the use of an irrigation system that is in place at the campus dairy pastures. Six of the campus pastures are each divided into three plots: an irrigated/drainage plot, a drainage plot and a naturalized plot. Naturalized plots are ones that have been left to grow (although they are occasionally mowed). This is the most likely form of grazing found on dairy farms. It should be noted that most dairy farms give access to pasture; however, cows seem to like spending time in the barn with their friends and a ready supply of ration (feed) and water at a comfortable height.

Every six days as part of the project, the 30 cattle at Dalhousie's dairy farm were taken to graze on one type of plot (irrigated, drained or naturalized), moving each day to a paddock with a similar type of plot. On their last day in a particular type of plot, milk component samples were taken to see if there were any differences in the quality/value of milk which could be attributed to the field treatment type. Every six days the cattle were rotated to another set of plots with a different type of treatment. The project's goal is to determine if greenhouse gas emissions would be reduced by using irrigation systems on dairy pastures. Irrigation produces higher and more nutrient-rich grass yields, which, if not allowed to remain in the barn,

the cows would then graze. Theoretically, there should be an increase in their milk yields and components, which would result in the need for fewer cows to produce the same quantity and quality of milk.

During Gordon's time working on the AGGP project, he did research relating to the sub-irrigation system that is located on the Dalhousie campus farm. He gathered data from the irrigation fields by measuring the grass heights each day before the cows went to graze. He also collected data from five of the milking cows. He collected milk yields and components of each cow after they grazed each type of treatment. Gordon also conducted farmer interviews with multiple Nova Scotian dairy farmers and stakeholders on their knowledge and willingness to adopt new technologies, and as well as their use of data on farms. Alongside interviewing the farmers directly, Gordon did literature research on farmers' willingness to change and innovate on their farms. As can be expected, many areas of expertise are needed when working on a project like this, and this is how Gordon had the opportunity to experience the "culture differences" across campus.

Data & Findings

Gordon's Experiences

Prior to this project, Gordon had little experience in doing the intensive research needed for the AGGP research project. Being on the AGGP project was his first real experience in academic research. Gordon's program of study is focused on international food and agriculture business; with this program, he was given the opportunity to live and study in the Netherlands for his second year. There Gordon was able to build relationships with classmates, individuals in the community and faculty members.

While studying in the Netherlands, Gordon learned a little about the "proper" way to do a research paper; however, the Dutch instructors and professors seemed to be strict when it came to the format of the paper, and how each thesis should follow the exact same flow. He noted a significant difference in his relationships with the Dutch and Canadian academics. Gordon noticed that his Dutch professors were less personal, and more direct when it came to interacting with the students. His Canadian professors seemed to be more willing to help; they put more effort into trying to build relationships with the students.

This may be because of actual cultural differences between Canada and the Netherlands; however, this comparison became most noticeable when he started his research position on the AGGP. As mentioned, Gordon learned a little about doing research while in the Netherlands, but in his opinion, he learned more in his first two weeks on the AGGP, than he did in his entire year of study in the Netherlands. He has learned through his research experience that summer that there are multiple ways to correctly write about ongoing research. This autoethnography is an example of this.

During the AGGP, Gordon was invited by the head researcher to revise and co-author a paper. This was his first experience in doing research at an academic level. Having a future interest in working in academia, this was a great way to experience how research is done with academics. Working on the revision of this paper was difficult at first, considering it was his first experience in writing about research, but with some guidance, it became easier over time.

Having these experiences opened future doors in academia for Gordon; specifically, being given the opportunity to work in different areas of academia on this project, has helped Gordon find a topic in which he is most interested. From these experiences, he found that he is very interested in sustainable farming and environmental studies. His hope is to do further schooling after his undergraduate degree in a related area.

Gordon's Assumptions

Gordon's assumptions for starting this project and working in an academic surrounding, were much different than what really transpired; fortunately, he enjoyed the experience none the less. Gordon assumed that starting this job as a research student, he would be working in a lab and/or in the field every day collecting data. While he had the chance to experience both these tasks during his time on the project, but they did not take the majority of his time.

When hired for the position, Gordon knew of a few things that were expected of him, such as doing financial work on the project and doing further research on farmers' willingness to adopt change, through farmer interviewing and literature research. He assumed that he would be working mainly on these two areas when in reality, he did not have the chance to start those two tasks until later in the summer.

He found that when doing his research in these areas, he always came across a new topic to explore further before starting one of the specific tasks. Gordon assumed that the research would be straight forward, and that he would know exactly what to do and how to do it, but in reality, he did not always know if what he was doing was going to be useful in the end. However, as his head researcher was always saying "too much data, is better than not enough".

Gordon assumed that working in academia would be similar to being a university student. His assumption was not entirely false; however, academic research is more self-directed when compared to a student's work. Undergraduate students have deadlines and examinations; therefore, they need to complete tasks by a specific date. When Gordon started working on academic research, he found it difficult to finish a task or assignment quickly, because he was working on more than one thing at a time, as much of the work was continuous throughout the summer. Having self-direction was difficult at first, but once he knew what he needed to research, it became a lot easier.

Gordon's Perspectives

Working on research projects, with multiple researchers can be very interesting, yet sometimes intimidating. Since Gordon was not only working with one academic but with four (or more), it made it difficult for him to see how his input was relevant to the project. This was difficult at first, and he was finding it hard to understand where his place was, and what he could and could not do. In the end, he felt he had done well and had contributed to the project as a whole.

The research group working on the AGGP project did not have a traditional hierarchy in place. All members seemed to be at the same level of importance. Gordon had noticed that authority and promotions within universities are sometimes earned due to a person's research experience or academic abilities. Of course, this is to be considered in selecting for promotion, but Gordon stated that he had professors who were given an authoritative title but were unable to provide simple and clear guidance to students in class.

His perspectives on working in different departments (and sub-departments) within the Faculty of Agriculture were most interesting. When observing each professor or student that he worked with, he noticed that each had a different way of processing or attending to an issue or question. For example, he was most comfortable and familiar with the culture in the Business and Social Science Department (BSSD) (which is his undergraduate focus). He found that the members of this department seem to be verbal communicators who explain their reasonings through words and actions. From Gordon's perspective, members of the BSSD are mostly confident in the way they address questions and issues; they tend to be talkative and/or social. Many of the members in the BSSD have a strong motivation to achieve a goal, but they are flexible in how they will achieve it. These two personality traits, along with having networking ability and being action-oriented are some of the best skills to have in management, more specifically, in decision making (Kauer et al, 2007).

Gordon believes that having these extravert personality traits are positive; however, he noticed that some members, including he himself, tend to talk over other people in conversations. This personality trait is an example of assertiveness, but in the case of speaking over somebody else, this assertiveness is presented with dominance. In general, assertiveness is a positive communication skill. As Gay and Galassi, (1975) defined, assertiveness is the ability to stand up for yourself or another person. It is simply stating who you are and how you feel. This is an active rather than a passive method of communication; however, this way of communication can sometimes be viewed as aggressive, if the message is not properly conveyed. Most often, people do not realize they could be thought of as aggressive when they are assertive communicators (Gay & Galassi, 1975).

Gordon found that the members on the AGGP project from the BSSD were the most involved in the project compared to other academics on the project. This may be because the head researcher for the project is from the BSSD; however, one instructor from the BBSD, who is not officially on the project, provided their specific expertise and used their own time to help. This is just one example of how the BBSD seems to stay involved and active in current research happening on campus. It is noticeable that the members are generally interested in the results being found through the research.

While on the project, Gordon also had the opportunity to work for several weeks with a member of the AGGP project from the Animal Science and Aquaculture Department within the Dalhousie Faculty of Agriculture. When working with this professor, he noticed that he and the professor had a significantly different way of thinking and processing information. Their conversations and interactions seemed to be more in-depth and focused on the topic of discussion, rather than casual conversations designed to make Gordon feel comfortable or more at ease. This team member communicated and worked in a much more formal manner, both in the way they explained things and in how they taught Gordon to do certain tasks. Gordon enjoyed having conversations with this academic, as he felt he was learning something new, but it was also difficult as there was no small talk or informal conversation. Thomson (2015) suggests that having more informal conversations with co-workers and students can give access to new conversations and relationships. Informal conversations can build an open-door feeling, which can help students be comfortable when learning. Having these informal networks can help academics gain more knowledge about how their peers teach and how their students would like to be taught. Building a relationship between formal and informal would help many students be able to work better with their professors (Thomson, 2015). Gordon found that most of his conversations with this academic ended in a scientific definition in order to further explain something, as Gordon did not have much of a scientific background.

After working with this professor for several weeks, their involvement in the project began to decrease. This team member had been involved in the previous phase of the AGGP project, which was more related to their area of expertise thus of more interest to this academic; the second phase of the project was focused on social and economic factors versus scientific aspects. Gordon recognized that this project member had little interest in learning about, or being updated on, the new research or the results of the second phase. He also noted that this lack of interest was not a generalization of all members of the Dalhousie Animal Science and Aquaculture Department. It was an example of Gordon's observations and opinion of how members from each department within the Faculty of Agriculture have a different level of input and interest in this current research project.

When comparing the Animal Science and Aquaculture Department to academic areas with which Gordon was more familiar, he found that the scientists did not appear to be interested in learning about the new phase of the project, nor the work that would impact other departments within of the Faculty of Agriculture. In contrast, the BSSD members were interested in the scientific side of the project and indicated that they would like to have more input from this part of the project in order to have significant research results. Gordon noted that one AGGP member from the BSSD has a background in science and therefore

understands what is happening with the science side of the project. This may be another reason why there is more interest from the BSSD for all aspects of the project.

Overall, Gordon had a good experience when working with the BSSD academic with a science background and learned a great deal from them in a short period of time. However, he was disappointed not to be able to work with them more on the project, as he was interested in learning about the nutrition and science aspects of the pasture and cow research. In Gordon's opinion, it would have been helpful to have more input from the Agriculture Faculty's Plant, Food, and Environmental Sciences Department on the project; he is hopeful that in future years the project will benefit from their input.

The Engineering Department at the Faculty of Agriculture was the department that Gordon found most difficult to work and communicate with as a business student. He did not have the chance to do much work with this department, as his co-researcher was an engineering student; however, it was the department where he noticed the most significant culture differences. The few times that he worked with this department, he relied on his research partner to help him understand and describe what was transpiring around him; without his partner, communications seemed like a foreign language to him.

Firstly, he found that conversations and interactions with professionals in the Engineering Department were much more difficult for him to understand. Gordon posits that his way of thinking and analyzing situations or issues is very different than the academics and technical staff in the Engineering Department. Although he can be analytical when speaking about different aspects of the project or other areas of research, he found that all his interactions with Engineering professionals were very analytical and conclusive. Engineers seem to have many common personality traits, including being straightforward, direct, self-sufficient, and often impersonal (Harrison et al, 1955). This would explain why Gordon had difficulties interacting with some of the Engineering team members at the beginning of this project, as these are not traits he shares.

Gordon was somewhat intimidated by the Engineering Department, as he had always been told that one must be extremely smart to be an engineer. On top of that, he frequently heard from peers, "Oh, well you are just in Business," when he would tell them about his course work or grades – implying that students from other departments think that being a business student is easier. Although Gordon believes every program is different and cannot be compared by looking at the number of courses or exams a program has, having heard these put downs so many times, he began to believe that he was not as smart as the Engineering students, leaving him with little confidence in his academic ability. This made him nervous and somewhat intimidated to work with the Engineering Department. As time went on and he learned more by working about Engineering and engineers with his research partner on the project, Gordon gained more confidence to work with the other Engineering team members.

It was also difficult to work with the AGGP member from the Engineering Department because their interest in the project decreased significantly as the project focused changed. While the Engineering Department had more input into the second phase of the project when compared to the Animal Science and Aquaculture Department, in Gordon's view this may have been related to the fact that they also had a student working on the project. He noticed that it took a long time for the Engineering team member to contribute to the project or help the other research student. This may be because this professor also had other funded projects on which they were working.

Both the Engineering and Animal Science professors were members from the first phase of the project when the project was more focused on science and Engineering aspects. In the second phase, when the project shifted focus more towards socioeconomics, the scientists seemed to have little interest in learning about or contributing to the current research. It could be that they saw themselves as passive contributors and viewed their roles in the project as consultants in order to explain what had been done in the past while giving historic data that was needed.

Gordon observed significant "culture differences" between the Engineering Department and the BSSD. The differences were not negative or positive; they were just differences in the way academics operate and communicate. In his opinion, due to their assertiveness personality the BSSD would have said something if they were unhappy with what they were working on. In contrast, the Engineering Department team members did not share anything about what they thought of the research project, resulting in little contribution to the summer research. Note, this does not include all Engineering Department members.

Gordon's co-researcher did very well when trying to engage with the other departments and the research project in general. As mentioned, one academic from the Engineering Department had been on the project for many years and had started in phase one. Reduced interest in the project over time seems to be a reoccurring issue with the department members on the project. This is something that could and should be addressed by the head researcher (note - the head researcher was on sabbatical for most of the summer, which may be why they did not resolve some of these issues).

There are many different reasons why there could be misunderstandings between and among the departments, but Gordon believes the culture differences between departments is one of the main reasons. Conflict may arise when there are cultural differences. When there is conflict amongst different cultures, it is usually because of a misunderstanding of a person's nationality, religion or their ethnic group (Corissajoy, 2017). While this is not the cause of culture differences that have impacted the AGGP project, there are some similarities. Instead of having misunderstandings of different demographics, the misunderstandings are related to the goals of the research and the direction of the project. Often an academic from one discipline will want to collect a certain type of data, while another academic believes that it is not important and that the budget should not account for it. If there were more consistency in the operations of each department, even with the on-campus "culture differences", Gordon believes that team members would communicate more effectively; having stronger relationships between and among each of the departments would resolve some of the conflicting issues.

As a research student working within the different departments, Gordon was able to see and hear the issues each department had with the project. Each member of the group had a different opinion, but they did not communicate their ideas to the head researcher. This means that the communication in the research group is weak, which leads to a lack of willingness to improve any issues they may have. Having these conflicts within the research group creates a barrier between each department and results in poor research.

However, having "culture differences" on campus has given Gordon the ability to adjust his interactions and conversations with various academics in order to work best with each. Having the "culture differences" is a positive as it gives more than one perspective on the project, creating diversity in the type of research that is being done. Overall, Gordon was able to learn from each department, which gave him the ability to better communicate with people from different backgrounds. Unfortunately, the input from some project members was poor. Gordon hoped that everyone involved would be interested in the project and would all be working towards a common goal. It turned out that each member had different thoughts on how they wanted to achieve the goals.

Another perspective and experience that Gordon noticed, was how the business structure was built. The normal hierarchy of a business structure was not present during his time on the AGGP project. When compared to his past internships and jobs, it was entirely different. When Gordon worked for Sobeys Headquarters (a national retail grocer) in the produce procurement department in one of his past internships, a very strict hierarchy and business structure was in place. It was almost visible through the way each person dressed or what their office looked like.

Working on the AGGP project, Gordon noticed that no specific structure existed regarding reporting and communication. The head researcher was the organizer of this phase of the project and interacted regularly with Gordon. Working with the head researcher were three other academics from different fields; however, Gordon did not report to any of these people on a regular basis. His main point of contact was a master's student in the BSSD who was also on the project. There was no specific reporting structure or system, or method through which Gordon should speak to the research team. It was almost as if everyone was on a similar level, including the research students. This was a comfortable way of communication and provided an "open door" type feeling, but Gordon believes that it may have been part of the reason that there was a lack of communication and organization during the research on the project. Having had the experience of working in larger companies, such as Sobeys, has shown Gordon that a hierarchy business structure is important to have in order to keep structure within the business setting.

Examples of Cultural Artifacts Noted by Gordon

Gordon found it interesting that some people on the project referred to a cost-benefit analysis as a benefit-cost analysis. Gordon was originally going to do further research on a previous cost-benefit analysis of the irrigation system in research. When speaking to the principle researcher and the accounting professor about how to approach this task, they referred to the analysis as a cost-benefit analysis. Both the principle researcher and the accounting professor have financial management and accounting backgrounds. However, it is noted that another academic on the AGGP research team referred to the exact same analysis as a benefit-cost analysis.

Mishan & Euston (1976) state that economists will use the term benefit-cost analysis rather than cost-benefit analysis when the perceived outcome has a greater benefit than cost. A cost-benefit analysis is simply a way to decide whether it is worth implementing a project. Accountants and other financial professionals will take the quantitative approach in deciding if the costs outweigh the financial and social benefits (Mishan & Euston, 1976). Economists consider a benefit-costs analysis to be neutral in its values and essential for complicated social issues (Lave, 1996). Gordon found it interesting to research why this analysis was referred to as both a cost benefit and a benefit-cost analysis. He was mainly interested in understanding why the name used was dependent on the professional background of the person using the term.

Gordon also noticed a difference in the way that the researchers presented or taught new information. Throughout the summer the research group met once a month to ensure everyone was up to date on the ongoing research. During these meetings, the principle researcher (who, while on sabbatical came to campus for these meetings) would be the main facilitator of the discussion. Gordon noticed that he was prominent on using the white board and the projector during meetings so that the other researchers on the project could visually see the progress that the students were making. The other researchers had little to no input during these meetings, and when they did have suggestions, they would only explain verbally, which was difficult as there was little time for Gordon and the other research student to make note of their suggestions. It was clear that the principle researcher from the BSSD had an effective method of presenting/teaching.

Gordon's Reflections

"I will now reflect on my personal experiences working in and amongst the "culture differences" on campus. As I mentioned before, working in an academic surrounding has given me the chance to interact and communicate with many different people from many different backgrounds and with varied expertise. Having these experiences, along with being able to work with academics, in general, has given me great opportunities and has opened many doors for my future education.

Now that I have worked with these different departments on campus, it has given me the opportunity to network. I have also had the chance to network with other stakeholders in the agriculture industry, such as various dairy farmers in Nova Scotia, the Nova Scotia government's Department of Agriculture, Valacta (a dairy farm centre of expertise to help Quebec and Atlantic Canadian dairy farmers), and of course our campus farm staff. These connections are a great asset to have when I am doing my fourth-year thesis project – I will have multiple people to speak with if I need to collect more data or require some assistance.

Working in and amongst all these areas and "culture differences" has helped me further develop my ability to understand research work and be able to succeed in an academic environment. Because of my experience on the AGGP project, I have found that I enjoy doing research and working with academics from different areas of expertise even though it can sometimes be difficult. I liked working with the various departments because it was interesting to have more than one perspective on the project. With having this variance, the research is not limited but can be difficult to complete when the interest is weak.

Reflecting on my experience of working in academia, I can say that it seems to be a great profession and I hope to someday achieve my long-term goal of working in an academic surrounding. I am now hoping to further my education after my undergraduate, through a master's degree, and maybe continuing with a PhD. Overall, I conclude that there is an extreme importance on having strong relationships and communication between and among academics in order to successfully produce sufficient research and build healthy academic communities."

Discussion

The findings described by Gordon through his experiences reflect choices by him regarding what to record, remember and report. From the outset he has surfaced cultural differences. The first difference he finds noteworthy from his experience in the Netherlands is that it was more rigid in the way research is reported than he found in Canada. This would fit with Hofstede's descriptions of the power differences found in these two cultures. Highly structured writing is consistent with a higher power difference culture. Gordon's Canadian experience may demonstrate the reduction of power distance in Canadian Academic culture – academic culture is often depicted as high-power difference (in media) and this may represent a past behavioural outcome of British (and Canadian) academic culture, which has moved toward a lower power-distance academic culture.

However, Gordon also experienced different cultures in his Canadian academic interactions. The first note seems to be with the change from being a student who has specified timelines and chores to being a research assistant with more nebulous deadlines and less clearly defined tasks. However, he finds the project processes vary across the departments (and sub-departments) he works with and also notes differences with administrative practices and even language. He discovers differences between the nature of his supervision and that of other research assistants on his campus. This raises the question of whether Gordon is experiencing culture or a unique circumstance of conflict with the academic culture.

When we look at the history of the Faculty of Agriculture, we find that it was (until 2012) a government run research lab / community college with students from the local area (mostly farm kids following in their parents' footsteps). In 2012 the government merged the Nova Scotia Agricultural College into Dalhousie University, which is a large U15 student-centred comprehensive university. The primary researcher (co-author Dr. Hartt) joined the Dalhousie Faculty of Agriculture just as the merger was occurring – he had no experience with the pre-merger organization, coming from another university. Since the merger, the culture of Dal-AC has transformed to become more like that of the main campus at Dalhousie, but the organization has expectedly resisted some changes. Has Gordon experienced those differences and perceived them as

differences in departmental culture? This question is currently open, as the answer will not surface for several years, if ever.

We do see cultural difference across universities and faculties. The Netherlands versus Canadian example demonstrates one level, but Gordon's experiences in Bible Hill illuminate another. Simple oddities such as the phrase cost-benefit versus benefit-cost or the use of the white board. He describes the Animal scientist as focused on the science and formal, the Engineering professor as not very interested in any other aspect of the project while being certain of the outcomes of the technical aspect. The Management professor asked for data "too much data is better than not having enough" while both the Animal scientist and Engineer did not want to waste resources collecting data they did not think they needed. (They also did not see any value in retaining data from the first phased of the project.) These three professors are all within the same demographic: male, white and over 55, tyt, they demonstrate different beliefs about data and certainty. They also exhibit different perspectives of hierarchy and formality.

Gordon also noted a difference in the hierarchy of communication in the project and within the Faculty of Agriculture. Some departments seem very status driven while others were more egalitarian. The more status driven departments seem to cede control to the Principle Investigator and become less involved, leaving the communication on the project to staff rather than faculty. He reflected on his experience in the business world where the profit imperative forces communication and involvement. On the contrary, in a university, all academics are considered equal and have equal voice and authority. Academics have "academic freedom" which gives them much latitude in their choice of work and approaches to research.

Hofstede would likely declare the three from different cultures if given only attitudinal data absence the demographic information. It would require study of each faculty member's background and the manner in which they were educated in order to determine if they represent different time periods in their approaches to hierarchy and formality or if those differences are a reflection of academic discipline, departmental culture, and the unique history of the Dalhousie Faculty of Agriculture.

Conclusion

Academic culture does exist, as do sub-cultures within academic communities. The data provided by the undergraduate research assistant has demonstrated his firsthand experience of these differences: differences in language, attitude, beliefs, and values as well as practices and administrative methods. The national differences between the Netherlands and Canada belie the relative research rank of the universities. Dalhousie is top 300; AERES is ranked below 10,000, yet AERES (the Dutch University) is more formal and hierarchical.

Within Dalhousie's Faculty of Agriculture, Gordon experienced cultural difference among the Animal Science, Engineering and the Business groups within the Agriculture Faculty (the first two are departments, the third is a sub-department of Business & Social Sciences). Some of the differences could be status related – he discusses the comment "you are just in Business"; others could be the prior experience of the professors from Animal Science and Engineering in the government run community college; however, more likely the difference is derived from the nature of the training of the faculty members and their academic disciplines. Animal Science and Engineering academics are not trained in the latest trends in Human Resource Management (which has identified formality as a barrier to success with millennials).

There were also varying perspectives on exactitude and usefulness of data: the Engineer was convinced of the certainty of method; the Animal scientist believed in his theory; the Economist believed in the math; the Management professor believed that nothing is certain therefore all data may be both useful and useless.

These philosophies of data and process produce differences in behaviour and culture among the departments.

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EVERYTHING TO OFFER OR SOMETHING TO PROVE? THE OTHERING OF WOMEN IN THE NEWLY FORMED CANADA-UNITED STATES COUNCIL FOR ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN ENTREPRENEURS AND BUSINESS LEADERS

Women entrepreneurs are the new mainstay of government policy; if given the ability, space and authority, women can change economies. The purpose of this study is to examine, from a Canadian perspective, the role of federal policy on women entrepreneurs. Does current policy aimed to support and encourage women-led entrepreneurial ventures inadvertently create systematic discrimination and "othering" of Canadian women entrepreneurs? I analyse policy and promotional documents from the newly formed Canada-United States Council for Advancement of Women Entrepreneurs and Business Leaders from a post-structuralist feminist perspective using critical discourse analysis to examine how the Government of Canada portrays and positions women entrepreneurs in Canada. I found that current policy puts women in a subordinate position to men and thereby risk sustaining a male norm.

Introduction

Women entrepreneurs are the new mainstay in government policy and for good reason. Women, if given the ability, space and authority, can change economies. A recent McKinsey report on the power of parity estimates that advancing women's equality can add $12 trillion to global growth (McKinsey & Company, 2015, p.3). I propose that women entrepreneurs continue to be disadvantaged even in the most advanced economies. The Government of Canada, as an example, promotes itself as a feminist government, with goals of increasing women's representation and success in entrepreneurial pursuits (OECD, 2017) yet the number of Canadian women-owned businesses is still low; 64.6% of Canadian businesses are majority-owned by men, 15.7% by women, and the rest equally owned (Deans, 2018).

The purpose of this study is to examine from a Canadian perspective the role of federal policy on entrepreneurship; Are Canadian government policy aimed to support and encourage women-led entrepreneurial ventures inadvertently creating systematic discrimination and "othering" of Canadian women entrepreneurs? Policies and programs for women entrepreneurs are routinely evaluated on design and effectiveness but not for the impact on the overall position of women in

the context of life opportunities and equality (Ahl & Nelson, 2014). My literature review revealed a gap in understanding how women entrepreneurs in Canada are positioned. This paper thus analyses the newly formed Canada-United States Council for Advancement of Women Entrepreneurs and Business Leaders from a post-structuralist feminist perspective using critical discourse analysis and examines the associated Council policy documents as well as the underlying paradigms to examine how the Government of Canada portrays and positions women entrepreneurs in Canada.

Background

Government of Canada Focus on Women Entrepreneurs

Governments in G7 countries are focused on the gender dimension of entrepreneurship, recognising that greater levels of entrepreneurship among women as well as better access to resources by women entrepreneurs can "contribute to innovation, job creation and social inclusion" (OECD, 2016, p.2). There is an increasing recognition across G7 countries and beyond that women entrepreneurs create new jobs for themselves and others and "[...] can provide society with different perspectives and approaches to management, organisation and business issues" (OECD, 2016, p.2). The following are examples of recent Government of Canada announcements and commitments that demonstrate its interest in women's entrepreneurship.

In March 2015, the Government of Canada announced the Action Plan for Women Entrepreneurs. The Action Plan is led by Status of Women Canada, an agency with the mandate to promote equality for women and their full participation in the economic, social and democratic life of Canada (Government of Canada, 2017).

In March 2017, the Government of Canada entered into an agreement with the federal government of the United States of America to form the Canada-United States Council for Advancement of Women Entrepreneurs and Business Leaders with a goal of "advancing equal opportunities for women in the workforce and to encourage women to start and grow their businesses" (Business Council of Canada, 2017).

The Government of Canada has also been vocal in positioning itself as a feminist government (Government of Canada, 2017). Mme Rita Dionne-Marsolais, Ministry of Industry and Commerce, is quoted as saying: "Women and SMEs constitute the main weapons for helping us to build a future without discrimination. We fight for our rights, and not for privileges, because business has no gender. What is a natural success for men is a conquest for women. Women's participation in any kind of economic activity is of a complementary nature to their family incomes; their participation in no way reduces their family duties" (OECD, 2017).

On June 9, 2017 the Minister of International Development and La Francophonie, the Honourable Marie-Claude Bibeau, launched Canada's new Feminist International Assistance Policy with a vision of positioning Canada as a leader on gender equality and promoting equal rights for women and girls (Global Affairs Canada, 2017).

Gender and Entrepreneurship Theory

In this paper I view gender as socially constructed in line with social constructivist and post-structuralist feminist theory (Harding, 1987). Feminist scholars introduced the word gender in order to make a distinction between social practices and representations associated with femininity, masculinity and biological sex (human bodies with male or female reproductive organs) (Acker,

1992). Applying a social constructivist feminist perspective in research for this paper implies that entrepreneurship and thus entrepreneurs are understood as gendered in both concept and practice (Ahl, 2006; Ahl and Nelson, 2010; Brush *et al*., 2009; Petterson, 2004).

Calás et al. (2007) outlines two feminist perspectives to entrepreneurship. The first group includes the liberal, radical and psychoanalytical perspectives while the second includes socialist, post-structuralist/post-modern and post-colonial perspectives. The first grouping is based on "…an ontological assumption that women are disadvantaged because of their condition as women" (Pettersson *et al.,* 2017), focusing on the sameness between women and the differentness between women and men. The second grouping "…characterizes gendering processes and practices as the product of power relations which have emerged from historical processes, dominant discourses, institutions, and epistemological arguments" (Pettersson *et al.* 2017). The post-structuralist feminist approach more specifically "…explores the connections between language, subjectivity, social organization, and power, and their ramifications for gender dynamics in all walks of life" (Prasad, 2005, p.165). Texts and language are seen as a 'politics of representation' that produces gender and "…deconstructive studies that employ these approaches analyze concepts, theories, and practices of entrepreneurship, and how they construct (women) entrepreneurs" (Pettersson *et al.,* 2017).

Ahl conducted a discourse analysis of 81 research articles on women's entrepreneurship in order to uncover what research practices, if any, can cause a tendency to re-create the idea of women entrepreneurs as being secondary to men in spite of intentions to the contrary (Ahl, 2006). One of the discursive practices she found was in regards to the institutional support for entrepreneurship research whereby women become a variable in the growth equation in which they are rendered inadequate and contribute to the positioning of women as secondary (Ahl, 2006). Ahl suggested as a conclusion that future research on women's entrepreneurship should consider a shift in epistemological positioning from an objectivist epistemology to a constructionist epistemology as a way of researching women entrepreneurs without reproducing their secondary position (Ahl, 2006).

Five years following this call to action, a special edition of *ET&P* was published to evaluate the progress to date, if any, on women's entrepreneurship research. While a shift to include more constructionist approaches with non-traditional questions is occurring in this maturing research domain, the majority of research continues to be from a positivist perspective (Brush *et al*., 2012). Ahl's 2006 paper also inspired a study in 2012 using discourse analysis to compare the positioning of women entrepreneurs through entrepreneurship policy in both Sweden and the United States over the course of two decades. Despite Sweden being seen as highly progressive towards family-friendly policy in contrast to the U.S., the research revealed a legacy of discourse subordinating women's entrepreneurship to other goals such as economic growth and a positioning of women as "other" in both countries (Ahl & Nelson, 2012).

Yet another study proposes that studies of gender in the entrepreneurship field lag behind those in other disciplines (i.e. sociology, political/organizational science) and the proposed solution encouraged scholars to develop the methodological repertoire to match what is now expected in women-driven entrepreneurship: a post-structural feminist approach (Henry, Foss & Ahl, 2016).

In this paper I respond to the suggestion of an expanded research objective and a shifted epistemological position by studying the gendering of social orders in the form of support systems for women entrepreneurs, specifically in relation to the Canada-United States Council for Advancement of Women Entrepreneurs and Business Leaders.

Studies of Policy Support Measures for Women Entrepreneurs

The rapid expansion of women's entrepreneurship in the 1980 and 90's brought to the forefront an opportunistic recognition by governments that women could have a positive impact on economic growth, poverty alleviation and employment creation as well as economic, social and political empowerment (Mayoux, 2001). Mayoux identified three distinct paradigms of micro and small enterprise (MSE) development for women that underlie the ongoing debates about best practices in supporting women entrepreneurs. These paradigms help understand and decode the wording and meaning of the women in business policies created by government.

The primary goal of the neo-liberal market paradigm is the contribution of women's entrepreneurship to efficiency and market-led growth. Women are seen as a untapped resource waiting to be exploited. The approach to gender issues is with policy interventions largely restricted to changes in regulatory framework and the support and accessibility of micro-financing to alleviate obstacles to women raising capital.

The interventionist poverty alleviation paradigm promotes equal opportunities legislation alongside policies aimed at poverty alleviation and socially responsible growth. Policy building continues to treat gender issues as special and distinct cases requiring it to be separated from the mainstream policy and budgeting.

Poor, self-employed women and casual workers are the focus of the feminist empowerment paradigm, which promotes networking and co-operation to support self-employed women. It combines social welfare policy with an emphasis on non-market work and the challenge women's representation can make to vested economic interests.

The Government of Canada has been evaluated as ascribing to the interventionist poverty alleviation paradigm (Braidford *et al*., 2012; Mayoux, 2001) with previous governments; would the current government's commitment to gender equality create a shift in paradigm?

Methodology

Leading researchers in women's entrepreneurship call for a shift from the traditional interpretivist approach to a more feminist approach in women's entrepreneurship research. Despite this call to action a recent comprehensive review of the literature reveals that for the most part research on women's entrepreneurship remains empiricist (making comparisons between men and women) as opposed to challenging gender practices (Jennings & Brush, 2013). As such, I chose critical discourse analysis (CDA) using a post-structuralist feminist approach to investigate the discourse of language and power in the Government of Canada's policy on women's entrepreneurship.

Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA as a non-traditional method serves to complement existing women's entrepreneurship research. In comparison to other qualitative research methods that seek to understand social reality, as it exists, CDA aims to uncover the way in which social reality is produced (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). CDA helps to explain how power is enacted, reproduced or legitimized by examining the text of dominant groups and institutions such as federal governments (Van Dijk, 1996). The outcome of using CDA can offer a new perspective on existing theoretical debates, drawing on different identities that locate actors in positions from which they can influence the field and the establish new practices by discursively embedding them in organizational texts (Phillips & Hardy,

2002). Within my analysis, I will consider how language is formed in such a way that the discourse of women's entrepreneurship, in the context of the Government of Canada women's entrepreneurship policy, is reinforcing traditional gender roles.

Data Collection

The data for the CDA was sourced from the Government of Canada policy and public relations text publicly available on the Government of Canada website. Specifically, text in relation to the recently launched Canada-United States Council for Advancement of Women Entrepreneurs and Business Leaders was analyzed. The text relating to the newly formed Council was chosen because it is the first major program launched by the current feminist federal regime and is anticipated it will be given substantial resources for future development and promotion to women entrepreneurs across Canada. The text sourced was comprised of three pages of website Council text, two press releases and one Government of Canada budget speech. At the time of the study this represented all of the text related to the Council.

Having selected the text for the study, I then read through the text to gain a general understanding and familiarity with the content, paying attention to see if any subtle or overt stories were being told. I then went through each piece of text in detail carefully noting themes of discourse. I kept record of the specific words and phrases used in each body of text, taking notes of how power, privilege, and marginalization emerged. I grouped the findings into general discursive and dominant themes based on a predetermined coding scheme.

Findings & Discussion

At the onset of this project I was hopeful that, with a government that has been so publicly vocal with its feminist stance and commitment to gender equality on an international stage, I would see evidence of this forward feminism thinking in the written policy supporting the newly formed Canada-United States Council for Advancement of Women Entrepreneurs and Business Leaders. Instead I found discourses with a haunting echo of previous Canadian policy approaches that reinforced women's entrepreneurship as a special case requiring special attention rather than part of mainstream policy, very much in line with the interventionist poverty alleviation paradigm. Three main discursive themes were found in the review of the selected text. Each will be discussed using examples of text from the selected sample.

Theme #1: Women are objects of economic growth

All six bodies of text reviewed explicitly stated that the intended goal of the Canada-United States Council for Advancement of Women Entrepreneurs and Business Leaders is to contribute to the overall economic growth and competitiveness of Canada. The discourse of women as objects of economic growth implies women contribute too little to economic growth. The 2017 Federal Budget document explicitly states "…the success rates and growth opportunities for women-led companies do not match their male counterparts" (Government of Canada, 2017). This seems decidedly neo-liberal, moving even further away from a desired feminist gender equality goal. In a statement made by the Honourable Chrystia Freeland, Minister of Foreign Affairs in July 2017 on the formation of the council she says "The participation of women is vital to achieving the potential of the Canadian and U.S economies" (Government of Canada, 2017). On the same day, a website was launched in support of the newly formed Council with text explaining the overall mandate is to "…ultimately contribute to the increased economic growth, integration and competitiveness of the United States-Canada economy" (Business Council of Canada, 2017).

Theme #2: Barriers need to be removed before women can succeed

The most common word used throughout all of the text examined is the word 'barrier', which implies discrimination based on gender; Women entrepreneurs are discriminated against because of systemic barriers resulting from a male gendered entrepreneurial support system. Examples of text found in support of this discourse included: "We are committed to *removing barriers* to women's participation in the business community and supporting women as they advance through it" (Government of Canada, 2017)."The Canadian-United States Council for Advancement of Women Entrepreneurs and Business Leaders will be capitalizing on the work of the expert panel, Growth Council and other sources of expertise to advise the Government on swift actions to address *barriers* that affect women serving in senior leadership positions and increase competitiveness for women entrepreneurs" (Government of Canada, 2017)."The mandate and agenda of the Council represent important areas of focus to help *remove barriers* to women's economic participation" (Global Affairs Canada, 2017)."Our mandate is to: develop recommendations that can *reduce barriers* that limit women's participation in
business…"(Business Council of Canada, 2017).

Theme #3: Women entrepreneurs need to be fixed

Women are constructed as 'in need of improvement' and are positioned as inadequate, in comparison to a (silent) male norm, the assumption that the standard participation in entrepreneurship is a male-gendered concept (Ahl & Nelson, 2014). Examples supporting this discourse from the text examined include: "*Supporting women* in leadership positions is essential to the success of our businesses, our middle class, and our communities" (Government of Canada, 2017). "As leaders of the business communities on both sides of the border, our role is to *develop advice to help boost women's economic engagement* and share the many inspiring stories of progress and successful women to *motivate others* to follow their lead" (Business Council of Canada, 2017). "…increasing the number of women in science, technology, engineering and math" (Business Council of Canada, 2017). From a statistical perspective, Canadian women entrepreneurs are not generating as much revenue or experiencing as much growth as their male counterparts (GEM, 2015). "The lower female TEA compared to males is consistent with a lower perception of skills to launch a business and somewhat greater inhibition from fear of failure among the female population." (GEM Canada, 2015, pp.4)

This implies that somehow women are doing entrepreneurship wrong. In order to succeed we need to fix women's business abilities. Context matters: In all OECD economies self-employed women are more likely than men to work in the service sector, in particular, wholesale and retail trade and accommodation and other low-skilled service activities (OECD, 2016). These sectors generally underperform other industries from a purely neo-liberal perspective. Perhaps women do not need to change so much as the way success in business is measured needs to change? "Women are more likely than men to cite work/life balance as their motivation for becoming an entrepreneur and traditional performance measures, such as growth and profits do not always reflect the top priorities for women entrepreneurs" (OECD, 2016).

Conclusion

Feminism, by very basic Oxford Dictionary definition, is the advocacy of women's rights on the basis of equality of sexes. Current Government of Canada policy wording on women entrepreneurs and support programs is not supporting this equality; it is othering women, it is not honouring the

true meaning of feminism and it is reducing the role of women entrepreneurs to "objects" of business growth.

Specifically, the wording of the public relations and policy documents for the Canada-United States Council for Advancement of Women Entrepreneurs and Business Leaders from a post-structuralist feminist theory lens put women in a subordinate position to men and thereby risk sustaining a male norm. By applying a feminist approach, even at best a liberal feminist approach, the Council can reflect on the gender inequality women experience in entrepreneurship or whether the current policies and/or government support discriminates against them. The Council can have also extended the purpose of the support to include social change for women or a gendered change of society. To this point, Calás, Smircich, and Bourne asked: "What would happen, theoretically and analytically, if the focus of the literature were reframed from entrepreneurship as an economic activity with possible social change outcomes to entrepreneurship as a social change activity with a variety of possible outcomes?" (2009, p. 553).

Ahl & Nelson (2015) call for federal governments to revisit policy in terms of gendered entrepreneurship support. "We think it is time to rethink how and when entrepreneurship support programs that are directed by sex-segregated policy should be employed. In countries that have achieved critical mass of women entrepreneurs in varied sectors and at various growth levels, sex-segregated programs may reinforce gendered practices that limit language and vision for women's entrepreneurship." A possible restricting on how entrepreneurship is measured could focus on entrepreneurial behavior by household as opposed to a gendered individual (Ahl & Nelson, 2015).

I propose the discourses of othering demonstrated in this paper contributes to the body of work done on women's entrepreneurship from a feminist perspective; It is important to understand the gendering of social orders like public policy support systems, in this instance, for women entrepreneurs in Canada if a shift to gender equality is to be achieved.

With a shift in wording from a interventionist poverty alleviation paradigm to a feminist empowerment paradigm it may help avoid putting women in a subordinate position to men when creating and measuring policy and support programs for women entrepreneurs. Given the long history of support for women entrepreneurs in Canada, dating back to 1995, the lack of any real evidence that the last 20 years of support has dramatically increased the government's mandated "economic growth by means of the woman entrepreneur", and a government who is focused on being seen as a leader in gender equality, now may be the time to try a radical shift in approach. Pettersson *et al.* (2017) made reference to a Swedish women's entrepreneurship strategy called *Open Up!* with the following aim that exemplifies a feminist post-structuralist approach:

> "The Strategy's purpose is to contribute to the development of the publically funded business promotion at the national, regional and local levels in order to achieve the long term goal- that women and men, regardless of ethnic background or age, should be able to avail themselves of business promotion resources under equivalent conditions" (The Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth, 2015c:1, Sourced from Pettersson *et al.* 2017).

This example points to a change in the support system as opposed to changes needed in women, a demonstration that subtle shifts in the wording and framing of policy can impact the discourse facing women entrepreneurs, freeing women from the burden of having to prove themselves as equal entrepreneurs.

This paper also provides insight into the discursive foundations of identity for women entrepreneurs in Canada. Future research could potentially explore how this construction of identity impacts the fabric of the attraction or repulsion of women towards entrepreneurship; how aware are women entrepreneurs of the discourse and how does it impact their entrepreneurial aspirations? A second future research topic could be to compare and contrast how each actor in the partnership (Canada and the United States) contributes to the outcome of the council particularly given the differing paradigm approach to women's entrepreneurship; Canada acting from a interventionist poverty alleviation paradigm and the United States acting from a neo-liberal market paradigm.

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THE DERAILMENT
A ROLE-PLAYING CASE OF ON- AND OFF-DUTY CONDUCT(OR)[1]

Stephanie Katelnikoff was conductor of a CP Rail freight train loaded with lentils and fly ash when it derailed. Less than one month later, she was terminated for breach of policy on reporting injuries and for talking to a reporter about the derailment. She was reinstated by an arbitrator only to be terminated again less than two years later. Her employer argued the second dismissal was based on comments made about CP and photos on company property, both posted to social media. In early 2020, Katelnikoff also won the arbitration for her second dismissal, but was not awarded reinstatement.

The case – which is disguised – and associated notes consider employment relations and gender issues in management decision making related to a precocious young woman who disrupted behavioural norms in a male-dominated workplace. The case can be used as a problem and decision-oriented role-playing exercise, a pair of linked decisions in which students must defend what they would do: dismiss, discipline, or nothing at all. The case can also be used to examine the workplace evaluatively and critically, as the site of a complex problem, that of inequality and gender discrimination, as well as of oppression and harassment. It poses questions of employee relations as well as of sexism, patriarchy, and exclusion. Students are challenged cognitively and ethically, to balance the employer's right to determine the composition of its workforce with the creation of gender-inclusive workplaces and worker rights. In addition, students can develop judgment by contrasting their own findings against the published decisions of the arbitrators in two separate dismissals linked by the sex of the terminated worker.

The Derailment is suitable for undergraduate, graduate, and executive courses in human resource management, labour and employment relations, as well as gender and diversity studies. It may also be useful in Organizational Behavior or Business Ethics.

Key Words: employee and/or industrial relations, probationary period, off-duty conduct, social media, wrongful dismissal, arbitration, reinstatement, sexism, sexuality, gender, patriarchy, exclusion, and Stephanie Katelnikoff.

[1] *The Derailment* was a finalist in the *Academy of Management's Darkside Case Competition*, 2020 and will appear in the AoM Proceedings. Questions and comments are welcome at *jim.grant@acadiau.ca*.