

Letter from the Editor

BY ALBERT J. MILLS

Welcome to the fourth ASB issue of the *Workplace Review* based on papers presented at the annual conference of the Atlantic Schools of Business in Halifax (hosted by the business school of the University of Prince Edward Island). Papers chosen from the annual conference are selected for three main reasons. Firstly, for their ability to reflect the best of research across the Atlantic region – particularly leading-edge research; secondly, because of their local appeal, practical application, and their ability to speak to a broad audience; and thirdly because they have already undergone a process of peer evaluation. In the latter regard we try to select from those papers that are included in the conference proceedings. Above all else we remain committed to make the *Workplace Review* dedicated to better workplace practices, devoted to discussing issues of practical concern to businesses throughout Atlantic Canada.

In this issue we range far and wide, looking at issues of meaning at work, workplace bullying and revenue enhancement strategies. Two final articles respectively address student motivation and the role that narrative plays in organizational development. The first appears in our regular 'Teaching in the Business School' section, while the latter appears in our new 'Learning Through History' section.

Our opening article is by Candace Blayney and Karen Blotnicky, from Mount Saint Vincent University. They report on their research which focuses on the revenue enhancement strategies used by top management in the hotel industry during time of economic uncertainty. The findings indicate that investing in marketing technology while pursuing niche markets provides a hedge against losses.

Our second article is by Kristie Arsenault and Wendy R. Carroll, of UPEI, along with Terry Wagar of Saint Mary's, and looks at workplace bullying. In an examination of 20 Canadian arbitration cases over a 17 year period the preliminary findings suggest that employees who are dismissed for bullying go through a progressive discipline process before being dismissed.

But what does it all mean? Our third article, by Scott MacMillan and Tony Yue of Mount Saint Vincent University, attempts to come to terms with the idea of meaning through work. Drawing on a pragmatic existentialist approach, MacMillan and Yue critique the popular Job-Career-Calling method of addressing meaning at work. They conclude that attempts to deal with meaning at work should avoid situating work (rather than other aspects of the human condition) at the centre of a meaningful life.

In our teaching practice section Binod Sundararajan and Jill Manderson, of Dalhousie University, with Malavika Sundararajan, of North Carolina Central University deal with the issue of student motivation. The article describes an analysis of student peer and self-evaluations to try to understand student perceptions of group-work, related emotions and networks. Sundararajan et al. go on to suggest that the inclusion of student emotions and their network formation in studies of peer evaluations can help educators to better understand student engagement.

The final article marks our new column on understanding the formation and history of the Atlantic Schools of Business (ASB). Here Salvador Baragan of Lethbridge University and Albert Mills of Saint Mary's examine how the 'idea' of ASB has been socially constructed over time.

Along the way we get a sense of the ASB (and similar organizations) as developing out of series of changing ideas over time.

We hope that this collection of articles will encourage thought and discussion at various levels on how to create better workplaces across the region.

Apart from articles from the Atlantic Schools of Business annual conference we also encourage unsolicited work by academics and practitioners from across the Atlantic region.

Candace Blayney & Karen Blotnicky
Mount Saint Vincent University, Halifax, N.S.

REVENUE ENHANCEMENT STRATEGIES AND THEIR IMPACT ON HOTEL PERFORMANCE DURING STRESSFUL ECONOMIC TIMES

This research focuses on the revenue enhancement strategies used by top managers in the hotel industry during times of economic uncertainty, and the impact of these strategies on performance as measured by average daily rate (ADR), occupancy percentage and revenue per available room (RevPAR). Findings demonstrate that investing in marketing technology and pursuing niche markets provides a hedge against losses in RevPAR and ADR.

Introduction

The relationship between executives and their impact on their organization's performance has long been studied in an attempt to determine if managers' actions are critical components of organizational processes (Hambrick & Mason, 1984; Carpenter, Geletkanycz & Sanders, 2004; Goll & Rasheed, 2005). This study became known as the Upper Echelon (UE) theory. In the hotel industry, the general manager is the executive and makes the daily decisions on activities that have a direct impact on performance of the hotel. This would include decisions in areas of marketing such as selecting appropriate markets to target, directing promotional campaigns, and choosing advertising media. Decisions would also include cost containment actions such as minimizing expenditures. This research explores the activities of the general manager and the resulting impact on the hotel performance during economic stressful times. The identification of these strategies would be very helpful for managers and educator to improve business performance and to ensure these skills and abilities are included in business school curriculum.

Background

One of a manager's greatest tests is their decision –making ability during stressful economic conditions. The hotel industry in Canada during this research was in severe economic stress. “By the end of the year, in just six markets of Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Niagara Falls, Calgary, and Vancouver, our total tourism losses amount to \$1.7 billion” (Hotel Association of Canada Annual Report, 2004, p. 19). Hotel general managers were working in an environment of great revenue decreases, loss of market share and a sliding economy. Today, these conditions have not changed.

Whilst the worsening of trading performances over the past 12 months impacts the main hotel markets, it is important to understand how hoteliers can challenge the status quo by

understanding the fundamental changes in demand and better adapting their current hotel product to this shifting environment (Ricord & Perret, 2010, p. 1).

In order to mitigate these revenue losses, general managers may have implemented certain survival strategies which should be identified and made accessible to current managers as the economic difficulties are still present. Strategies implemented during stressful economic conditions are very valuable as the correct actions at the right time can protect market share and decrease costs at a time when resources are limited. Small percentage increases in revenue in the hotel industry, which is volume sensitive, can have a large impact on its survival. "When the tide turns, management shortcomings quickly become evident, and may affect both revenue levels and the bottom line. Inept management can increase a hotel's vulnerability to distressed market conditions (Lloyd-Jones, 2010, p.2). The economic downturn has resulted in decreased demand and a resulting low occupancy so strategies to alleviate this trend are paramount. "Demand is decided by outside factors, such as the economic climate, consumer preferences, the industrial environment, etc., most of which are not controlled by the hotels" (Yu & Lee, 2009, p. 571). Hotels require an appropriate balance of efficient production operations and marketing operations and maintaining costs while offering high levels of service can be challenging.

Strategies implemented during economic stressful conditions tend to fall into one of two broad categories, market and non-market strategies (Crook & Snow, 2003). The market strategies are those that impact the customers and the non-market strategies are those that concern other stakeholders such as staff, shareholders, and others. In this research the market strategies were labeled as Revenue Enhancing (RE) strategies. The list of Revenue Enhancing strategies was created from the literature. The list appears in Table 1.

Table 1

Lists of Revenue Enhancing Strategies

-
1. Focused on Regional Business: Marketing efforts directed to region
 2. Marketed Uniqueness: Highlighted unique characteristics and services
 3. Redirected Sales & Marketing: Directed marketing and sales efforts to new markets
 4. Focused Training for Staff: Focused resources on marketing training for staff (eg: upselling, cross-selling, etc.)
 5. Increased Marketing Budget: Allocated more resources to marketing activities
 6. Used Technology to Gather Intelligence: Applied marketing research technology to gather market information
 7. Sold Weekends to Area: Sold weekend packages to local market
 8. Discounted Room Rates: Reduced room rates to attract customers
 9. Sold Rooms for Alternate Use: Sold rooms to other markets/for other uses (eg: corporate interviews, professional development opportunities, etc.)
-

Hotel performance metrics include occupancy percentage (Occ%), calculated by dividing the number of rooms sold by the number of rooms available, average daily rate (ADR), calculated by dividing the room revenue by number of rooms sold and revenue per available room (RevPAR), calculated by dividing the room revenue by number of rooms available. RevPAR is “often considered the most critical measure of operating performance, and by definition, encompasses an element of rate and rooms supply” (Enz, Canina, & Walsh, 2001, p. 27).

Marketing actions in a highly competitive situation can be strained due to cut backs in resources in attempts to decrease costs. Porter’s Model of generic competitive strategies advises that the choice of strategies in a highly competitive arena are either differentiation or low cost. The low cost strategy means that the firm needs to be a cost leader so in the hotel industry which is high fixed costs based, the best strategy would be to differentiate (Porter as paraphrased by Ormanidhi & Stringa, 2008).

One of the dangers during economic downturns is the lack of demand and the tendency to lower rates in an attempt to boost occupancy levels. However, this practice can damage the brand value of the property (if branded) and need to be targeted and differentiated as possible. To illustrate the impact of rate decreases, research shows “A 20 percent rate decrease would have to be compensated by 50 percent additional room nights, which is hard if not impossible to achieve, even with strong promotions and additional spending” (Butscher, Vidal & Dimier, 2009, p. 407). This effect would be exacerbated in luxury hotels where the costs are higher and the contribution margins thinner. Strategic decisions in revenue management must be made with long term considerations on competition and the economy.

Methodology

The purpose of this research was to identify the strategies used during economic stressful conditions in the Canadian hotel industry and their impact on the actual hotel performance. Based on the literature review on management strategies (Hambrick & Mason, 1984; Carpenter, Geletkanycz & Sanders, 2004; Goll & Rasheed, 2005; Ormanidhi & Stringa, 2008), the following hypotheses are given:

Hypothesis 1a. There will be a positive statistically significant relationship between hotel performance as measured by revenue per available room (RevPAR) and Revenue Enhancing Strategies.

Hypothesis 1b. There will be a positive statistically significant relationship for hotel performance as measured by average daily rate (ADR) by Revenue Enhancing Strategies.

Hypothesis 1c. There will be a positive statistically significant relationship for hotel performance as measured by occupancy (Occ%) by Revenue Enhancing Strategies.

See Figure 1 for conceptual model of these concepts.

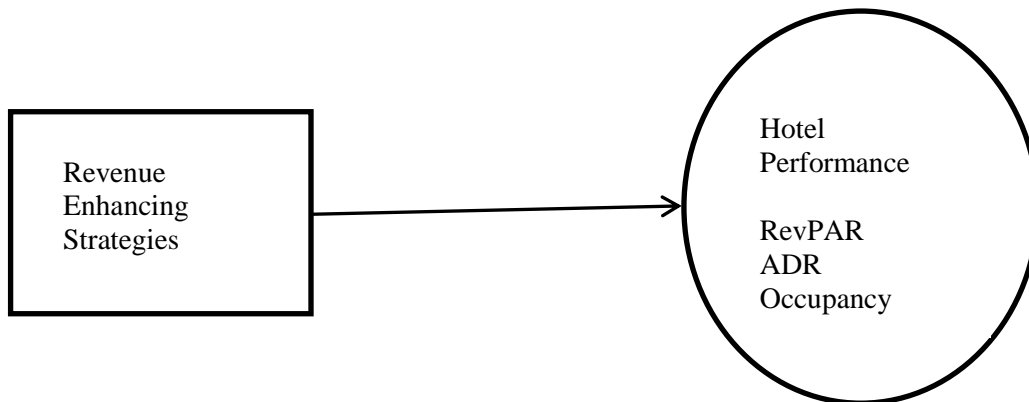


Figure 1: *Conceptual model for the hypothesis indicating the strategies and their impact on hotel performance as measured by revenue per available room, average daily rate and occupancy.*

A survey was sent to hotel general managers in Canada in properties with 30 rooms or more using a distribution list created from the Hotel Association of Canada membership directory, provincial hotel associations' membership lists and corporate hotel groups. The survey was posted on a webpage and emails were dispersed to the general managers that contained a hyperlink to the survey. The hotel industry in Canada consist of 8,447 lodging establishments in Canada with a 60% average occupancy rate, an average daily rate of \$131.00 and an average revenue per available room of \$79.00 (Hotel Association of Canada, 2011).

Descriptive statistics were generated to examine general managers' perceptions of the importance of Revenue Enhancing strategies during adverse economic times. Descriptive statistics were also generated for revenue per available room (RevPAR), average daily revenue (ADR), and occupancy percentage (Occ%).

An Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) was conducted on the Revenue Enhancing (RE) strategies to reduce the number of variables relative to sample size and to overcome problems with multicollinearity among the strategy variables. The EFA used a principal components analysis using a Varimax rotation. The factor scores were saved for inclusion in a regression analysis to test the hypotheses. A direct entry multiple regression analysis was used to test the hypotheses.

Prior to conducting the regression analysis the variable distributions were examined for normality. The normal distribution tests revealed that two factors from the RE strategy EFA (Factors 1 and 2), the occupation percent, and the average daily revenue, were non-normally distributed. The variables used in the follow up regression analysis are noted in the Table. The RE Factors 1 & 2 and Occ % were used in their original format because the transformation did not

result in non-normal distribution. The log transformation was used to create a normal distribution for ADR and the transformed variable was used in the analysis.

Results

The hotel associations and corporate hotel groups that agreed to participate and circulate the survey involved a total of 952 general managers and the responses totalled 184 completed surveys and gave a response rate of 19.2%. The sample consisted of 61.7% male general managers and the education level indicated most were graduates of a two-year college program (39.7%), or university undergraduate programs (37.2%). The average age was 43.9 years and their tenure consisted of being in management for an average of 16 years and in the position of hotel general managers for an average of 6.9 years. The hotels themselves were mainly smaller properties with 30 to 125 rooms being 52.5% and 126 to 250 rooms at 29.0% of the total hotels.

The general managers surveyed were asked to rate the importance of each of the Revenue Enhancing strategies when managing a hotel property during adverse economic times. Each strategy was rated on a Likert-type scale of 1 to 10, where 1=Very unimportant and 10=Very important. The descriptive statistics for the ratings of the strategies are shown in Table 2. The results revealed the three revenue-related strategies that were considered most important were focusing on regional business (M=7.91), marketing uniqueness (M=7.87) and redirecting sales and marketing (M=7.7). Focused training for staff was in a close fourth place with an average scale rating of 7.62. The least important strategies were selling rooms for alternate use (M=3.92), discounting room rates (M=4.76), and selling weekends to area (M=5.07).

Table 2:
Descriptive Statistics for Managerial Strategy Importance

Strategy	Number	Range 1= Very unimportant 10 = Very important	Average	Std. Deviation
Revenue Enhancing Strategies				
Focused regional business	179	1 to 10	7.91	2.06
Redirected sales and marketing	181	2 to 10	7.70	1.76
Sold weekends to area	180	1 to 10	5.07	2.64
Discounted room rates	181	1 to 10	4.76	2.17
Increased marketing budget	180	1 to 10	6.02	2.18
Sold rooms for alternate use	178	1 to 10	3.92	2.60
Used technology to gather marketing intelligence	180	1 to 10	5.74	2.36
Marketed uniqueness	181	1 to 10	7.87	2.05
Focused training for staff	180	1 to 10	7.62	2.05

The general managers also provided estimates of the following performance indicators for their hotel properties: revenue per room (RevPAR), average daily revenue (ADR), and occupancy percentage. The results are shown in Table 3.

Table 3:
Descriptive Statistics for Performance Measures

Strategy	Number	Range	Average	Std. Deviation
Revenue per Room (RevPAR)	152	\$24.39 to \$202.00	\$78.01	\$28.14
Average Daily Rate (ADR)	163	\$40.00 to \$293.00	\$111.91	\$33.93
Occupancy percentage	170	30% to 99%	67.95%	11.62%

The EFA for the Revenue Enhancing strategies (RE) resulted in three factors that explained 57.1% of the variance in the revenue-based strategies. The strategies that loaded most highly on the first factor were, in order of importance: focused training for staff, marketed uniqueness, used technology to gather market intelligence, and increased marketing budget. Given the nature of the strategies that explained the first factor it was labelled Niche Marketing and Investment. This factor accounted for 23.7% of the variance in the model.

The second factor loaded most heavily on the following strategies, in order of importance: sold rooms for alternate use, sold weekends to area, redirected sales and marketing. Based on the strategies loaded this factor was named Cross-Selling. This factor accounted for 21% of the variance in the revenue-based strategies.

The last factor was made up of two items that loaded most heavily, in order of strength: focused regional business and discounted room rates. The factor accounted for 12.4% of the variance in the model. The results of the EFA on the RE strategies is shown in Table 4.

Table 4:
Exploratory Factor Analysis for Revenue Enhancing Strategies

RE1: Niche Marketing & Investment	Factor loading
Focused training for staff	.84
Marketed uniqueness	.80
Increased marketing budget	.60
Used technology to gather market intelligence	.54
Cumulative variance	23.7%
RE2: Cross-Selling	
Sold rooms for alternate use	.77
Sold weekends to area	.71
Redirected sales and marketing	.46
Cumulative variance	21.0%
RE3: Market Protection	
Focused regional business	.72
Discounted room rates	-.65
Cumulative variance	12.4%
Total Variance Explained	57.1%

Tests of normality were conducted on the variables prior to running the regression analysis. The results of the normality tests are shown in Table 5 for the original variables and their transformations.

Regression analysis was used to test the hypotheses. The results revealed statistically significant differences between some of the Revenue Enhancing strategies and ADR and RevPAR. However, there were no statistically significant relationships between the Revenue Enhancing strategies and occupancy percentage. The results are summarized in Table 6.

These results revealed that for RevPAR and ADR there were statistically significant differences for Revenue Enhancing strategies. RevPAR was positively impacted by RE1 Niche Marketing and Investment, as was ADR. ADR was also positively impacted by RE3 Market Protection. There were no statistically significant differences for any of the RE strategies by occupancy percentage.

Table 5:
Normality Tests and Variable Transformations*

Variable	Kolgomorov-Smirnov	df	Sig.
Original Variables			
RE1: Niche Marketing & Investment	.091	137	<i>.007*</i>
RE2: Cross-Selling	.065	137	<i>.200*</i>
RE3: Market Penetration	.073	137	<i>.073*</i>
ADR: Average daily revenue	.104	137	<i>.001</i>
RevPAR: Revenue per room	.055	137	<i>.200*</i>
OCC: Occupancy percentage	.112	137	<i>.000*</i>
Variable Transformations			
ADR: Average daily revenue (Log)	.049	163	<i>.200*</i>
OCC: Occupancy percentage (Cubed)	.084	170	<i>.005</i>
RE1: Niche Marketing & Investment (Square root)	.113	173	<i>.000</i>
RE1: Niche Marketing & Investment (Log)	.136	173	<i>.000</i>
RE1: Niche Marketing & Investment (Inverse)	.224	173	<i>.000</i>
RE1: Niche Marketing & Investment (Cubed)	.162	173	<i>.000</i>
RE3: Market Protection (Cubed)	.065	173	<i>.071</i>
RE3: Market Protection (Square root)	.097	173	<i>.000</i>
RE3: Market Protection (Log)	.129	173	<i>.000</i>
RE3: Market Protection (Inverse)	.209	173	<i>.000</i>

*Note: Variables used in final analysis. Italics indicate statistically significant differences.

Table 6:

Regression Analysis of Revenue Enhancement Strategies on Performance Measures

(Note: Italics indicate statistically significant differences)

a) Strategies x RevPAR	B	Std. Error B	Beta	t	Sig.
Constant	79.041	2.282		34.630	<i>.000</i>
RE1: Niche Marketing & Investment	7.425	2.321	.262	3.199	<i>.002</i>
RE2: Cross-Selling	-2.259	2.289	-.081	-.987	.325
RE3: Market Protection	.408	2.398	.014	.170	.865
F-Ratio	3.714				
df	.143				
Sig:	<i>.013</i>				
R2	.074				
b) Strategies x ADR	B	Std. Error B	Beta	t	Sig.
Constant	2.034	.010		214.057	<i>.000</i>
RE1: Niche Marketing & Investment	.026	.011	.217	2.754	<i>.007</i>
RE2: Cross-Selling	-.017	.010	-.092	-1.176	.241
RE3: Market Protection	.017	.010	.134	1.692	.093
F-Ratio	3.631				
df	.154				
Sig:	<i>.014</i>				
R2	.067				
c) Strategies x Occupancy percentage	B	Std. Error B	Beta	t	Sig.
Constant	68.204	.907		75.194	<i>.000</i>
RE1: Niche Marketing & Investment	1.999	.900	.174	2.221	<i>.028</i>
RE2: Cross-Selling	-1.012	.906	.087	1.117	.266
RE3: Market Protection	-.245	.021	.021	.265	.791
F-Ratio	2.101				
df	161				
Sig:	.102				
R2	.038				

Discussion

The fact that Revenue Enhancing strategies were important to general managers and had a positive relationship with revenue per room and average daily revenue is very telling. These results are consistent with the literature that demonstrates that creative marketing is required to increase revenue growth, even in times of economic difficulty. The niche marketing approach described by having Marketed Uniqueness, combined with data mining to utilize market intelligence are important strategies to develop niche markets. In addition, paying to train staff and increasing marketing budgets are consistent with an improved marketing campaign and enhanced customer service levels. These findings agree with a previous study in which it was found that “less successful companies cut their R & D and advertising more deeply, putting them at a disadvantage for tapping the opportunities these expenditures might create” (Dobbs, Karakolev & Raj, 2007, p.83).

Market Protection had a positive impact on average daily room rate due to the focus on regional business. This finding is consistent with Butscher, Vidal and Dimier (2009) who found rate decreases can enhance profitability if they are targeted and differentiated. Otherwise, across-the-board price cutting can result in enhanced occupancy rates, but lower RevPAR (Enz, et al, 2009). Enz et al. (2009) also reported that hotels that price above the competition tend to have lower occupancy rates, but higher RevPAR.

Focusing on the immediate market, often considered to be a non-aggressive and limited strategy, can actually benefit properties. Research by Ricord and Perret (2010) demonstrated that when international travel declines, local and regional markets can be a sustainable revenue source that is easier to tap into (p.5).

The fact that Cross-Selling strategies were not significantly associated with any of the performance measures was contradictory to the literature. Value packaging is considered to be a positive way to enhance offerings without having to discount prices. Ricord and Perret (2010) maintained that such approaches included enhancing overall value for price by including introducing complimentary services such as breakfast, spa treatments, and extra room nights. However, in this study there was no discernable impact on performance outcomes of such strategies.

It is interesting that the Niche Marketing & Investment strategy did not relate positively to enhanced occupancy rates. However, niche marketing allows firms to charge more per unit through adding value to the total product. This is what may be reflected in the Canadian hotel sample. Instead of slashing rates to boost occupancy, creative general managers were able to enhance their product and use customer information more creatively to attract the best customers who were not looking for a bargain in spite of the volatile marketplace. This would also indicate that these managers paid attention to the third party suppliers and did not allow their inventory to be discounted. This approach is preferable because vendors do not have to downgrade their product or their brand by deep discounting to attract customers. Butscher et al (2009) indicated that price cutting can be a useful strategy during tough economic times “provided it is well used” (p.406). The authors suggest that the proper way to discount rates is with a mind to future rate

management, offering early bird rates and avoiding the temptation to permanently reduce prices, or to give the impression that regular room rates have been discounted.

Conclusions

This research strongly indicates that hotel managers should focus on niche marketing during these turbulent times and invest in the tools to aggressively target key customers. The research also suggests that a strong regional market focus will allow a hotel to enhance their average daily rate despite discounts by targeting value-added customers.

There are also additional strategies that may influence revenue generation that are outside of the approaches considered in this study. Butscher et al (2009) discuss the use of loyalty programs to build a solid market niche, particularly for properties that are not competing primarily on price. The ability to cross-sell, upsell, and bundle products and services leads to creative ways to offset slumping demand in the accommodations sector (Butscher et al (2009).

Future research should focus on identifying how cost cutting strategies could work with revenue enhancing strategies to facilitate growth in RevPAR, ADR and Occupancy percentage. Attention should also be given to the personal characteristics of the top management team and how their decisions impact strategic management in the hotel industry.

References

- Butscher, S., Vidal, D. & Dimier, C. (2009). "Managing Hotels in the Downtown: Smart Revenue Growth Through Pricing Optimisation". *Journal of Revenue and Pricing Management*, 8(5), 405-409.
- Carpenter, M., Geletkanycz, M. & Sanders, W. (2004). "Upper Echelons Research Revisited: Antecedents, Elements, and Consequences of Top Management Team Composition". *Journal of Management*, 30(6): 749-778.
- Crook, T., Ketchen, D. & Snow, C. (2003). "Competitive Edge: A Strategic Management Model". *Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly*, 44(3): 44-53.
- Dobbs, R., Karakolev, T. & Raj, R. (2007). "Preparing for the Next Downturn". *McKinsey Quarterly*, 3: 81-83.
- Enz, A., Canina, L. & Walsh, K. (2001). "Hotel Industry Averages: An Inaccurate Tool for Measuring Performance". *Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly*, 42(6), 22-32.
- Goll, I. & Rasheek, A. (2005). "The Relationships Between Top Management Demographic Characteristics, Rational Decision Making, Environmental Munificence, and Firm Performance". *Organization Studies*, 26(7): 999-1023.
- Hambrick, D. & Mason, P. (1984). "Upper Echelons: The Organization as a Reflection of its Top Managers". *Academy of Management Review*, 9(2): 193-206.
- Hotel Association of Canada (HAC). (2011). "Hotel industry fact sheet". Found at www.hotelassociation.ca
- Lloyd-Jones, A. (2010). "Stressed and Distressed Hotels". *HVS International Journal* (June) found at www.hvs.com
- Ormanidhi, O. & Stringa, O. (2008). "Porter's Model of Generic Competitive Strategies: An Insightful and Convenient Approach to Firms' Analysis", *Business Economics*, 43(3): 55-64.
- Ricord, P. & Perret, S. (2010). "Adapt, Survive and Overcome: the Fundamental Effects of the Downturn on Hotel Practices and Strategy". *HVS International Journal* (June) found at www.hvs.com.
- Yu, M. & Lee, B. (2009). "Efficiency and Effectiveness of Service Business: Evidence from International Tourism Hotels in Taiwan". *Tourism Management*, 30(4): 571-580.

Kristie Arsenault
UPEI, Student

Wendy R. Carroll
Associate Professor

Terry H. Wagar
Saint Mary's University

Examining bullying in Canadian workplaces: Preliminary findings from a content analysis study using arbitration case decisions.

In the U.S., it is estimated that employees leaving the workplace due to bullying costs in the vicinity of \$64 billion a year. From a Canadian perspective, less research has been done to understand the impact of bullying in the workplace. In this study, 20 Canadian arbitration cases over a 17 year period are examined for trends and directions. The preliminary findings suggest that employees dismissed for bullying usually go through a progressive discipline process before being dismissed. In 80% of these cases, the bullying is co-worker to co-worker. Overall, arbitrators are upholding dismissals (80% of the 20 cases), stating that appropriate steps to dismiss the bullying employees were followed and integration of the dismissed back into the workplace was not possible or desirable.

Introduction

According to Query and Hanley (2010), more than 2 million managers and professionals voluntarily leave their positions because of workplace unfairness such as bullying. "This exodus of fed-up employees is estimated to cost corporate America approximately \$64 billion annually" (Query & Hanley, 2010, p. 4). Bullying has a large impact on the workplace and how employees work and relate to each other. For example, bullying can cause employees to withdraw from work and be unable to work to the best of their abilities, ultimately impacting the productivity levels of the bullied employee and potentially other employees who observe incidents. These incidents in the workplace are challenging for all parties involved, including the employee being bullied, employees observing the behavior, managers, and human resource (HR) professionals.

Employers need guidance to help them determine how they should handle employees who are accused of bullying and also employees who state they have been bullied by a fellow employee. In order to provide some guidance to practitioners, this study examines the direction from arbitration case decisions. The purpose of this study is to examine Canadian arbitration cases that involve employees a.) who have bullied (seeking to overturn a dismal) or b.) who have been bullied (seeking to obtain some form of restitution), to tabulate the trends in case occurrences, and examine the directions provided by arbitrators to deal with bullying. As a result of conducting this study, a synthesis and evaluation of the cases provides guidance to managers and HR professionals on the directions they should consider when dealing with bullying.

Bullying in the Workplace

Bullying happens in many aspects of people's lives. However, more recently workplace bullying has become a major concern for HR professionals. For employers, the effects of bullying mostly impact the productivity of employees being bullied, but also the morale of the company. Employees that are being bullied, however, have to deal with both physical and emotional impacts. Bullying is not confined to a single type of workplace and incidents have been reported in many different types of workplaces from health care organizations to arts organizations (Martin & La Van, 2010). The following sections provide an overview of the definition of bullying as developed through the academic literature, a review of the literature on workplace bullying, and the role of arbitration cases in establishing trends and directions.

Defining Workplace Bullying

A review of the literature reveals that there are many definitions of workplace bullying. According to Weidmer (2010), workplace bullying is "the repeated, health-harming mistreatment of one or more person's (the targets) by one or more perpetrators that takes one or more of the following forms: verbal abuse, offensive conduct/behaviors (including non-verbal) which are threatening, humiliating, or intimidating; and work interference/ sabotage which prevents work from getting done" (p.35). This definition is helpful as it captures the essential elements relating to the efforts of the bully. To further inform the definition, Moayed et al (2006) posited another definition that not only focused on the bully's behavior, but also highlights the impact on the employee being bullied, including the effects on outcomes such as productivity. This definition states that bullying is the "prolonged and repeated hostile behaviours conducted by at least one person toward one or more individuals when they are unable to resolve their workplace conflicts in non-hostile manners and can cause health problems for victims and affect their performance" (Moayed, Daraiseh, Shell & Salem, 2006, p. 312). Moayed et al overarching rule of thumb is that there must be a bullying incident once a week for a period of six months or longer to be classified consistent and persistent.

Although there are other definitions for bullying in the workplace in the literature, these two capture the aspects relating to the behaviours of the bully and the impacts on the bullied most succinctly. In particular for this study, workplace bullying is considered to be any unwanted and

hurtful behaviors towards fellow employees that an employee demonstrates on a regular basis (i.e., it cannot be based on a one time incident, but repeated incidents – a singular incident is more appropriated categorized within the harassment or other workplace violations). These actions cause tension between employees and make it hard for the bully to work with fellow employees. For the purpose of this study, the above definition and parameters are used to examine workplace bullying.

Effects of Workplace Bullying

A review of the literature reveals that bullying has different categories and has taken both direct and indirect forms. Indirect forms of bullying include isolation, control, and manipulation of information, and control and abuse of working conditions. Some direct forms of bullying fall under categories such as emotional abuse including cognitive-emotional abuse, and, professional discredit and denigration, as well as behavioral abuse including devaluation of the professional role in the workplace (Escartin, Rodriguez-Carballeira, Zapf, Porrua & Martin-Pena, 2009).

The literature to date highlights the severity of the mental and physical health risks that may develop for employees in environments with incidents of workplace bullying. Continuous bullying can cause a person to eventually break down and find it difficult to perform work tasks. The possible affects found from bullying include higher levels of stress, lower job satisfaction, impact on psychological stress and increased tiredness compared to non-bullied employees (Hauge, Skogstad & Einarsen, 2010). Martin and La Van (2010) also found that bullying causes psychological and physiological effects at different levels and they used the following analogy to describe the impact of bullying - "... at the highest level, bullying is likened to a 'third-degree burn' resulting in ...deep scarring and permanent damage" (p.179). Some of the psychological effects may include burnout, post-traumatic stress disorder or possibly even alcohol abuse. Further, bullying in the workplace may cause other problems for an employee such as interpersonal and familial consequences (Martin & La Van, 2010). In addition to the above consequences, other medical problems including depression, anxiety, aggression, and musculoskeletal health issues may develop (Vartia, 2001). Query and Hanley (2010) highlight the physical consequences of workplace bullying such as high blood pressure, digestive problems, and loss of sleep. They also state that bullying can cause decreases in productivity and morale, and increases in absenteeism.

All of these issues affect impact the employee's health directly and the employer's operational and financial outcomes eventually. Yamada (2000) states that bullying may decrease production in the overall day-to-day business operations, increase direct costs such as increased medical, and increase workers compensation claims due to health problems caused from a stressful work environment. Indirect costs are also realized such as a decrease in an employee's interest in their jobs, a decrease in the employees quality of work or products and, a decrease in the workers overall happiness. As employees continue to work in situations where they are bullied, their effort towards the business and their work falls from a maximum to lower levels of performance. In addition, it has been found that employees who are being bullied at the workplace have a decreased loyalty towards their employers (Yamada, 2000). Workplace bullying can cause employees to even think about leaving the workplace or actually leaving their

current employer to avoid the person doing the bullying.

Employers may not only see a decrease of productivity and loyalty and an increased amount of medical and workers compensation claims, they may also have to deal with law suits from employees. Employees may feel that the working environment was unhealthy and caused them mental or physical health problems. Although employees may not always win these lawsuits, employers face the possibility of fairly large legal bills even if they win the lawsuit (Yamada, 2008).

Understanding Why Bullies Bully

Bullies may become bullies for a few different reasons, especially if that bully is a boss. Glendinning (2001) says that a bullying boss is looking for not only good results from employees, but control and power as well. Bullies like to not only have power, but to also display the power they have over other employees. If a bully is a boss, they also have influence and perceived control over their employee's livelihood, ultimately wielding some form of power. A boss could try to weaken the employees mentally, so that they can make themselves look good. This is also the way that employees could bully other employees, especially when it comes to job competition.

De Cuyper, Baillien and Witte (2009) found that job insecurity and workplace bullying are linked. They state that sometimes job insecurity can be based on rumors that are put in place to get employees to try to work harder or create rivalry between employees for positions. Also because this rivalry is created, at times employees may take it too far and begin to bully other employees. Job insecurity opens up the ability for bullies to take advantage of other employees who have a lower job status or employees who do not have much power over their jobs compared to their bosses or co-workers. These thoughts of job insecurity cause bullies to not just threaten the employees in lower level positions, but also employees who are even with them when it comes to job levels. They may feel threatened and have the need to feel superior to other employees to feel like they are safe (Rosigno, Lopez & Hodson, 2009). This bullying may go unnoticed, especially if anti-bullying policy are not set in place or followed within the organization. When there is no anti-bullying policy in place and enforced, then employees may not understand what constitutes bullying in the workplace (De Cuyper, Baillien and Witte, 2009).

With bullying in the workplace slowly becoming a more recognized issue by employers, there are more studies being done to find out the ways in which bullying begins and the possible reasons as to why an employee would become a bully within the workplace. If an organization is in a constantly changing market and has to continuously change, this may cause issues for the organization which in turn results in increased incidents of bullying. When a market is continuously changing and employees are expected to follow with these changes, employees may have a hard time to work together as a team or leaders may resort to less effective leadership behaviours, causing many problems within the organization such as lack of communication or conflicts. These factors could be the underlining causes for bullying within a workplace, especially when proper training and instructions are not given (Moayed, Daraiseh, Shell &

Salem, 2006).

There are many different reasons why a person becomes a bully. Some motives include exercising their ability to control others, dominating another person by showing their power, exacting retribution for perceived injustices, and keeping up with a self-image they may think they have. There have also been some organizational leaders who develop cultures that are very competitive, and these leaders think that encouraging bullying is a good way to manage their employees and to increase methods of performance management (Vickers, 2010). Other reasons for bullying have been identified in the literature and include reasons such as a person may have been bullied as a child themselves and the use of bullying is a defense mechanism. They think that if they bully someone then they will not be bullied back. It could also be because some people lack the social skills to know that bullying is unacceptable.

It is generally agreed by researchers and practitioners that bullying is an unacceptable and unethical act that should be discouraged in the workplace. Although workplace bullying is not solely a product of the workplace environment (i.e., individuals may have issues unrelated to the workplace that manifest there), the organizational climate and culture may play a significant role in fostering incidents of bullying. Factors relating to the type of work an employee does is related to bullying and poor working conditions have also be linked with bullying (Stouten, Baillien, Broeck, Camps, Witte & Euwema, 2010). Baillien, Neyens, Witte and De Cuyper (2009) have found a “three way model of workplace bullying”. This model identifies three possible pathways as to what may lead a person to bully. The first pathway is, “the intrapersonal level: workplace bullying as a result of frustrations” (p.8). The second pathway is, “the interpersonal level: Workplace bullying as a result of interpersonal conflict” (p.8). The third and last pathway is, “the intragroup level: Workplace bullying as a consequence of aspects within the team or the organization which directly stimulate bullying” (p.8). These are all possible ways that a person could possibly be lead to bullying other people.

Wheeler et al. (2010) suggest that workplace bullying may be a product of lack of instruction from management. For example, some of the environmental aspects of a workplace that may cause bullying include a social environment that is unsupportive and competitive, task-oriented managers, and the chain of command and changing organizations. Incidents of workplace bullying may become exasperated when organizations do not provide proper employee behavior policies such as anti-bullying. Other factors in the workplace such as the conflicting job structures, rewarding or giving support to bullies, creating situations where employees feel a lack of control, restructuring or downsizing and implementing organizational change ineffectively, is all known factors to cause bullying. These are things that employers should be aware of and watch to ensure bullying does not happen in their organization (Wheeler, Halbesleben & Shanine, 2010).

Bullying in the workplace can cause many problems for everyone involved, though it might affect some more than others. Namie and Namie (2004) stated that “bullied targets have a 70 percent chance that they will lose their jobs, either voluntarily (33 percent) or through constructive discharge (37 percent), after being targeted”. This suggests that bullying really does cause not only mental and physical anguish for the targets of bullying, but also operational and financial consequences for the organization (Namie & Namie, 2004).

The Role of Arbitration Cases

Bullying causes many problems within the workplace for employees, managers, and HR professionals. There are many difficult tasks that need to be tackled to decrease or eliminate bullying within the workplace. For example, normally a target of bullying waits up to 22 months before they talk to a superior about being bullied. This suggests that bullying can go relatively unnoticed and, to reduce risks to employees and the employer, this situation needs to change so bullying can be stopped (Namie, 2007).

Query and Hanley (2010) say that one of the problems that employers have is finding out that workplace bullying is even happening within the workplace. Employers may have a hard time to distinguish between someone getting bullied and someone who is just being bossy. Namie states that usually a person will come to HR personnel or their employer once they have been bullied on numerous occasions. Employers may have a hard time to differentiate whether or not there is just a clash of personalities or something more serious. Once the employee being bullied comes to the employer or HR professional it is hard to find out what had really happened because as time goes on other fellow employees take sides and it is hard to get an objective opinion (Namie, 2007).

Arbitration cases can be useful way of examining and determining trends in the number of cases and directions provided to employers about dealing workplace-bullying. An arbitration case is a matter of dispute between an employer and employee represented by a union. In this context, arbitration cases that provide the best guidance are those specifically relating to employees who bullied or employees who have been bullied. A third party representative, namely an arbitrator, hears both sides of the case and then makes a decision based on the evidence. These decisions are legally binding to both sides. These arbitration cases can then be used in the future to decide what actions should be taken for other like cases in the future.

This study aims to provide managers and HR professional with an overview of the trends in workplace bullying arbitration cases, the direction provided by arbitrators to resolve different types of bullying situations and highlight the principles that may inform anti-bullying policy development for employers.

Method

This study was conducted using a content analysis methodology following Weber (1990).

Document Sampling and Selection

Canadian arbitration cases involving bullying in the workplace were extracted by searching a database called Quick Law. The cases that have been used in this study to determine

the direction and trends that arbitrators are going in when handling bullying in the workplace cases. To find the arbitration cases to be used first a search of the Quick Law database was started by using the words: “Bullying” & “Workplace” as the search words to find the cases that would meet the guidelines.

The certain guidelines that are imposed for the inclusion of a case into the study are:

1. The arbitration case must have a final decision rendered by an arbitrator.
2. The cases must involve an employee who was accused of bullying causing them to be terminated or an employee who had been dismissed for being bullied.

Text Analysis and Coding

A framework was designed to identify the factors for analysis of the cases. The data collection framework included the following pieces of information about the grievance: year; employer name, size, and age; union name, type, and age; arbitrators name and sex; grievor’s name, age, and sex; grievance nature, disposition, remedy, and jurisprudence. All arbitration cases meeting the content analysis inclusion criteria were thoroughly reviewed to collect the data fields identified above.

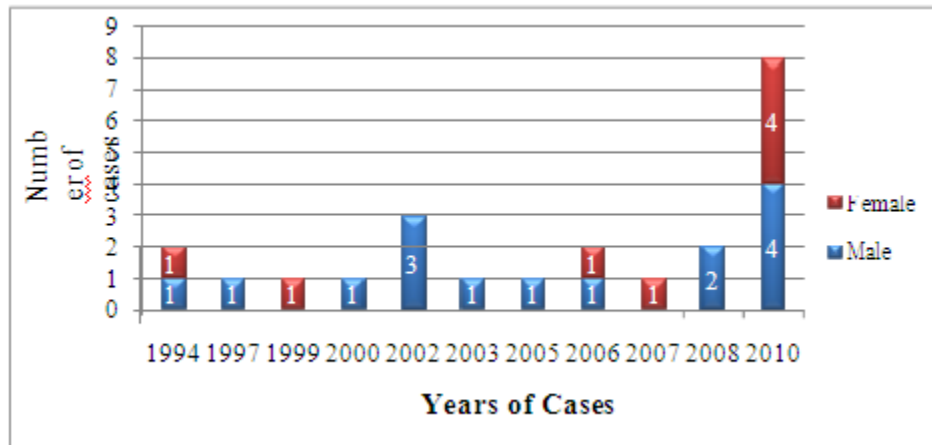
Findings

An in-depth review of the cases was conducted. The following sections provide the descriptive statistics from the cases included in the study and the analysis based on the arbitration outcomes.

Descriptive Findings and Trends

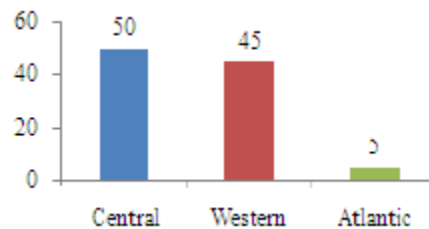
Using the inclusion criteria specified above, there were 20 cases identified for inclusion in this study (dating from 1994 and 2010). Out these 20 cases reviewed, it can be noted that there is an increase in the number of cases going to arbitration year-over-year (See Figure 1). Although there are not cases in every year, it can be noted that the volume of cases increases over time. There were instances of multiple grievors in one arbitration case. Out of the 23 grievors from the 20 cases, 15 were males and 8 were females.

Figure 1: Number of cases by year and sex



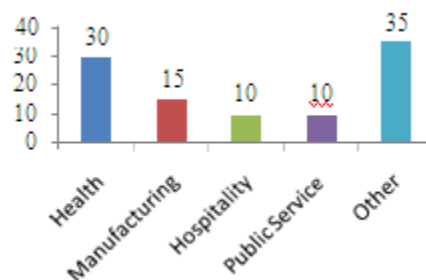
Of the 20 cases included in the study, 10 of the cases were from the Ontario region, 4 cases came from Alberta and 4 cases came from British Columbia. There were only two cases that came from Manitoba and Nova Scotia. Regionally, the highest percentage of cases is in Central and Western Canada (See Figure 2).

Figure 2: Percentage of cases by region



A variety of industries are represented in the case study as shown in the Figure 3 below. The highest number came from the health care industry with six cases, followed by manufacturing industry with 3 cases, and then hospitality with 2 cases.

Figure 3: Percentage Cases by Industry Sector by Province



Of the grievances, 55% were of an employee who bullied co-workers, 25% an employee who bullied a co-worker, 15% an employee (the boss) bullying subordinates, and 5% an employee bullying a boss. Seventy percent of the cases were heard by male arbitrators. The employer was successful in 17 of the cases in the study, indicating that bullying or acts of bullying are not to be tolerated. Of the 20 cases, only 3 cases were successful for the grievor. In none of these cases did success for the grievor equate to getting awarded fully what they requested through the grievance and arbitration process.

Arbitration Case Directions

The outcomes of the 20 cases can be grouped into three categories – 1.) the employer won and the employee remains terminated, 2.) the employee partially won and they remained employed, 3.) the employee won compensation, but remains terminated and the employer won against the employee accusing the employer of bullying.

There were 16 cases where the employer was successful and the employee remained terminated due to their actions. One of the main reasons why they were not reinstated was the inability of the employee to return to the work environment and maintain a good work relationship with fellow employees and the employer. Also another reason why the employee was not reinstated was their lack of apology or acknowledgement of any wrong-doing. Most of the employees who had lost their grievances were only terminated after they were first suspended from work for a number of days and then were given a second and even a third opportunity to show that they could change their behavior. Once they had returned to work and their old behaviors re-occurred they were then terminated. Most of the arbitrators stated that the evidence presented by the union did not support the grievor's claim that they did not bully another employee (s).

There were four cases where the grievor had partially won their grievance. In these cases, two came from an employee who was accused of bullying. In the first case of the University Health Network v. Ontario Public Service Employees Union (Abraham Grievance) where the grievor remained terminated, he was awarded 20 weeks salary and final compensation for loss of employment. In the second case of Agawa Forest Products v. Industrial Wood and Allied Workers of Canada, the employee was not terminated for their bullying actions, but was suspended. The arbitrator did, however, instruct the employer to keep the suspension noted on the employee's record. The employee had only a few incidences of bullying and as a result the arbitrator found it reasonable to give the employee a second chance to change their behavior. The arbitrator further instructed the employee to attend counseling.

In the third area, there had been 3 employees accused by the employer of bullying. In one case, the grievor did not win the grievance as a result of being bullied, but rather because the employer did not follow formal investigation procedures. In another case (Metro Stores Inc. v. United Food and Commercial Workers International Union), there was a claim that the managers were bullying the employee. The employee did not win this grievance. The arbitrator suggested that the employer move the employee to another store where there would be no more tension between the employee and management.

As a result of analyzing the 20 cases, a number of precedents for future cases were determined by arbitrators. In almost all cases, the test of the relationship between the bullied and the bully were central to the arbitrator's decision to return an employee to a workplace. In the case of *Metro Stores Inc. v. United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (Livingston Grievance)*, the arbitrator Susan Tacon ordered the parties to discuss a better placement for the grievor at a different store - somewhere she would be better suited to work. Lastly in the case of *Burnaby Villa Hotel v. Hotel, Restaurant & Culinary Employees & Bartenders Union*, the arbitrator, Joan I. McEwen, set a few directions for the employer to take for future precautions. She suggested that employees should receive training on workplace harassment and bullying, as well as the employer should take more seriously workers complaints of harassment or bullying and offer a progressive form of discipline for offenders.

Out of the 20 cases included in the study, nine used previous arbitration case decisions to guide the outcome of the decision rendered. In the case of *Metro Stores Inc. v. United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (Livingston Grievance)*, the arbitrator referred to the Nunavut case where they had quoted a part in the case stating that any matter of harassment is a serious matter and should not be something to be taken lightly. Despite the fact the grievor really thought she had been harassed, the evidence must be available to support such claims. The arbitrator for the Livingston Grievance used this direction to show that there had not been enough evidence in the grievor's case and, therefore, could not award anything in their favor. Another example is the *Extendicare (Canada) Inc. - St. Paul v. Canadian Union of Public Employees (Yettaw Grievance)*, where the arbitrator used this case to show that just because someone has used verbal abuse on a fellow employee does not mean they should be terminated. The arbitrator used this case to show that when the abuse is on a regular basis then it is not acceptable and termination is an acceptable punishment.

Discussion

After studying 20 Canadian Arbitration cases, the findings show that there has been a gradual increase in workplace bullying cases, with the most significant increase in 2010. These arbitration cases reveal that there is a need for education for employees to inform them of not just what is acceptable behavior, but also what is unacceptable behaviour. Education is an important direction that emerges from decisions rendered by arbitrators in these cases. Employers need to be in contact with employees and talk to them about how they are doing and ask them if they have any questions or would like to say anything about work. This communication and education process would give the employer and the employee one on one time to speak about issues the employee might not otherwise bring up.

The cases included in this study show a pattern of progressive disciplinary action taken by employers with employees accused of bullying in the workplace. The cases reveal a common disciplinary approach involving first letters and warnings, then a suspension for unacceptable behavior, followed by an employee return to work. If the behavior continued and had not improved after a suspension, employees were terminated. This approach was a common method

because it gives the employee a chance to improve their actions and behaviors. However, in the arbitration cases included in the study this process did not seem to work and termination of the employee was the outcome. In the cases, it was revealed that this was often because the employee did not feel that they had done anything wrong and that, therefore, there was nothing to improve.

These arbitration cases show that employers need to take more of a hands-on approach when dealing with bullying and the employees involved. Letters and warnings do not always allow the employee to see what they have been doing wrong. In some cases, the employee needs to be shown what it is like to be on the other side of bullying, as in the one who is being bullied. This would be hard to do, so HR professionals need to come up with other methods to inform employees of what is and is not acceptable behavior. A possible approach for HR professionals is to develop training sessions that include using simulations conducted in other controlled environments about bullying behavior. These tools can be used to open up dialogue and discussion. Alternatively, in some instances one-on-one counseling may be best to assist employees who are bullying.

This content analysis of Canadian arbitration cases shows evidence that, when bullying in the workplace is addressed by employers, a zero tolerance approach seems to be enforced. As the cases reveal, when the employer terminates an employee for bullying, arbitrators have upheld the decisions as just cause dismissals. However, the cases show that there is a need for more education for employees to understand how to correct their bullying behaviors or for employees who are being bullied. By increasing education and communication, employers may more proactively stop bullying in the workplace.

References

- Baillien, E., Neyens, I., De Witte, H., & De Cuyper, N. (2009). A qualitative study on the development of workplace bullying: Towards a three way model. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology, 19*(1), 1-16.
- De Cuyper, N., Baillien, E., & De Witte, H. (2009). Job insecurity, perceived employability and targets' and perpetrators' experiences of workplace bullying. *Work & Stress, 23*(3), 206-224.
- Escartín, J., Rodríguez-Carballeira, A., Zapf, D., Porrúa, C., & Martín-Peña, J. (2009). Perceived severity of various bullying behaviours at work and the relevance of exposure to bullying. *Work & Stress, 23*(3), 191-205.
- Glendinning, Peter M. (2001). Workplace bullying: curing the cancer of the American workplace. *ProQuest Psychology Journals, 30*(3).
- Hauge, L. J., Skogstad, A., & Einarsen, S. (2009). Individual and situational predictors of workplace bullying: Why do perpetrators engage in the bullying of others? *Work & Stress, 23*(4), 349-358.
- Hauge, L. J., Skogstad, A., & Einarsen S. (2010). The relative impact of workplace bullying as a social stressor at work. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology, 51*(5), 426-433.
- Martin, W., & LaVan, H. (2010). Workplace bullying: A review of litigated cases. *Employee Responsibilities & Rights Journal, 22*(3), 175-194.
- Moayed, F. A., Daraiseh, N., Shell, R., & Salem, S. (2006). Workplace bullying: A systematic review of risk factors and outcomes. *Theoretical Issues in Ergonomics Science, 7*(3), 311-327.
- Namie, Gary, & Namie, Ruth. (2004). Workplace bullying: how to address America's silent epidemic. *Employee Rights and Employment Policy Journal, 8*(2).
- Namie, G. (2007). The challenge of workplace bullying. *Employment Relations Today, 34*.
- Query, T., & Hanley, G. M. (2010). Recognizing and managing risks associated with workplace bullying. *CPCU eJournal, 63*(7), 1-8.
- Roscigno, V. J., Lopez, S. H., & Hodson, R. (2009). Supervisory bullying, status inequalities and organizational context. *Social Forces, 87*(3), 1561-1589.
- Stouten, J., Baillien, E., Broeck, A., Camps, J., Witte, H., & Euwema, M. (2010). Discouraging bullying: The role of ethical leadership and its effects on the work environment. *Journal of Business Ethics, 95*, 17-27.

- Vartia, Maarit A-L. (2001). Consequences of workplace bullying with respect to the well-being of its targets and the observers of bullying. *Scandinavian Journal of Work Environment & Health*, 27(1).
- Vickers, M. H. (2010). Introduction--bullying, mobbing, and violence in public service workplaces. *Administrative Theory & Praxis (M.E.Sharpe)*, 32(1), 7-24.
- Weber, R. P. (1990). *Basic Content Analysis* (Vol. 49). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Wheeler, A. R., Halbesleben, J. R. B., & Shanine, K. (2010). Eating their cake and everyone else's cake, too: Resources as the main ingredient to workplace bullying. *Business Horizons*, 53(6).
- Wiedmer, T. L. (2010). Workplace bullying: Costly and preventable. *Delta Kappa Gamma Bulletin*, 77(2), 35-41.
- Yamada, D.C. (2000). The phenomenon of "workplace bullying" and the need for status-blind hostile work environment protection. *Georgetown Law Journal*.
- Yamada, D.C. (2008). Workplace bullying and ethical leadership. *Journal of Values Based Leadership*, 1(2).

Scott MacMillan & Anthony R. Yue
Mount Saint Vincent University
Halifax, NS, Canada

Finding Meaning through Work: Untangling the Braided Discourses

This paper examines the braided discourses of finding meaning through work which is being indirectly promoted by the Job-Career-Calling model, the Spirituality in the Workplace field, and the Positive Psychology movement. We explore the intertextuality of these three areas converging to encourage meaning in life to be found through one's work. We then critique this growing discourse and argue that this "finding meaning through work" discourse is unrealistic for many people and is problematic as it is situating work as the default meaning for human existence.

Introduction

Rene Descartes was wrong. It isn't *Cogito, ergo sum* (I think, therefore I am), but rather *Labora, ergo sum* (I work, therefore I am). We need work, and as adults we find identity in and are identified by the work we do. Our work tells us who we are. If this is true, then we must be very careful about what we choose to do for a living, for what we do is what we become. At its worst, work is a burden and a necessity. At its best, work can be an act of personal freedom and self-realization. But either way, work is a necessary and defining ingredient in our lives. (Gini, 2000: 12)

We can conceptualize life as occupying two spheres – the outer life where we interact each day with other people including our work lives, and the inner life, the one we live in our mind, our thoughts and emotions (Fox, 1994). These two components or worlds are closely connected, and in order for the individual self to be fulfilled they must be adequately bridged. What happens in the outer world arguably affects the inner world and vice versa (Hollis, 2008). The literature on meaning suggests that work is a significant and obvious component of most people's outer life whereas meaning is intrinsic and "realized" in our inner life (Fox, 1994).

This paper explores the discourse of finding ‘meaning through work’ which is being indirectly promoted by the Job-Career-Calling model, the Spirituality in the Workplace field, and flow as an example of the Positive Psychology movement. The Job-Career-Calling model outlines a hierarchy of work from job to career to calling that implies that viewing work as a calling is preferable to work as a job or career (Freed, 2003; Wrzesniewski, 2002; Wrzesniewski et al., 1997). Adding to the belief that meaning is found through work is the spirituality and work “movement,” which has emerged strongly in the past decade (Dalton, 2001; Elmes & Smith, 2001; Fox, 1994; Gibbons, 2000; Harrington, Preziosi, & Gooden, 2001; Howard, 2002; Lips-Wiersma, 2002, 2004; Lips-Wiersma & Mills, 2002; Marques, 2005; Marques, Dhiman, & King, 2005, 2006; McCormick, 1994; Mitroff & Denton, 1999a; Ottaway, 2003; Tischler, 1999). Most scholars agree that spirituality in the workplace is an attempt to make a stronger connection between people’s outer work life with their inner life, and many now believe that there is a growing hunger for a more meaningful or spiritual life (King & Nicol, 1999). Lastly, also contributing indirectly to the growing discourse that meaning should be found through one’s work is the Positive Psychology area which is promoting happiness in the workplace as an attitude.

These three areas are significant components of the growing discourse that meaning in life can be found through one’s work, i.e., find your Calling. As a result of work being privileged in this way people are attempting to seek out work that is their main source of meaning in life. However, this is not only unrealistic for many people, it is problematic as it situates work as the primary purpose of human existence. In this paper we explore the increasing privileging of work and the problems we see of this growing discourse.

The Job-Career-Calling Model

The Job-Career-Calling model was introduced in the classic book, *Habits of the Heart* (Bellah et al., 1985), which was an in-depth look at how life was being lived in the United States. Bellah et al (1985) argued that people were oriented to their work in three distinct ways, as a Job, as a Career, or as a Calling. They defined a Job as “work as a way of making money and making a living...supports a self defined by economic success, security and all that money can buy,” a Career as work that “traces one’s progress through life by achievement and advancement in an occupation...yields a self defined by a broader sense of success, which takes in social standing and prestige, and by a sense of expanding power and competency that renders work itself a source of self-esteem,” and a Calling as work that “constitutes a practical ideal of activity and character that makes a person’s work morally inseparable from his or her life...links a person to the larger

community...a crucial link between the individual and the public good” (Bellah et al., 1985: 66). Therefore, a person with a Job orientation views work primarily as a means for economic gain, a Career orientation as a development path, and a Calling orientation as purpose in life and work that the individual would engage in even if he or she had no financial need for work (Bellah et al., 1985). The Job-Career-Calling categorization can be thought of as a continuum of personal investment with a Job orientation placed at one end, a Career orientation in the middle, and a Calling orientation at the far end (Wrzesniewski, 1999)(see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Job-Career-Calling Continuum

Job Orientation	Career Orientation	Calling Orientation
Low personal investment		High personal investment

In a Job orientation, work represents the minimal personal investment whereas this is highest at the Calling orientation end of the continuum. People with a Job orientation view work as primarily “financial necessity” and typically they are counting the days until retirement with the belief that at that point they will be free to do what they really want to do in life. A Career orientation lies in the middle of the continuum as it involves a greater investment for the individual than a Job but less than a Calling. “The notion of a ‘career’ implies an organizational ladder to be climbed, but it also stands for an institutionalized life path and a series of choice processes” (Moen, 1998: 41). People with a Calling orientation to work do not separate their work from the rest of their life as people can do with a Job or Career orientation; a Calling *is* their life.

Historically, a career has been considered as work that is desirable, i.e., people are encouraged to seek out a career and not view their work as a only a means of financial gain (Collin & Young, 2000). However in recent years, careers have been replaced in importance by callings and people are now being encouraged to find their calling (Duffy & Sedlacek, 2007; Novak, 1996). Callings were originally related to religious endeavors, i.e., “called by God,” and examples include Mother Theresa and Billy Graham (Delbecq, 2004; Weiss, Skelley, Haughey, & Hall, 2004). Sometimes the term Calling is used interchangeably with vocation while others differentiate between the two with calling being a defined as an “external” call, i.e., outside the self, and vocation being defined as an “internal” call (Dik & Duffy, 2009). “A calling is a transcendent summons, experienced as originating beyond the self, to approach a particular life role in a manner oriented toward demonstrating a sense of purpose or meaningfulness and that holds other-oriented values and goals as primary sources of motivation” (Dik & Duffy, 2009: 427). Callings have also been associated with work that serves the greater good of society (Wrzesniewski et al., 1997). From a secular point of view, callings are usually identified

by asking people what they would do with their lives if they did not have the financial need to work.

Wrzesniewski, McCauley, Rozin and Schwartz (1997) investigated the Job-Career-Calling model by surveying 196 university employees and found considerable empirical support for the distinction between the three orientations. They also found that work orientation was not occupation dependent, i.e., within the same occupation you could find people who viewed the same work as a job, career or calling. The work itself does not necessarily matter, only how it is regarded by the individual. For example, working as a police officer may be a Job for one person, for another it is a Career and for others still, a Calling. “Satisfaction with life and work may be more dependent on how an employee sees his or her work than on income or occupational prestige” (Wrzesniewski et al., 1997: 31). Lastly, they claim that the same work can start as a career or even a calling but over time turn into just a job. The new nurse may at first see his or her work as a calling but this may change significantly over time and later in life consider the same profession as a job.

We believe that we have demonstrated that it is easy for most people to assign themselves to one of the three Job, Career, or Calling dimensions, based on degree of agreement with three paragraphs representing the three work-relations. The differentiation of the three orientations was clearer and easier than we had anticipated. In accord with our predictions, we presented evidence indicating highest life and work satisfaction for respondents who see their work as a Calling – even when income, education, and occupation are at least roughly controlled (the administrative assistants). (Wrzesniewski et al., 1997: 30-31)

In her Ph.D. dissertation on the Job-Career-Calling model and job loss, Wrzesniewski (1999) found that work orientation influences behaviours after suffering a job loss. She also reported a relationship between age and work orientation. Her results indicate that younger job seekers were more oriented towards a career while older job seekers had stronger orientations towards callings.

Preliminary research implies that the most contented and therefore productive people are those who see their work as a calling (De Klerk, 2005; Wrzesniewski et al., 1997; Wrzesniewski & Tosti, 2006). “Calling-oriented individuals report higher job and life satisfaction, even after controlling for income, level of education, and occupation, than people who view their work as jobs or careers. These employees also report higher work motivation and are less likely to regret their choice of occupations” (Wrzesniewski & Tosti, 2006: 74).

Freed (2003) investigated the relationship between the three orientations and job satisfaction, and found support that people with a Job orientation were least satisfied with their work, people with a Calling orientation were most satisfied, and that people with a Career orientation were in the middle. Other research has proposed that having a calling is connected with being perceived as a “success” in life (Heslin, 2005). Lastly, it has been suggested that people may be able to “re-craft” i.e., reframe their conception of their work, and change their view in order to find greater meaning in it (Parry, 2006; Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001). For example, if a hospital cleaner could connect his or her work to the greater purpose of helping others, then the work could be viewed as a calling instead of a job and result in greater meaning for the individual.

Banaga (2000) applied a framework based on spirituality and work to analyze the interviews of sixteen people between the ages of 38 and 78 to investigate why people may view their work as a calling. The results indicated that callings are related to contribution and concern for others, and usually aligned with one’s faith. “The results of my study show that spirituality and religion can have a significant influence in the experience of work” (Banaga, 2000: 218). However, Banaga (2000) also noted that a Calling may also be connected to increased levels of stress. Duffy and Sedlacek (2007) surveyed 3091 first-year university students using a 20-item scale to investigate the presence of or search for a calling. They concluded that, “students searching for a calling and those who obtain a calling are at very different points in their career development, and that the process to find a career calling may take a considerable amount of time...it may not be until some students feel a calling that they truly understand the importance of work in their lives” (Duffy & Sedlacek, 2007: 598). In a review of the literature on Callings, Dik and Duffy (2009) hypothesize that finding a calling may be related to the influence of family and critical events in a person’s life, e.g., disasters such as the 9/11 attacks, Hurricane Katrina, and the Asian tsunami. They call for more research into the origins of callings and how ‘finding your calling’ might be encouraged in people (Dik & Duffy, 2009).

The Job-Career-Calling model has sparked interest in the management research community but the research is in an early stage, and has been mostly quantitative in nature. Although the model appears to provide an efficient way to categorize the importance of work in a life, human existence is very complex and how people understand the various parts of their lives may defy simple categorizations.

Spirituality in the Workplace

Adding a new voice and therefore greater emphasis to the meaning through work discussion is the ‘Spirituality and Work’ movement. The topic of spirituality and work first appeared in the early-1990s and has grown quickly over the past fifteen years (Dalton, 2001; Elmes & Smith, 2001; Fox, 2003; Fox, 1994; Garcia-Zamor, 2003; Gibbons, 2000; Harrington et al., 2001; Howard, 2002; Lips-Wiersma, 2002, 2004; McCormick, 1994; Mitroff & Denton, 1999a; Ottaway, 2003; Tischler, 1999). The interest in spirituality and work has resulted in a plethora of research, space at academic business conferences, and consulting businesses. There are now numerous articles, books, websites and consulting companies dedicated to the promotion of spirituality and work. A search on “spirituality and work” in the databases ABI and EBSCO yields 410 and 1588 results respectively. On the Google search engine “spirituality and work” yields 154,000 results. It has been estimated that there are now over 300 books on spirituality and work. The Academy of Management has created a new interest section called “Management, Spirituality, and Religion” to respond to the great demand for the incorporation of values at work. “Business owners, managers, policymakers, and academic researchers all need to remember, as many surveys indicate, that tens of millions of world citizens are hungering for transmaterial, mind-expanding, soul-enriching, and heart-centred (spiritual) values” (Butts, 1999: 329).

Spirituality and work is viewed from many perspectives and has been defined in a variety of ways. Some scholars regard it from a religious perspective, i.e., bringing God into work practices, while others view it from a secular perspective. “Spirituality at work is not about religious beliefs...it is about people who perceive themselves as spirited beings, whose spirit needs energizing at work. It is about experiencing real purpose and meaning in their work beyond paychecks and task performance” (Harrington et al., 2001: 155). Dalton (2001: 18) maintains that “it is possible to speak of spirituality as a universal human activity because life is filled with experiences that drive us to question and seek answers on the meaning and purpose of existence.” Mitroff and Denton (1999b: 83) define spirituality “as the basic feeling of being connected with one’s complete self, others, and the entire universe.” No matter how it is defined it is clear that spirituality in the workplace is an attempt to bridge the gap between work and the overall pursuit of a meaningful life.

We each need to find meaning and purpose and develop our potential, to live an integrated life. Spirituality encompasses the way an individual lives out his or her sense of interconnectedness with the world through an ability to tap into deep resources... spirituality is both highly individual and intensely personal, as well as inclusive and universal. (Howard, 2002: 231).

The interest in spirituality and work has been linked back to the 1960s, when people were rebelling against many institutions and looking for different life experiences (Tischler, 1999). It has also been connected to the 1980's where there was a tremendous generation of wealth and people were making increased salaries but were still not happy with their lives (Garcia-Zamor, 2003). The changing of the psychological contract between employee and employer, downsizing and massive company layoffs, and increased use of technology are also considered to be motivators of the spirituality movement (Harrington et al., 2001). Also influencing the spirituality and work movement is a heightened awareness due to scientific discoveries about the dangers to the environment such as global warming and ozone depletion. Jaccaci and Gault (1999: 22) argue that "this renaissance, this dawning and awakening of humanity, is the emerging era of evolution...it is a time of our conscious creation of human evolution shaping all life on earth."

Not surprisingly, there are both physical and psychological benefits to having a healthy spiritual life, and work has been shown to play an important role in a person's well-being. Parker-Hope (2001: 9) claims that "increasingly, the medical profession is promoting the notion that a person's spiritual well-being may be as important a factor in long-term health as are diet and exercise...it [the value of spiritual health] has become a widely accepted area of medical study." There has also been a connection proposed between spirituality and emotional intelligence - the more in touch with his or her spirituality, the greater will be his or her emotional intelligence (EQ), and therefore the more productive he or she will be at work (Tischler, Biberman, & McKeage, 2002). Spirituality and work has been shown to have a positive correlation to job satisfaction and helps to prevent burnout (Komala & Ganesh, 2007). Lastly, a spiritual workplace has been shown by some scholars to have a direct correlation to ethical behaviour (Garcia-Zamor, 2003; Moberg, 2001; Pava, 1999).

The interest in spirituality and work is contributing a new voice to the meaning of work discussion for academics and lay people. "The study of spirituality and religion has catapulted into mainstream psychology as an area that can shed light on many variables, including those tied to work and working" (Duffy, 2006: 52). Many spirituality and work scholars argue that work should be "meaningful" to the individual, that work should be where we find our "purpose," and for the need to integrate spirit and work (Fox, 1994; Harrington et al., 2001; Herman & Gioia, 1998; Mitroff & Denton, 1999a, 1999b; Raelin, 2006).

Despite the fact that many are arguing for the incorporation of spirituality into the workplace, there is great debate about what this means and what a "spiritual workplace" or a "spiritual organization" would look like (Bell & Taylor, 2003; Butts, 1999; Garcia-Zamor, 2003; Howard, 2002; Marques et al., 2005; Ottaway, 2003). Regardless of the

problems within the literature of this emerging field, the interest in spirituality and work both reflects and further illuminates the problem of a lack of meaning in the workplace, what some have termed a “spiritual crisis,” and has especially focused attention on the desire felt by many individuals for their work to have meaning.

Positive Psychology

Positive psychology, provided that as a field it does not denounce its humanist roots, is far from new. In fact, modern notions of positive psychology can be traced to William James (Froh, 2004) although the more recent call for action by Seligman, in his 1998 APA Presidential Address, is typically seen as a watershed moment (Froh, 2004). Mired in discussion of how (indeed if) to scientifically and empirically examine human potentiality, the ongoing discussions about how the science of psychology is differentiated from humanistic approaches makes the 1998 address particularly poignant, as a scientific positive psychology is actionable.

At its core, positive psychology is concerned with human potentiality rather than solely the status quo, and so notions of an individual and their capabilities are intertwined with aspiration, self knowledge and striving. In his classic work *Beyond Boredom and Anxiety: Experiencing Flow in Work and Play* Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (1975) makes an early contemporary contribution through his popular discussion of the concept of *flow*. Flow states are characterized by total personal immersion in some activity or pursuit, even to the extent that the individual does not perceive the passage of time in the conventional way. This is further seen as being related to personal growth, self knowledge, and mastery of increasingly difficult and complex performances, all outcomes and likewise preconditions for the flow experience.

There is an implicit link to be made between the humanistic, indeed spiritual, aspects of being “called” to become something and the flow based ideas of striving to develop at the personal level in ever increasingly complex and challenging ways. Of course, the artistic and sporting fields are easy places to find examples of the flow states which Csikszentmihalyi writes of. Moreover, with the increasing time spent at work, it becomes obvious that this field becomes an area of focus as well. It seems too tenuous a coincidence that the popularized ideas of a positive psychology situated notion of flow coincides with the virtual explosion of the spirituality at work movement. The subtext of near moralist intent in *Beyond Boredom and Anxiety: Experiencing Flow in Work and Play* (1975) goes beyond *be all that you can be to become more than you thought you could be*; process based striving with intent is a core element of the spirituality at work movement.

Through the intertextuality of the Job-Career Calling model, the spirituality at work movement, and the humanist inspired science of positive psychology field we can begin to discern a tightly woven narrative. If work is where life's meaning is to be found, then the supposed satisfaction in following ones calling when combined with the "ought" of a requirement to seek and maintain a spiritual connection at work needs an understandable way to apply effort. Positive psychology, particularly using flow states as an example, provides a measureable and scientifically legitimized construct to tell us how well we are progressing in becoming called to our work or spiritual in our approach to work. That is, happiness as a measureable and process based outcome has elements of a deontological ethics which is compatible with both the secular idea of a calling and the transcendental sense of the spirituality at work movement.

The Meaning Through Work Narrative

Reflecting on the meaning of life may be spurred by psychological crisis but it may also arise from an acute awareness that Henry David Thoreau was correct: most people do lead lives of quiet desperation. (Bellioti, 2001: 10)

The Job-Career-Calling model, the Spirituality in the Workplace field, and elements of the Positively Psychology movement support the notion that work is where meaning in life is found. However, while it of course beneficial for people to enjoy their work and not hate it, it is also problematic when people believe without question that their work should be their main source of meaning in life. This is not only unrealistic for many people, but it also creates an expectation on work that in most cases can never be satisfied.

Despite the increase in the importance of work in many people's lives, work can have severe consequences for both individuals and organizations. For many people, work results in anxiety, depression, stress, burnout, other work-related health problems (Blustein, 2006; Ciulla, 2000; Fox, 1994; Grint, 2005; Kanungo, 1992; Maslach, 1982; Mottaz, 1981; Pahl, 1995; Pines, Aronson, & Kafry, 1981; Rinehart, 2006), concerns of inadequate mix of work/non-work life (Bunting, 2004; Ciulla, 2000; Judge, Ilies, & Scott, 2006; Nippert-Eng, 1996; Pahl, 1995), workaholism (Bunting, 2004; Burke, 2001; Harpaz & Snir, 2003; Snir & Harpaz, 2006), and feelings of alienation (Baxter, 1982; Blustein, 2006; Kanungo, 1992; Mottaz, 1981; Neff, 1985; Rinehart, 2006). At the same time, organizations are dealing with problems of turnover, absenteeism, low productivity, and employee cynicism (Cartwright & Holmes, 2006; Jex & Crossley, 2005; Warr, 2007). One reason for these problems, as Mills and Simmons (1999: 114-115) remind us

is that “people do not leave their selves behind when they come to work. The workplace is charged with emotionality, family concerns, sexuality, worries, hopes and dreams: try as they may, persons cannot divorce their selves from the workplace. Organizations are composed of persons with diverse psychological needs and behaviours which inevitably come to influence, and are shaped by, working relationships.”

Unfortunately, organizational mergers, downsizing, technology, acquisitions and strategic alliances have resulted in employees spending less time with one organization, many people having periods of unemployment, an increased trend toward contingent and part-time work, and people having multiple careers, all of which creates stress to individual workers (Nachbagauer & Riedl, 2002; Ransome, 1996; Rifkin, 1995; Turner, Barling, & Zacharatos, 2005; Zikic & Richardson, 2007). The ‘job for life’ concept of the past has now become obsolete for many people (Collin & Young, 2000; Hall, 1996). Additionally, many workplaces are being described as “toxic environments” with a variety of problems for employees: high levels of stress, depression, feelings of being treated unfairly, bullying, burnout, low productivity, high absenteeism, turnover, workaholism, and work-related health problems (Browne, 2002; Bunting, 2004; Gini, 2000; Goldthorpe, 1968; Jamal & Baba, 2000; Kelloway & Day, 2005; Kimura, 2003; Korman, 2001; Leiter & Maslach, 2001; Lerner, Levine, Malspeis & Agostino, 1994; Malakh-Pines & Aronson, 1988; Turner et al., 2005). Lastly, there is a growing concern of the inadequate mix between one’s work life and non-work life (Bunting, 2004; Ciulla, 2000; Judge et al., 2006; Nippert-Eng, 1996). Work and home have traditionally been viewed as two separate spheres of life but it is becoming increasingly apparent that what happens in one can significantly affect the other.

It appears that people today are more vulnerable than ever to the “meaning through work” narrative due to a hunger for meaning. There is a paradox currently taking place in Western society – an increasing trend toward superficiality (materialism, celebrity worship, internet obsession), and at the same time, there are indications that people are also hungering for a more meaningful existence. Despite great advances in medical care and technology, and a much higher average standard of living, general well-being and happiness levels have not changed in decades (Easterbrook, 2003; Myers, 2000; Seligman, 2002). Anxiety, depressions, use of medication, and suicide levels have, in fact, all dramatically increased, and meaning has become increasingly attached to security, comfort, consumption and material gain (Cottingham, 2003; Easterbrook, 2003; Fromm, 1955, 1976; Handy, 1994; Myers, 2000; Wattanasuwan, 2005; Whalen, 1999).

The modern era has produced a qualitatively superficial but quantitatively staggering knowledge of the world. In these terms, human beings have sought to understand themselves through external images provided by the scientific and

technological society and have consequently dehumanized and despiritualized their essential being. (Bowles, 1989: 409).

The belief that increased wealth and materialism along with the resulting greater security and comfort would be the path to fulfillment and happiness has not materialized. “The great self-confidence of the Western technological nations, and especially of the United States, was in large part because of the belief that materialism – the prolongation of a healthy life, the acquisition of wealth, the ownership of consumer goods – would be the royal road to a happy life” (Csikszentmihalyi, 1999: 822). However, the emphasis on materialism, physical comfort, and safety has resulted in what some are calling a “meaning deficit” within both the individual and society (Fox, 1994; Fromm, 1976; Maslow, 1971; Needleman, 1991). “Self-actualization tendencies must compete with many other tendencies as man proceeds to make his own nature...conceivably, man may evolve in such a way as to lose his self-actualization drive and diminish his potential” (Greening, 1971: 9). Fromm (1976: 5) notes, “we are a society of notoriously unhappy people: lonely, anxious, depressed, destructive, dependent – people who are glad when we have killed the time we are trying to save.” We have become accustomed to a rather mundane existence, resulting in a loss of self but we still long for a different existence (Gaarder, 1994: 15). Frankl (1985) emphasizes that the problem is that people do not know how to live in the world and face what he refers to as an “existential vacuum.” “No instinct tells him what he has to do, and no tradition tells him what he ought to do; sometimes he does not even know what he wishes to do. Instead, he either wishes to do what other people do (conformism) or he does what other people wish him to do (totalitarianism)” (Frankl, 1985: 128). Therefore, despite unparalleled technological and material progress, finding meaning is difficult especially when it comes to work.

The question of “what makes up a meaningful life” has baffled philosophers and lay people alike for centuries, dating back at least to the days of Socrates and Plato. Like many others, we believe that the most important issue of the 21st century is the individual search for meaning (Bellio, 2001; Cartwright & Holmes, 2006; Ciulla, 2000; Hollis, 2001, 2005). It appears that meaning is of much greater concern now than in previous eras to the average person because of the diminishing influence of religion, people’s more questioning natures, and the effects of scientific discovery (Fairholm, 1996; Hanfling, 1989). Additionally, most people historically have been preoccupied with economic survival precluding them from exploring the deeper questions surrounding meaning. However, notwithstanding the economic downturn in the past year, in recent decades the economic situation has significantly improved for most people in North America and in much of the Western world, and meaning in life (and particularly people’s lack of meaning) has become a greater issue (Baumeister, 1991; King & Nicol, 1999; Young, 2003). This was predicted by Frankl almost thirty years ago - “For too long we have been

dreaming a dream from which we are now waking up: the dream that if we just improve the socioeconomic situation of people, everything will be okay, people will become happy...the truth is that as the struggle for survival has subsided, the question has emerged: survival for what...ever more people today have the means to live, but no meaning to live for” (1978: 21).

What constitutes a meaningful life for a particular individual is complex and multifaceted, and not surprisingly, there are numerous theories on meaning (Baumeister, 1991; Belliotti, 2001; Feldman & Snyder, 2005; Frankl, 1985; Klemke, 2000). The question of what makes up a meaningful life has baffled philosophers and lay people alike for centuries, dating back to the days of Socrates and Plato (Baird, 1985; Baumeister, 1991; Belliotti, 2001; Klemke, 2000). Is meaning discovered? Is meaning created? Is there any meaning at all? It has been easier for scholars to discuss “well-being,” “right action” and “happiness” than to investigate the meaning of life (Metz, 2002; Ryff, 1989). The question of meaning is of much greater concern now in Western society due to the more critical, questioning nature of people, the general effects of scientific discovery, longer life-spans, a better economic situation for many, and critical world events such as the 9-11 attacks (Baumeister, 1991; Cottingham, 2003; Eagleton, 2007; Gems, 2003; Hanfling, 1989; King & Nicol, 1999; Wrzesniewski, 2002). Especially affecting the question of meaning is the gap which has been left from a diminishing emphasis on religion for many people. “For most of human history no one had to search for the spiritual in their lives...at the core of every culture was a religion, with sacred times and places set aside for public rituals...for many these holy places are less and less familiar today” (Fairholm, 1996: 17). Additionally, the events of September 11, 2001 in the United States had a significant impact on people. Since 9-11 many are re-evaluating their lives and their work, as they search for a deeper meaning in life, more than just achieving career success (Garcia-Zamor, 2003; Howard, 2002; Weiss, Skelley, Haughey, & Hall, 2004; Wrzesniewski, 2002).

Historically, for most people meaning has been based on a religious belief, living a “good life,” and honoring a greater power, with the hope of a utopian afterlife. Others, such as Nietzsche and Schopenhauer, have held a nihilistic perspective, i.e., that there is no meaning to be found and that the question itself is absurd (Belliotti, 2001; Schopenhauer, 2000). “That human life must be some kind of mistake is sufficiently proved by the simple observation that man is a compound of needs which are hard to satisfy; that their satisfaction achieves nothing but a painless condition in which he is only given to boredom; and that boredom is direct proof that existence is in itself valueless, for boredom is nothing other than the sensation of the emptiness of existence” (Schopenhauer, 2000: 69). Still others argue that if meaning is to be found in life, it must be created by the individual (Metz, 2001). Some note that meaning is only temporary,

and that people continually fluctuate between boredom and fleeting feelings of fulfillment (Schlick, 1989).

Many philosophers agree that a universal meaning of life does not exist, because meaning is only in the eyes of the beholder and can therefore vary greatly (Bellio, 2001; Frankl, 1985). “There is no such thing as a universal meaning of life but only the unique meanings of the individual situations” (Frankl, 1985: 55). They would also agree that in order for a life to be meaningful, it is necessary that the individual feels that his or her life is meaningful (Baird, 1985). It does not matter how the life is judged by others, only how it is perceived by the individual. Frankl (1985) argues that meaning can be found in any activity, even within the concentration camps of Nazi Germany in which he was a prisoner. Some philosophers contend that meaning must be discovered, like finding buried treasure – which implies that it is out there somewhere to be found by each individual. Creating meaning, on the other hand, implies that meaning is made, built, or crafted (Baird, 1985). For Baumeister (1991), a meaningful life is made up of purpose, value, efficacy and self-worth, and that when all four of these factors are met, life is meaningful. Wohlgennant (1989: 35) defines meaning “as a feeling that human beings generally have when they achieve a sufficient number of objectives that they have set themselves, or when they can bring about the realization of values they recognize.”

It is clear there are no absolute answers when it comes to the meaningful life, and that there is more confusion than ever with what is considered a meaningful life (Metz, 2001, 2002). Most scholars agree that a meaningful life is determined by how the individual subjectively experiences his or her “puzzle of life,” and therefore makes sense of his or her life. For many people, work is a major, if not the most important, piece of that puzzle. “Work is the most common experience of adult life... some love it, others hate it, but few of us are able to avoid it... because we spend two-thirds of our waking life on the job, work is the way we come to know the world and are known to the world... work becomes our identity, our signature on the world... to work is to be and not to work is not to be” (Gini, 2000: ix). Ultimately, the pieces that make up a life, especially one’s work life, must fit coherently together in order for one to feel that life is meaningful.

The value we place on work will undoubtedly change throughout the course of life. As people age they will tend to view their life through a new lens, perhaps with new possibilities, and this will naturally affect how work is viewed. For example, upon graduation from university many students will tend to be seeking a job or career that pays them the highest salary. They may choose work based on financial need if they have large financial debt accumulated throughout their university years, and pass up work that they would prefer in favor of work that pays the highest salary. However, as people age, their life circumstances will undoubtedly change, as well as their personal views on what is important to them. This means that they may look to other possibilities when it comes to

work or to expand components of their life or to add new avenues of life. “There is a search for meaning and new life goals: Spirituality is becoming increasingly important, especially for people at mid-life. With the former goals now viewed now viewed in a different perspective, and with time seemingly suddenly shorter, the person may begin to search for new values, goals, and meaning in life (Hall, 2002: 113). Mid-life is frequently a period where people may question their lives and in some cases make drastic changes (Grierson, 2007; Hollis, 1993, 2005; Levinson, 1978; Levinson, 2000). Traditionally, a person was supposed to choose a line of work, study for it, secure a position with an organization, and happily stay with both the work and the organization until retirement at the age of sixty-five. This was considered to be the “good life” (May, 1953). At mid-life most people have probably come to know and understand themselves much better, e.g., beliefs and values, and therefore what they consider to be the authentic life is much clearer.

Between the ages of 40 and 50, people who may be successful in their professions frequently begin to question the value of their lives. This is a period of reassessment of one’s self, one’s life, and one’s career. It often happens to people who started their careers with great enthusiasm and conviction, believing they would make major contributions to society. By mid-career, they have begun to realize that their contribution may be far smaller than they had dreamed. (Pines et al., 1981: 173)

Additionally, the search for meaning through work is clearly dependent on the conditions of a person’s life, as not everyone has the same choices about how he or she is to live. It is important to realize that not everyone has the same degree of choices in regards to many aspects of life, especially their work life. A key assumption in each of the theoretical models is that people have choices regarding the careers that they pursue. This assumption may be valid in the case of most college students but in no way can be extended to the general population. Many workers may believe that they had little if any choice in selecting their current occupations because they did not have the opportunity to explore their options or receive training for more desirable careers. (Duffy, 2006: 59)

Some people are not in a position to pay much attention to the deeper issues of meaning as they are consumed with basic survival (Baumeister, 1991; Maslow, 1943). This is especially true of those living in the developing world but also applies to many in the developed world as well. “Desperate people do not ponder the meaning of life. When survival is at stake, when the events of each day or each hour carry a sense of urgency, life’s meaning is irrelevant... meaning of life is a problem for people who are not

desperate, people who can count on survival, comfort, security, and some measure of pleasure” (Baumeister, 1991: 3).

We suggest that there is a significant difference between engaging in ‘meaningful work’ versus finding a meaningful life through one’s work. The first is achievable and realistic for most people whereas the second is not. Unfortunately the two concepts are not differentiated properly as they need to be but instead used interchangeably.

Conclusion

In this paper we have outlined the problematic intertextual braiding of discourses of finding meaning through work being promoted by the Job-Career-Calling model, the Spirituality in the Workplace field, and the Positive Psychology movement. Of course this is not to say that meaning cannot or should not be found through one’s work. For some people that existence may work very well and they will consider life to be happy and meaningful. But meaning does not have to be actualized through one’s work since there are many different ways to exist in this world and one is not necessarily better than another. The challenge is only that the individual freely and consciously chooses that existence. Despite the apparent importance that we place on work in Western society, it may not be as important as many believe it to be, or perhaps in the “way” we believe it to be. It does not matter whether or not *work* is meaningful to the individual but it is important that a person feels that his or her *life* is meaningful. A meaningful life, then, is the real challenge and this takes an awareness of the existential self in order to make decisions that result in the authentic life. Work itself may be more interchangeable than thought as it is really only one component or many that are come together in determining the value that we ultimately place on our lives.

References

- Ashforth, B. E., & Vaidyanath, D. (2002). Work organizations as secular religions. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 11(4), 359-370.
- Baird, R. M. (1985). Meaning in life: Discovered or created? *Journal of Religion and Health*, 24(2), 117-124.
- Banaga, G. L. J. (2000). *A calling to work, a labor of love: A phenomenological study of the experience of work as calling*. Case Western University.
- Baumeister, R. F. (1991). *Meanings of life*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Bell, E., & Taylor, S. (2003). The elevation of work: Pastoral power and the new age work ethic. *Organization*, 10(2).
- Bell, E., & Taylor, S. (2004). From outward bound to inward bound: The prophetic voices and discursive practices of spiritual management development. *Human Relations*, 57(4), 439.
- Bellah, R. N., Madsen, R., Sullivan, W. M., Swidler, A., & Tipton, S. M. (1985). *Habits of the heart: Individualism and commitment in American life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Belliotti, R. A. (2001). *What is the meaning of human life?* Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi B.V.
- Blustein, D. L. (2006). *The psychology of working: A new perspective for career development, counseling, and public policy*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Publishers.
- Bowles, M. L. (1989). Myth, meaning and work organization. *Organization Studies*, 10(3), 405-421.
- Browne, J. (2002). Validation of the healthy work organizations model. *Journal of American Academy of Business*, 1(4), 206-214.
- Bunting, M. (2004). *Willing slaves: How the overwork culture is ruling our lives*. London: HarperCollins.
- Butts, D. (1999). Spirituality at work: an overview. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, 12(4), 328-332.
- Camus, A. (1967a). The myth of Sisyphus (J. O'Brien, Trans.). In A. Camus (Ed.), *The myth of Sisyphus and other essays* (pp. 1-138). New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Camus, A. (1967b). *The myth of Sisyphus and other essays* (J. O'Brien, Trans.). New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Camus, A. (1972). *A happy death* (1st American ed.). New York: Knopf; [distributed by Random House].
- Cartwright, S., & Holmes, N. (2006). The meaning of work: The challenge of regaining employee engagement and reducing cynicism. *Human Resource Management Review*, 16(2), 199-208.
- Chalofsky, N. (2003). Meaningful work. *Training and Development*, 57(12), 52-58.
- Ciulla, J. B. (2000). *The working life: The promise and betrayal of modern work*. New York: Times Books.
- Collin, A., & Young, R. A. (2000). *The future of career*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Cottingham, J. (2003). *On the meaning of life*. London: Routledge.

- Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1999). If we are so rich, why aren't we happy? *American Psychologist*, 54(10), 821-827.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1975). *Beyond boredom and anxiety: Experiencing flow in work and play*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Dalton, J. C. (2001). Career and calling: Finding a place for the spirit in work and community. *New Directions for Student Services*(95), 17-25.
- De Klerk, J. J. (2005). Spirituality, meaning in life, and work wellness: A research agenda. *International Journal of Organizational Analysis*, 13(1), 64-68.
- Delbecq, A. L. (2004). How the religious traditions of calling and spiritual friendship shaped my life as a teacher/scholar. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 17(4), 621-627.
- Dik, B. J., & Duffy, R. D. (2009). Calling and vocation at work: Definitions and prospects for research and practice. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 37(3), 424-450.
- Duffy, R. D. (2006). Spirituality, religion, and career development: Current status and future directions. *The Career Development Quarterly*, 55(1), 52-63.
- Duffy, R. D., & Sedlacek, W. E. (2007). The presence of and search for a calling: Connections to career development. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 70(3), 590-601.
- Eagleton, T. (2007). *The meaning of life*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Easterbrook, G. (2003). *The progress paradox: How life gets better while people feel worse* (1st ed.). New York: Random House.
- Elmes, M., & Smith, C. (2001). Moved by the spirit: Contextualizing workplace empowerment in American spiritual ideals. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 37(1), 33.
- Eriksen, E. H. (1963). *Childhood and society*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc.
- Fairholm, G. W. (1996). Spiritual leadership: Fulfilling whole-self needs at work. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal*, 17(5), 11-17.
- Fox, L. A. (2003). The role of the church in career guidance and development: A review of the literature 1960-early 2000s. *Journal of Career Development*, 29(3), 167.
- Fox, M. (1994). *The reinvention of work: A new vision of livelihood for our time* (1st ed.). San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco.
- Frankl, V. E. (1978). *The unheard cry for meaning: Psychotherapy and humanism*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Frankl, V. E. (1985). *Man's search for meaning*. New York: Washington Square Press.
- Freed, D. E. (2003). Material benefits, advancement, or fulfillment: A study into the causes and predictors of job satisfaction based on how people view their work. *Journal of Applied Management and Entrepreneurship*, 8(4), 116-136.
- Froh, J. J. (2004). The History of Positive Psychology: Truth be told. *NYS Psychologist*, May/June, 18-20.
- Fromm, E. (1945). *The fear of freedom*. London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.
- Fromm, E. (1947). *Man for himself: An inquiry into the psychology of ethics*. New York: Rinehart.
- Fromm, E. (1955). *The sane society*. New York: Rinehart.
- Fromm, E. (1976). *To have or to be?* (1st ed.). New York: Harper & Row.
- Garcia-Zamor, J.-C. (2003). Workplace spirituality and organizational performance. *Public Administration Review*, 63(3), 355-363.
- Gems, D. (2003). Is more life always better? The new biology of aging and the meaning of life. *Hastings Center Report*, 33(4), 31-39.

- Gibbons, P. (2000). *Spirituality at work: Definitions, measures, assumptions, and validity claims*. Paper presented at the Academy of Management Meeting.
- Gini, A. (2000). *My job, my self: Work and the creation of the modern individual*. New York: Routledge.
- Goldthorpe, J. H. (1968). *The affluent worker: Industrial attitudes and behaviour*. London: U.P.
- Grierson, B. (2007). *U-Turn: What if you woke up one morning and realized you were living the wrong life?* New York: Bloomsbury.
- Grint, K. (2005). *The sociology of work: Introduction* (3rd ed.). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hall, D. T. (1996). *The career is dead - long live the career: A relational approach to careers* (1st ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Hall, D. T. (2002). *Careers in and out of organizations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hall, D. T. (2004). The protean career: A quarter-century journey. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 65(1), 1-13.
- Hall, D. T., & Chandler, D. E. (2005). Psychological success: When the career is a calling. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 26(2), 155-176.
- Handy, C. B. (1984). *The future of work: A guide to a changing society*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Handy, C. B. (1994). *The age of paradox*. Boston, Mass.: Harvard Business School Press.
- Hanfling, O. (1989). Introduction. In O. Hanfling (Ed.), *Life and meaning: A reader* (pp. 1-3). New York: Basil Blackwell.
- Harrington, W. J., Preziosi, R. C., & Gooden, D. J. (2001). Perceptions of Workplace Spirituality among Professionals and Executives. *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal*, 13(3), 155-163.
- Herman, R. E., & Gioia, J. L. (1998). Making work meaningful: Secrets of the future-focused corporation. *The Futurist*, 32(9), 24-38.
- Herman, S. W. (2002). How work gains meaning in contractual time: A narrative model for reconstructing the work ethic. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 38(1/2), 65-79.
- Heslin, P. A. (2005). Conceptualizing and evaluating career success. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 26(2), 113-136.
- Higgins, M. C. (2001). Changing careers: The effects of social context. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 22(6), 595-618.
- Hollis, J. (1993). *The middle passage: From misery to meaning in midlife*. Toronto: Inner City Books.
- Hollis, J. (2001). *Creating a life: Finding your individual path*. Toronto: Inner City Books.
- Hollis, J. (2005). *Finding meaning in the second half of life*. New York: Gotham Books.
- Hollis, J. (2008). *Why good people do bad things: Understanding our darker selves*. New York: Gotham Books.
- Howard, S. (2002). A spiritual perspective on learning in the workplace. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 17(3), 230-242.
- Hughes, E. C. (1997). Careers. *Qualitative Sociology*, 20(3), 389-397.
- Jaccaci, A., & Gault, S. (1999). Chief evolutionary officers: The amazing business of conscious human evolution. *Strategy & Leadership*, 27(4/5), 21-25.
- Jamal, M., & Baba, V. V. (2000). Job stress and burnout examination. *Canadian Journal of Public Health*, 91(6).
- Judge, T. A., Ilies, R., & Scott, B. A. (2006). Work-family conflict and emotions: Effects at work and at home. *Personnel Psychology*, 59(4), 779-814.

- Kanungo, R. N. (1992). Alienation and empowerment: Some ethical imperatives in business. *Journal of Business Ethics, 11*(5-6), 413-422.
- Kelloway, E. K., & Day, A. (2005). Building healthy workplaces: What we know so far. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science/Revue canadienne des Sciences du comportement, 37*(4), 223-235.
- Kimura, H. (2003). Overcome toxic management. *Nursing Management, 34*(1), 26-29.
- King, S., & Nicol, D. M. (1999). Organizational enhancement through recognition of individual spirituality: Reflections of Jaques and Jung. *Journal of Organizational Change Management, 12*(3), 234-243.
- King, Z. (2001). Career self-management: A framework for guidance of employed adults. *British Journal of Guidance & Counselling, 29*(1), 65-78.
- King, Z. (2004). Career self-management: Its nature, causes and consequences. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 65*(1), 112-133.
- Komala, K., & Ganesh, L. S. (2007). Individual spirituality at work and its relationship with job satisfaction and burnout: An exploratory study among healthcare professionals. *The Business Review, Cambridge, 7*(1), 124-129.
- Korman, A. K. (2001). Self-enhancement and self-protection: Toward a theory of work motivation. In M. Erez, U. Kleinbeck & H. Thierry (Eds.), *Work motivation in the context of a globalizing economy* (pp. 121-130). Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Leider, R. J. (1976). Mid-career renewal. *Training and Development Journal 30*(5), 16-20.
- Leiter, M. P., & Maslach, C. (2001). Burnout and quality in a sped-up world. *The Journal for Quality and Participation, 24*(2), 48.
- Lerner, D. J., Levine, S., Malspeis, S., & D Agostino, R. B. (1994). Job strain and health-related quality of life in a national sample. *American Journal of Public Health, 84*(10), 1580.
- Levinson, D. J. (1978). *The seasons of a man's life* (1st ed.). New York: Knopf.
- Levinson, D. J. (1986). A conception of adult development. *American Psychologist, 41*(1), 3-13.
- Levinson, H. (2000). A second career: The possible dream. In *Harvard Business Review on Work and Life balance* (pp. 197-217). Boston: Harvard Business School Press
- Lips-Wiersma, M. (2002). The influence of spiritual "meaning-making" on career behavior. *The Journal of Management Development, 21*(7/8), 497.
- Lips-Wiersma, M. (2004). Furthering management and spirituality education through the use of paradox. *Journal of Management Education, 28*(1), 119.
- Lips-Wiersma, M., & Mills, C. (2002). Coming out of the closet: Negotiating spiritual expression in the workplace. *Journal of Managerial Psychology, 17*(3), 183.
- Malach-Pines, A. (2002). The changing psychological contract at work and employee burnout. *Journal of Health and Human Services Administration, 25*(1/2), 11.
- Malach-Pines, A., & Yafe-Yanai, O. (2001). Unconscious determinants of career choice and burnout: Theoretical model and counseling strategy. *Journal of Employment Counseling, 38*(4), 170-184.
- Malach-Pines, A., & Aronson, E. (1988). *Career burnout: Causes and cures*. New York: Free Press.
- Marques, J. (2005). Yearning for a More Spiritual Workplace. *Journal of American Academy of Business, Cambridge, 7*(1), 149.

- Marques, J., Dhiman, S., & King, R. (2005). Spirituality in the workplace: Developing an integral model and a comprehensive definition. *Journal of American Academy of Business, Cambridge*, 7(1), 81-91.
- Marques, J., Dhiman, S., & King, R. (2006). Fundamentals of a Spiritual Workplace. *Business Renaissance Quarterly*, 1(1), 43.
- Maslach, C. (1982). *Burnout - the cost of caring*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Maslow, A. H. (1943). A theory of human motivation. *Psychological Review*, 50, 370-396.
- Maslow, A. H. (1968). *Toward a psychology of being* (2d ed.). Princeton, NJ: Van Nostrand.
- Maslow, A. H. (1971). *The farther reaches of human nature*. New York: Viking Press.
- Matzeder, M. E., & Krieshok, T. S. (1995). Career self-efficacy and the prediction of work and home role salience. *Journal of Career Assessment*, 3(3), 331-340.
- May, R. (1953). *Man's search for himself* (1st ed.). New York: Norton.
- May, R. (1996). *The meaning of anxiety* (Rev. ed.). New York: Norton.
- Mayo, E. (1933). *The human problems of an industrial civilization*. New York: MacMillan.
- McCormick, D. W. (1994). Spirituality and management. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 9(6), 5-8.
- Metz, T. (2001). The concept of a meaningful Life. *American Philosophical Quarterly*, 38(2), 137-153.
- Metz, T. (2002). Recent work on the meaning of life. *Ethics*, 112(4), 781-814.
- Mills, A., & Simmons, T. (1999). *Reading organization theory: A critical approach to the study of organizational behaviour and structure*. Toronto: Garamond Press.
- Mitroff, I. I., & Denton, E. A. (1999a). *A spiritual audit of corporate America: A hard look at spirituality, religion, and values in the workplace* (1st ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Mitroff, I. I., & Denton, E. A. (1999b). A study of spirituality in the workplace. *Sloan Management Review*, 40(4), 83-92.
- Moen, P. (1998). Recasting careers: Changing reference groups, risks, and realities. *Generations*, 22(1), 40-45.
- Mottaz, C. J. (1981). Some determinants of work alienation. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 22(4), 515-529.
- MOW International Research Team. (1987). *The meaning of working*. London: Academic Press.
- Mutlu, E. S., & Asik, O. (2002). A look over the concepts of work and leisure throughout important historical periods. *Journal of American Academy of Business*, 2(1), 12-19.
- Myers, D. G. (2000). *The American paradox: Spiritual hunger in an age of plenty*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Nachbagauer, A. G. M., & Riedl, G. (2002). Effects of concepts of career plateaus on performance, work satisfaction and commitment. *International Journal of Manpower*, 23(8), 716-733.
- Needleman, J. (1991). *Money and the meaning of life* (1st ed.). New York: Doubleday/Currency.
- Neff, W. S. (1985). *Work and human behavior* (3rd ed.). New York: Aldine Pub. Co.
- Nippert-Eng, C. E. (1996). *Home and work: Negotiating boundaries through everyday life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Novak, M. (1996). *Business as a calling: Work and the examined life*. New York: The Free Press.
- Ottaway, R. N. (2003). Defining Spirituality of Work. *International Journal of Value - Based Management*, 16(1), 329-349.

- Pahl, R. E. (1995). *After success: Fin-de-siècle anxiety and identity*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Parker-Hope, T. (2001, Dec. 28). More physicians make spiritual well-being part of health profiles. *Wall Street Journal*, p. A9,
- Parry, G. H. (2006). *Recrafting work: A model for workplace engagement and meaning*. University of Pennsylvania.
- Pfeffer, J. (1998). Six dangerous myths about pay. *Harvard Business Review*, 76(3), 108-119.
- Pines, A., Aronson, E., & Kafry, D. (1981). *Burnout: from tedium to personal growth*. New York: Free Press.
- Raelin, J. (2006). Finding meaning in the organization. *MIT Sloan Management Review*, 47(3), 64.
- Ransome, P. (1996). *The work paradigm: A theoretical investigation of concepts of work*. Aldershot, UK: Avebury.
- Rifkin, J. (1995). *The end of work: The decline of the global labor force and the dawn of the post-market era*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons.
- Rinehart, J. W. (2006). *The tyranny of work: Alienation and the labour process* (Fifth ed.). Toronto: Thomson-Nelson.
- Ryff, C. D. (1989). Happiness is everything, or is it? Explorations on the meaning of psychological well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 57(6), 1069-1081.
- Savickas, M. L. (1994). The spirit in career counseling: Fostering self-completion through work. In D. P. Bloch & L. J. Richmond (Eds.), *Connections between spirit and work in career development* (pp. 3-25). Palo Alto, CA: Davies-Black.
- Schlick, M. (1989). On the meaning of life. In O. Hanfling (Ed.), *Life and Meaning: A Reader* (pp. 60-73). New York: Basil Blackwell.
- Schopenhauer, A. (2000). On the vanity of existence. In E. D. Klemke (Ed.), *The Meaning of Life* (2nd ed., pp. 67-70). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Seligman, M. E. P. (2002). *Authentic happiness: Using the new positive psychology to realize your potential for lasting fulfillment*. New York: Free Press.
- Taylor, F. W. (1911). *Principles of scientific management*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Tischler, L. (1999). The growing interest in spirituality in business: A long-term socio-economic explanation. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, 12(4), 273-280.
- Tischler, L., Biberian, J., & McKeage, R. (2002). Linking emotional intelligence, spirituality and workplace performance: Definitions, models and ideas for research. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 17(3), 203-218.
- Turner, N., Barling, J., & Zacharatos, A. (2005). Positive psychology at work. In C. R. Snyder & S. J. Lopez (Eds.), *Handbook of positive psychology* (pp. 715-728). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Weiss, J. W., Skelley, M. F., Haughey, J. C., & Hall, D. T. (2004). Calling, new careers and spirituality: A reflective perspective for organizational leaders and professionals. In M. L. Pava & P. Primeau (Eds.), *Spiritual intelligence at work: Meaning, metaphor, and morals* (pp. 175-202). Boston: Emerald Group Publishing.
- Whalen, S. P. (1999). Finding flow at school and at home: A conversation with Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi. *Journal of Secondary Gifted Education* (Vol. 10, pp. 161): Prufrock Press.

- Wohlgemant, R. (1989). Has the question about the meaning of life any meaning? In O. Hanfling (Ed.), *Life and meaning: A reader* (pp. 34-38). New York: Basil Blackwell.
- Wrzesniewski, A. (1999). *Jobs, careers, and callings: Work orientation and job transitions*. Unpublished Ph.D., University of Michigan, Michigan, US.
- Wrzesniewski, A. (2002). "It's not just a job": Shifting meanings of work in the wake of 9/11. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 11(3), 230-234.
- Wrzesniewski, A., & Dutton, J. E. (2001). Crafting a job: Revisioning employees as active crafters of their work. *Academy of Management. The Academy of Management Review*, 26(2), 179-201.
- Wrzesniewski, A., Dutton, J. E., & Debebe, G. (2003). Interpersonal sensemaking and the meaning of work. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 25, 93-135.
- Wrzesniewski, A., McCauley, C., & Rozin, P. (1997). Jobs, careers, and callings: People's relations to their work. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 31(1), 21-33.
- Wrzesniewski, A., & Tosti, J. (2006). Career as a calling. In J. H. Greenhaus & G. A. Callanan (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of career development* (Vol. 1, pp. 71-75). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Zikic, J., & Richardson, J. (2007). Unlocking the careers of business professionals following job loss: Sensemaking and career exploration of older workers. *Canadian Journal of Administrative Sciences*, 24(1), 58-73.

Binod Sundararajan^{*},
Jill Manderson^{*},
Malavika Sundararajan[§]

^{*} Rowe School of Business, Dalhousie University, Halifax, NS, Canada
[§] School of Business, North Carolina Central University Durham, NC, USA

STUDENTS UNDERSTANDING OF ASSESSMENT AND THEIR RESULTANT MOTIVATION TO ENGAGE WITH THE MATERIAL

We describe a co-orientation analysis on student peer and self-evaluations, to discern perceptions on group-work, emotions experienced and networks formed. We present an initial analysis of 4 different student group assessments and identify factors that could lead to more robust assessment measures, improved course design and increased student engagement.

Background and Purpose

Classroom observations show that many students perceive business communication and some management course material as trivial, redundant, and boring and a chore rather than a necessity. These perceptions could stem from students' lack of engagement with the course material but chiefly, from their apprehensions about assessments. Most classroom self and peer assessments take into consideration only the students' ability to understand and use the material. The assessments, particularly in group work, often lack an objective measure to cross-check students' perceptions or capture students' cognitive and emotional dynamics during their learning process. The result has been inadequate assessment measures and course designs that fail to ensure every student in the classroom is motivated to engage and learn. The results from this study will help determine the factors that could lead to increased student engagement, help students gain new insights in the material, and aid instructors as well as researchers in understanding the rationality that underpins collective action in management projects.

Rationale for the Study

In our experience in teaching Business Communication and Management Courses to undergraduate students, we find that students often seem to perceive value from the course material much later than while the course is being taught. This is often too late for them to do

really well in the course, and as a result we find that they do not engage well with either the course material or their teammates in class assignments. The students appear to go through the motions and do assignments more as a chore, than an opportunity to learn and equip themselves with critical and transferable skills. While students arrive at universities and colleges with various expectations, the onus does lie on instructors to provide an environment where students are motivated and engaged with the course material. Studies about first-year and senior students' learning patterns, (Zhao and Kuh, 2004) from 365 four-year institutions have shown that participating in a *learning community* is positively linked to engagement, student self-reported outcomes (like grades, performance etc.), and overall satisfaction with the college.

In order to create that *learning community*, one way of providing sufficient opportunities for the students to engage with the course material and their classmates includes group work in the courses. Group work, under proper conditions, encourages peer learning and peer support and many studies validate the efficacy of peer learning (Zimmerman & Martinez-Pons, 1988, Nulty, 2011 etc.). Under less than ideal conditions, group work can become the vehicle for acrimony, conflict and freeloading. It may also impose a host of unexpected stresses on, for example, students with overcrowded schedules or those living long distances from the University (University of Wollongong assessment policy, 2002).

The measure of success of group work as well as a means for the students to resolve these conflicts is through self and peer assessments. The assessments, often appear to be a motivator for student engagement, participation and interaction. The motivated participation leads to significant learning gains and satisfaction with the performance in the group project and the course. Self-assessments of knowledge (gained) have also been shown to be only moderately related to cognitive learning while being very strongly related to *affective* (feeling of mood or emotion) evaluation outcomes (Sitzmann, Ely, Brown & Bauer, 2010). So while assessments may lead to increased engagement on the one hand, the assessments also seem to create further conflict and decrease individual and group learning and decision making abilities. Sitzmann et al (2010) found that even in evaluation contexts that optimized the self-assessment–learning relationship (e.g., when learners practiced self-assessing and received feedback on their self-assessments), self-assessments had as strong a relationship with motivation as with cognitive learning.

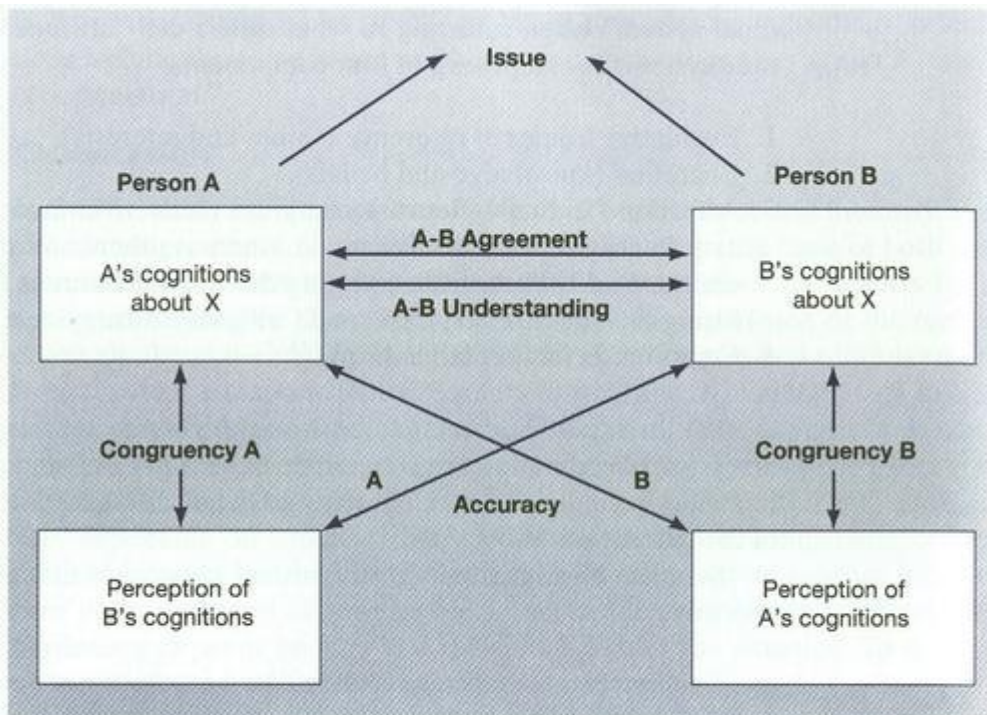
Cognitive-emotional networks are clearly linked to associated memories, critical thinking, reasoning and decision making, (Pollerman, 2000; Damasio, 2000; 2002; Lane, Nadel, Allen and Kazniak, 2000; Fineman, 2000) all of which form the crux of the “learning process”. The time has thus come for more complex measures of learning that have at their core arguably the most important dependent variables in management learning, namely education and development (Armstrong and Fukami, 2010). We expect these measures to create awareness among students, motivate them to engage in learning, be less apprehensive about assessments and gain value from their learning experiences.

While Nulty (2011) studies the effectiveness of self and peer evaluation extensively, he concludes that there is little consistency in the quality or content of the processes currently used, and that first year university students in particular suffer from a lack of data relating to their specific needs. And while he concurs with Baud (1995) and Sweep (2008) that "self-assessment

necessarily incorporates the views and judgements of others" he does not provide detailed analysis of co-orientation data which might further define the implications of this. Bronn (2000), however, makes clear the practical application of such analysis "as a basis for communication and learning." Our study thus contributes to bridging this gap.

Elliott and Higgins (2004) and Wenzel (2010), in addition to providing evidence of self and peer assessment as a useful tool overall, recommend the continued use of such assessment. They nevertheless suggest that more research is needed to substantiate whether student learning and engagement is significantly enhanced, beyond the perception of improved fairness and motivation. With our study's additional analysis of emotional factors, and with the first year population compared to 2nd, 3rd and 4th year populations (though from different universities), we would be bringing forward new insight to the self and peer evaluation process. Further, our data and methods of analyses, specifically the co-orientation process will provide a matrix of critical factors that facilitate the emergence of underlying models of effective and robust assessments.

Using co-orientation analysis (Chaffee & McLeod, 1970; Chaffee & McLeod, 1973) we can determine the interdependence between two individuals' attitudes and perceptions, as also the congruence/agreement, i.e. the degree to which consensus, assimilation, self-other agreement, and assumed similarity differ.



Source: Adapted from Jack M. McLeod and Steven H. Chaffee, "Interpersonal Approaches to Communication Research," in *Interpersonal Perception and Communication*, ed. Steven H. Chaffee and Jack M. McLeod, special edition of *American Behavioral Scientist*, 16, no. 4 (March–April 1973), pp. 483–88.

Figure 1: The Co-orientation Model

“The social or interpersonal concept of public opinion requires two or more individuals oriented to and communicating about an object of mutual interest. In other words, they are **cooriented** to something in common and to each other. The co-orientational model in Figure 1 illustrates the **intrapersonal** and **interpersonal** elements of communication relationships. First, the intrapersonal construct of **congruency** describes the extent to which your own views match your estimate of another's views on the same issue. Some refer to this variable as **perceived agreement**. On the basis of this estimate, you formulate strategies for dealing with the other person or for spontaneously responding in interactions.

The extent to which you accurately estimate another's views determines the appropriateness of your actions. Each of us recalls instances in which we misjudged another person's position on some issue of mutual interest, and responded to them inappropriately until we learned what the person really thought about the issue. **Accuracy**, then, represents the extent to which your estimate matches the other person's actual views.” – Chaffee & McLeod (1970, 1973). To summarize, if A were to hold certain views about an issue, say efficiency in group work and completing all allotted tasks, and A's teammate B holds somewhat similar or even dissimilar views. The co-orientation model can help discern A's and B's perceived understanding of each other's understanding of efficient group work and completing allotted tasks. The model can also help discern the accuracy with which A or B perceive their own understanding of this issue, each other's understanding of the issue and what A and B actually understand and perceive about themselves and one another.

Outcomes

In an effort to engage students, researchers and teachers have long advocated the integration of self and peer assessments in courses as a way to motivate students to participate and interact and derive more value for their efforts. For the most part this is quite successful as reported by several researchers (Sundararajan, 2008, 2010; Jung, Choi, Lim & Leem, 2010). However, self and peer assessments (in group projects) are not the panacea, because they sometimes fail to take into consideration the actual group dynamics that arise from group project work, the perceptions of student members before, during and after the group project is over and the emotions that the group members experience during the lifetime of the project (Sundararajan, Sundararajan, Peters, 2005).

This study uses the self and peer assessment forms used in School of Business courses (both at Dalhousie University and at North Carolina Central University (NCCU)) to come up with complex measures of assessment (self and peer) that take into account student perceptions of collaborative work, knowledge gains, satisfaction with their performance, network ties established during the course of their interactions in the class and their group project. We will also study the interactive effect of emotions (that students experience), network ties (that they develop) and the rational choice process on the individual's rational choice to act collectively in a group towards achieving a common goal. These complex measures of self and peer assessment of knowledge and collaborative work are directly relevant to management education and we

hope that this will result in more robust model for self and peer assessment that will motivate students to actively participate, interact and perceive real and measurable learning gains from their participation in management projects.

Study Design & Methodology

We started with formulating a set of research questions that ranged from asking whether there was correlation between instructor grades and the self & peer evaluation, was there agreement between self and peer evaluation about contributing to the group task and emotions experienced during group work, whether secondary emotions like anger, joy, shame etc. impacted participation in group work, whether core affects (sad-glad, happy-depressed etc.) impacted participation in group work, whether moods (positive, negative etc.) impacted participation in group work, and whether student perceptions of assessments (instructors, self and peer) impacted participation in group work. At the time of this writing, we have only completed some of the analysis and hence list only the research questions for which we have results that can be reported.

Research Questions

RQ1: Is there a correlation between the instructor grades and the self & peer evaluation?

RQ2: Is there a correlation or congruence (agreement) between student self-evaluation and their peers' evaluations regarding contribution to the group task, emotions experienced and network ties established?

RQ3: Do secondary (anger, joy, shame, frustration, happiness etc.) emotions impact, inhibit, or motivate active participation and interaction in the class/group projects?

RQ4: Do core affects (sad-glad, happy-depressed etc.) impact, inhibit, or motivate active participation and interaction in class/group projects?

RQ5: Do moods (positive, negative etc.) impact, inhibit, or motivate active participation and interaction in the class/group projects?

RQ6: Do formation of network ties impact, inhibit, or motivate active participation and interaction in the class/group projects?

RQ7: Do student perceptions (positive, negative) of assessments (self and/or peer) impact, inhibit or motivate active participation and interaction in the class/group projects?

RQ8: Do student perceptions of assessments impact or influence self-assessment and perceptions of knowledge gained and result in a feeling of satisfaction or dissatisfaction about their performance in the course?

RQ9: Do student perceptions of network ties established among class/group members impact or influence perceptions of knowledge gained and result in a feeling of satisfaction about their performance in the course?

RQ10: Do students' emotional experiences in the class/group project impact or influence perceptions of knowledge gained and result in a feeling of satisfaction about their performance in the course?

Design

As mentioned earlier, we have been using a self and peer assessment form for students to evaluate themselves and their team members based on their individual contributions to the collaborative group projects. These forms are already designed to provide information about each student's perceptions of their own contribution to the group task (based on certain criteria) and the contribution of their team members to the group task based on the same criteria. Every student in the first year Business Communication course (at Dalhousie University) fills this form out for their 5% of the grade. Based on the actual responses from the students, each student can get a maximum of 5% for this portion. This data automatically extends itself to both social network analysis (network and tie formation) and co-orientation analysis (tests for congruence and agreement). To this form we will add questions/items that address the primary and secondary emotions, mood indicators and core affect indicators.

The survey/questionnaire/form was administered to the students via both an online platform (Blackboard Learning System – BLS) and/or as an email attachment in a word document. The students have been completing these forms and also providing substantive information on why they assigned a particular grade to their group mate. This provides additional information into the thinking behind the rating. Since students already fill this form as part of the course, their individual consents were obtained if they wish to be part of the study. For those students who did not consent, their grades were not affected in any way and their responses were not included in the analysis. If a majority of students in a group declined their consent, then those groups were not included in the study.

Participants

We are using a convenience sample of students in a first year Business Communication course, which is a required course for the Bachelor of Commerce program at the School of Business Administration at Dalhousie University. There are about 270-280 students divided across seven sections. At NCCU, the students from the following courses were invited to participate in the study - undergraduate Entrepreneurship, Strategy and International Business (all 3rd or 4th year students). There are about 25-35 in each class. On average there are will be 6-9 groups of 4-5 students in each class. This allowed us to collect individual and group data within a section and across sections and across two universities in a variety of management courses.

Participants were asked to complete a self & peer evaluation form upon completion of a class group project as part of the course (see attached syllabi). The evaluation took approximately 15-20 minutes.

All data collected in the self & peer evaluation forms were recorded in an on-line form (Word document). The data consists of student responses to how they themselves and their group members performed during the group project. This is based on established criteria of successful completion of collaborative tasks and revolves around organization of the material, submission of assigned tasks to the group, relations between group members, ability to help others in the

group, the emotions they experienced during the group project (frustration, anger, happiness, joy etc.) etc. The survey instrument (self and peer assessment form) is attached. The responses will be recorded as options on a 5-point Likert scale. This is convenient as it allows us to convert them directly to the students' grades (5% of the grade for the course).

The Self and Peer Evaluation Form

This form has been used in these courses for several years now and has four categories: organization skills and reliability, contribution to the group effort (project), contribution to team effectiveness and practical contribution to the task. Each of these four categories have four items and in students given themselves and their teammates a score out of a scale 5 (1 being the lowest and 5 being the highest). The students then have to explain their reasoning for the score for each teammate (why a low score and why a high score). This allows for additional qualitative information. To these existing items, we added the emotions and network items (Sundararajan, 2008, 2010; Sundararajan, Sundararajan, Peters, 2005).

The emotions the students experience while working on the group project range from positive emotions (hope, joy, appreciation etc.) to negative emotions (anger, shame, frustration etc.). Students again use a 5-point scale for themselves and their teammates. Here is where they can rate their perceptions of the emotions they felt and the emotions that they perceived their teammates may have felt. A set of emotions questions query the students about the degree or intensity of feeling sad-glad, passive-active etc. during and after the group work.

The next set of items asks the students whether they learned conceptual knowledge, new knowledge, were satisfied with their performance in the class, whether they felt their teammates gained conceptual and new knowledge during the course, the teammate they felt they gained the most knowledge from, their own ability to work in a group, collaborate and the reasons that motivated them to participate and interact in the class, with their teammates and the course material (Sundararajan, 2008, 2010).

As of this writing, we have completed the first round of data collection and the Ns are as follows: Dalhousie University (33+50+45 = 128) and NCCU (94). Of the 128 from Dalhousie University, data for 45 completed surveys have yet to be entered and combined. Of the 94 from NCCU, 27 had to be discarded as they were incomplete leaving us with a usable N of 67. At the time of this writing we have N=150 (83 + 67) nearly completed surveys (a handful had a few missing values).

Analysis

The data file was split into several parts, with the peer and self-evaluation portions separated to allow for co-orientation analysis. Co-Orientation analysis (Newcombe, 1953) will test for interdependence between two individuals' attitudes and perceptions – congruence/agreement - degree to which consensus, assimilation, self-other agreement and assumed similarity differ. The

Co-orientation analysis will help us determine the levels of agreements between student responses to the various test items, while social network analysis will help us determine the relationships between students and the effect these are likely to have on the primary and secondary emotions and core affects and how they impact the rational choices of the students when they act collectively in a team in these class projects.

On the remaining parts we ran an ANOVA, regression analyses and t-tests between groups and across different class sections. The ANOVAs, T-Tests and Regression Analysis will help us determine differences between and across groups for the variables in the study (independent and dependent/outcome variables) and also allow us to test for causality (if any).

Preliminary Results & Discussion

As mentioned above, we have just begun doing preliminary analysis of the data, while new data is being entered concurrently. As expected there were missing values in some of the items. We filled in the missing values with the series mean and began by performing a reliability analysis for all the items and for N=137 (13 cases were excluded), we can report a Cronbach Alpha $\alpha = 0.98$ for 230 items. This is shown in the tables 2 and 3.

Table 1: Case Processing Summary – All Items
Case Processing Summary

		N	%
Cases	Valid	137	91.3
	Excluded <small>a</small>	13	8.7
	Total	150	100.0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Table 2: Reliability Statistics – All Items
Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardize d Items	N of Items
.980	.979	230

We then excluded the peer and self-evaluations items (task related and emotions felt during group work), retained only the degree or intensity of emotions felt (sad-glad etc.) and the

knowledge gained and collaboration related items and ran the reliability tests again. We report the results in Tables 3 and 4.

Table 3: Case Processing Summary – Only Emotion Intensity and Knowledge Items

Case Processing Summary

	N	%
Cases Valid	137	91.3
Excluded a	13	8.7
Total	150	100.0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Table 3: Case Processing Summary – Only Emotion Intensity and Knowledge Items

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.951	.951	32

The Cronbach Alpha $\alpha = 0.951$ for the 32 items. The Cronbach Alpha $\alpha = 0.933$ for 20 of the knowledge and collaboration items and Cronbach Alpha $\alpha = 0.936$ for only the emotional intensity items. The group task and emotion items (self and peer evaluation) also had a high Alpha = 0.978 for 198 items. So in essence we were quite satisfied with the performance of the different scale items in asking the correct questions. We now proceed to give some of the preliminary descriptive statistics for the knowledge and collaboration items (we will be performing analysis on the rest of the data set in the coming weeks).

We ran a within subjects ANOVA on the 20 knowledge gained, motivation and collaboration intention items and report both the F-statistic and the inter item correlations for these items. For $N=149$, $F=10.188$, $p<0.001$. The inter item correlations for these 20 items are shown in table 5.

At this stage we can note from these inter item correlations that several of the items are correlating well at $r > 0.5$ and some even at $r > 0.7$ and all of these correlations are significant at the $p < 0.001$ level. We are reporting only those items with a Pearson $R > 0.5$. While there were several other items that correlated significantly (at the $p < 0.05$ and $p < 0.001$ levels) these had a

Pearson $R < 0.5$ and we have highlighted only those with Pearson $R > 0.5$. We note that items where respondents felt that they were able to gain conceptual and new knowledge correlate highly with their abilities to work well and collaborate with their group mates (items 1, 2 and 3 in Table 5).

We also detect a high correlation between students reporting their satisfaction with their performance in the course and their expectation of getting a grade of A in the course ($R=0.662$, $p < 0.001$). Students also reported that while gaining respect from their group mates and hence influence in project allowed them to work collaboratively and gain knowledge, it also motivated them to participate and interact more with their group mates ($R=0.710$, $p < 0.001$ – Items 8 and 9 in table 5). We also find it interesting those students who reported that many of the emotions that they experienced during the group project motivated them to engage in the course material, also motivated them to work collaboratively with their group members and interact with them more ($R=0.632$, $p < 0.001$ & $R=0.779$, $p < 0.01$ – items 13 and 14 in table 5).

Table 5: Inter Item Correlations for 20 Knowledge Gained and Collaboration Items

		I feel that I gained new conceptual knowledge about the course material while working with my group mates in this course.	I feel that I gained new knowledge about collaborative work while working with my group mates in this course.	I feel that my group mates gained new conceptual knowledge about the course material while working together in this course.	I feel that my group mates gained new knowledge about collaborative work while working together in this course.	I am completely satisfied with my performance in the course.	I feel that I had the respect of group mates with whom I interacted, during the course	I feel that I had influence over decisions in class projects when interacting with my group mates during the course	I feel that gaining respect from my group mates motivated me to participate and interact more in class projects and discussions	I feel that having influence over decisions made in class projects motivated me to participate and interact more in class projects and discussions	I feel that participating and interacting in class discussions helped me in my learning process during the course	I feel that I have made good friends during this course	I feel that I have learnt a lot about collaborative and cooperative work during this course	I feel that many of the emotions I experienced during the group project motivated me to participate and interact more with my group members during the project	I feel that many of the emotions I experienced during the group project motivated me to engage more with course material during the project	I believe that my ability to form working relationships with my group members aided me in doing well in the group project
1	I feel that I gained new knowledge about collaborative work while working with my group mates in this course.	.656**														
		.000														
2	I feel that my group mates gained new conceptual knowledge about the course material while working together in this course.	.799**	.741**													
		.000	.000													
3	I feel that my group mates gained new knowledge about collaborative work while working together in this course.	.594**	.815**	.768**												
		.000	.000	.000												
4	I am completely satisfied with my performance in the course.	.458**	.325**	.430**	.347**											
		.000	.000	.000	.000											
5	I feel confident of getting an A in the course.	.319**	.190*	.257**	.180*	.662**										
		.000	.021	.002	.029	.000										
6	I feel that I had the respect of group mates with whom I interacted, during the course	.384**	.456**	.455**	.442**	.333*										
		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000										
7	I feel that I had influence over decisions in class projects when interacting with my group mates during the course	.342**	.372**	.403**	.469**	.382**	.283**									
		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.001									
8	I feel that gaining respect from my group mates motivated me to participate and interact more in class projects and discussions	.488**	.535**	.603**	.584**	.394**	.434**	.459**								
		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000								
9	I feel that having influence over decisions made in class projects motivated me to participate and interact more in the class projects and discussions.	.367**	.545**	.458**	.489**	.285**	.318**	.499**	.710**							
		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000							
10	I feel that participating and interacting in class discussions helped me in my learning process during the course	.413**	.424**	.464**	.384**	.332**	.378**	.278**	.416**	.452**						
		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.001	.000	.000						
11	I feel that I have made good friends during this course	.464**	.542**	.542**	.572**	.322**	.515**	.323**	.492**	.455**	.497**					
		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000					
12	I feel that I have learnt a lot about collaborative and cooperative work during this course	.510**	.657**	.586**	.530**	.317**	.423**	.355**	.447**	.548**	.576**	.615**				
		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000				
13	I feel that many of the emotions I experienced during the group project motivated me to participate and interact more with my group members	.494**	.565**	.519**	.501**	.311**	.319**	.380**	.636**	.559**	.378**	.544**	.632**			
		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000			
14	I feel that many of the emotions I experienced during the group project motivated me to engage more with course material during the project	.584**	.538**	.525**	.464**	.379**	.345**	.433**	.569**	.570**	.570**	.504**	.578**	.779**		
		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000		
15	I believe that my ability to form working relationships with my group members aided me in doing well in the group project	.455**	.567**	.524**	.532**	.465**	.438**	.518**	.511**	.365**	.332**	.511**	.486**	.586**	.541**	
		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	
16	I believe that my ability to form working relationships with my group members aided me in gaining new and conceptual knowledge	.606**	.641**	.677**	.616**	.403**	.462**	.395**	.575**	.437**	.420**	.563**	.615**	.663**	.598**	.738**
		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000

Revisiting the Research Questions

We realize that the analysis is preliminary and we will have to continue performing other levels (cross groups, cross class sections, cross university etc.) of analysis and conduct the co-orientation analysis to get a complete picture of the responses and seeks answers for all of the research questions. However, based on correlations alone, we can make an attempt at answering some of the questions to be able to eventually form hypotheses and test them.

RQ8: Do student perceptions of assessments impact or influence self-assessment and perceptions of knowledge gained and result in a feeling of satisfaction or dissatisfaction about their performance in the course?

To answer this question, we invoke that part of the correlation results that was not reported in table 5 and look at how item 20 (I have a clear understanding of how I am being assessed in the course and the project) correlates with the other knowledge, collaboration, respect, influence and emotion variables. We see from Table 6 that item 20 correlates significantly with all the other 19 items. Students have an idea how they are being assessed in the project and the course, what is required of them to assess their peers and themselves and this knowledge appears to have motivated them to collaborate, participate and contribute constructively to their group projects. However, as mentioned earlier, since these correlations are < 0.5 , they were not reported in table 5, but since there appears to be some significance, we can proceed with formulating hypotheses.

Table 6: Correlation of Item 20 – I have clear understanding of how I am being assessed...” with other items

		I have a clear understanding of how I am being assessed in the course and the project	P value
1	I feel that I gained new conceptual knowledge about the course material while working with my group mates in	.346**	.000
2	I feel that I gained new knowledge about collaborative work while working with my group mates in this course.	.254**	.002
3	I feel that my group mates gained new conceptual knowledge about the course material while working together in	.308**	.000
4	I feel that my group mates gained new knowledge about collaborative work while working together in this course.	.222**	.007
5	I am completely satisfied with my performance in the course.	.385**	.000
6	I feel confident of getting an A in the course.	.302**	.000
7	I feel that I had the respect of group mates with whom I interacted, during the course	.203*	.014
8	I feel that I had influence over decisions in class projects when interacting with my group mates during the course	.291**	.000
9	I feel that gaining respect from my group mates motivated me to participate and interact more in class projects	.242**	.003
10	I feel that having influence over decisions made in class projects motivated me to participate and interact more in	.249**	.002
11	I feel that participating and interacting in class discussions helped me in my learning process during the course	.467**	.000
12	I feel that I have made good friends during this course	.288**	.000
13	I feel that I have learnt a lot about collaborative and cooperative work during this course	.451**	.000
14	I feel that many of the emotions I experienced during the group project motivated me to participate and interact	.287**	.000
15	I feel that many of the emotions I experienced during the group project motivated me to engage more with course	.392**	.000
16	I believe that my ability to form working relationships with my group members aided me in doing well in the group	.260**	.002
17	I believe that my ability to form working relationships with my group members aided me in gaining new and conceptual knowledge	.266**	.001
18	I believe I contributed equally to the group project	.296**	.000
19	I believe I contributed more than my share to the project	.359**	.000

RQ10: Do students' emotional experiences in the class/group project impact or influence perceptions of knowledge gained and result in a feeling of satisfaction about their performance in the course?

This question can be answered by looking at items 13 and 14 in table 5 and see that students awareness of their emotions while working with group mates in the group project, appear to have allowed them to gain new and conceptual knowledge, collaborate with their group mates, gain respect and influence from their group mates and participate and interact with their group mates in order to achieve their group goals. This is encouraging and will again allow us to formulate hypotheses to test these in various settings.

Conclusions

Based on the findings of the initial analyses, the results are indeed encouraging and we expect to learn more as we proceed with the analysis of the different groups, class sections and across universities. There is no magic pill for assessment or for imparting or gaining knowledge. However, we feel that these are steps in the right direction and will lead us to a better understanding of the process and help formulate simple, easy to understand and relevant assessment measures for learning that can then be employed in a wide variety of situations. We also hope to better understand how students wish to engage with the course material and their group or class mates and thereby facilitate their learning processes.

References

- Armstrong S.J., Fukami C., “Self-assessment of knowledge: a cognitive learning or affective measure? – Perspectives from the management learning and education community.” *Academy of Management Learning and Education Journal*. vol 9, No 2, 2010, 335-342.
- Baud, D., “Enhancing learning through self-assessment.” Kagan Page, London, Philadelphia, 1995.
- Chaffee, R. F. and McLeod, J. M., “Coorientation and the structure of family communication.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Communication Association. 1970, Minneapolis, MN.
- Damasio, A., “The Feeling of What Happens: Body, Emotion and the Making of Consciousness.” Massachusetts: MIT Press 2000.
- Damasio, A., “Emotions and Feelings: A Neurobiological Perspective, Feelings and Emotions, the Masterdam Symposium.” 2004, 49-57.
- Elliott, N., Higgins, A., “Self and peer assessment - does it make a difference to student group work?” *Nurse Education in Practice*, Volume 5, Issue 1, January 2005, 40-48, ISSN 1471-5953, DOI: 10.1016/j.nepr.2004.03.004.
- Fineman. S., “Emotion in Organizations.” 2000, London, Sage.
- Jung I., Choi S., Lim C., Leem J., “Effects of Different Types of Interaction on Learning Achievement, Satisfaction and Participation in Web-Based Instruction.” *Innovations in Education & Teaching International*, Volume 39, Number 2, 1 May 2002 , 153-162(10).
- Lane, R.D., Nadel, L., & Kaszniak, A.W., “The future of emotion research from the perspective of cognitive neuroscience.” In R. Lane, L. Nadel, G. Ahern, J. Allen, A. W. Kaszniak, S. Rapsak, & G. E. Schwartz, (Eds.), *Cognitive neuroscience of emotion*. 2000, 407-410. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Nulty, D. D., “Peer and self-assessment in the first year of university.” *Assessment & Evaluation in Higher Education*, 36(5), 2011, 493-507. doi:10.1080/02602930903540983
- Pollerman, B.Z., “A Place for Prosody in a Unified Model of Cognition and Emotion.” *Proceedings of the 2002 ISCA Archive*, <http://www.isca-speech.org/archive>
- Sundararajan, M., Sundararajan, B., Peters, L., “Do Emotions, Strength of Ties and type of Communication Impact the Rationality Underpinning Collective Action of Technology Management Projects.” *Proceedings of the 2005 Portland International Center for*

Management of Engineering & Technology, July 31st – Aug 4th, 2005, Portland, Oregon, USA

Sundararajan, B., “Impact of communication patterns, network positions and social dynamics factors on learning among students in a CSCL environment.” *Electronic Journal of eLearning*, 7(1), (2009) 71-84, available online at www.ejel.org

Sundararajan, B., “Emergence of the Most Knowledgeable Other (MKO): Social Network Analysis of Chat and Bulletin Board Conversations in a CSCL System.” *Electronic Journal of e-Learning* Volume 8 Issue 2 2010, 191 - 208, available online at www.ejel.org

“University of Wollongong Assessment Policy, 2002 – Assessment of Group Work – Code of Practice – Teaching and Assessment.”
<http://www.cshe.unimelb.edu.au/assessinglearning/03/group.html> - [Accessed Aug 10, 2011]; in-text citation (University of Wollongong Assessment Policy, 2002)

Zhao, C., & Kuh, G. D., “Adding value: Learning communities and student engagement.” *Research in Higher Education*, 45, (2004) 115-138.

Zimmerman, B. J. & Martinez-Pons, M., “Construct validation of a strategy model of student self-regulated learning.” *Journal of Educational Psychology*, Vol 80(3), Sep 1988, 284-290. doi: [10.1037/0022-0663.80.3.284](https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0663.80.3.284)

**Salvador Barragan
University of Lethbridge**

**Albert Mills
Saint Mary's University**

NARRATING THE ASB CONFERENCE: HOW THE CONFERENCE IS SOCIALLY CONSTRUCTED THROUGH THE TIME¹

One view for studying organizations is that they are socially constructed through language. We focus on how some members of the ASB conference constructed this organization, its legitimacy and themselves through their narratives.

The Atlantic School of Businesses (ASB) conference has been running since 1970 in Canada and it has been held at different universities from the Atlantic Canada (Mills 2005). The recently formed executive committee launched the *ASB history project* in order to create a memory of one of the oldest academic conferences in Canada (ASB Renewal, 2008). As a result, a few papers have been published on the proceedings of this and on other conferences and on some academic journals (e.g. Long 2006; Long, Pyper and Rostis 2008; McLaren 2008; Murray 2007; Pyper 2007; Yue et al. 2007) and probably, these documents constitute the only textual evidence of the conference's history. Then, we join to this project by analyzing how members of this organization construct both the ASB conference and themselves through the narratives they enact to make sense of their participation, the conference itself, and its legitimacy. Then, we adopt an interpretive perspective to approach this study.

Social scientists have been studying organizations from a positive perspective, adopting the view that the real world is out there and we have to discover it (Burrell and Morgan 1979). However, other scholars have approached the study of organizations from an interpretive tradition (Prasad 2005), in which inter-subjective interpretations of the world became fixed and 'eventually acquired a "natural" existence' (p.16). In this tradition, what is important is not to discover the "real" organization, but how the organization is socially constructed (Berger and Luckmann 1966) and how its members make sense of it and of themselves (Weick 1995; Weick 2001).

¹ We acknowledge the valuable comments of the two anonymous reviewers.

Some of the previous studies on ASB have taken a social constructionist perspective. For instance, Campbell (2007) uses the Curriculum Vitae as textual evidence to construct the conference due to the lack of documented rules and procedures, which re-produce the organization (Putnam and Cooren 2004). Long (2006) asked scholars from the Atlantic who have or have not participated at ASB to construct mission statements of the conference. In doing so, these scholars construct the ASB in a way that enhance the reputation of the conference and themselves. Murray (2007) focuses on interviewing young scholars who construct their own identities as academics by interacting in this conference with more established academics. McLaren (2008) identified multiple discourses in relation to the awards at ASB using interviews. We contribute to this group of interpretive scholarship, by offering a narrative analysis of the interview-stories that participants tell about ASB. These narratives construct in different degrees the legitimacy of the conference and construct the participants as well.

Social Construction of Organizations: Narrating the Organization

Social constructivists contend that reality is socially constructed (Berger and Luckmann 1966) and it is through language that individuals create their world (Rorty 1989). From this tradition, scholars study organizations from the point of view of how organizational realities are constructed (Prasad 2005) by organizational members who make sense of their experiences retrospectively (Weick 1995; Weick 2001). Therefore, it is through language that social structures and identities are produce and reproduce (Fairclough 1993). In other words, language is a means by which members construct the organizations, in which they are involved. This construction does not occur in isolation. Collectives engaged in the construction of what organizations are (Berger and Luckmann 1966) by the process of 'legitimation' (p.86), in which explanation and justifications of reality are integrated and negotiated. For our purposes, people that have participated at ASB make sense of their participation, share and negotiate these meanings with other participants and produce and re-produce a sense of legitimacy of this conference. In that conversation, they objectified reality (Berger and Luckmann 1966). A member of the executive committee of ASB put it in this way:

It is weird that the ASB people talk about it like it was a university or an institution or an organization. But it didn't have any hallmarks of an organization. The president was there by happenstance. These individuals [former presidents] were adopting those roles, and were not hired. Individuals were volunteering. So it was all ad hoc. Well you can't have 30+ years of bringing together for a purpose and go away without something else going on. So there's something else there. It's just like people wanting to get involved, people wanting

an outlet, people wanting a forum to meet local. I don't know who found it. I don't think there was a founder. They just had a conference and it happened another 35 times. But there had to be something, we don't know. There are no records. Everyone knew what you were talking about and had a feeling about it one way or the other, they did or they didn't like it. So everybody was treating it like a thing that existed, but you couldn't point to it, you couldn't touch it (*interview 5 by Salvador Barragan, June 23; 2008*).

This excerpt shows how the narrator considers that some people treat the ASB as a 'thing' or 'something that is there', like real. Even people have a 'feeling about it' or an attitude towards it: they 'did or didn't like it'. However, 'you couldn't touch it', it is a reification of experiences and conversations that people have: 'everybody knew what you were talking about'. In this sense, organizations are 'networks of conversations' (Ford 1999, p.485). Then, the ASB conference may be a network of several conversations or narratives among actors. Therefore, these narratives can be described as 'a form not only of representing but of constituting reality' (Bruner 1991, p.5) and in this case, constituting the ASB conference and its legitimacy. Narratives are especially important for the relevance of self-identity in Modernity (Giddens 1991). Probably, identity is 'no longer viewed as given..., individuals must now construct who they are and how they want to be known, just as groups, organizations, and governments do' (Reissman 2008, p.7). Thus, it's through the enactment (Weick 1995) of these narratives that participants construct the ASB, its legitimacy and the identities of its members.

Organizations have been represented with different metaphors, of which machines and organism are the most common (Morgan 2006). Czarniawska (1997) reminded us that another commonly used metaphor is the 'Organization as super-person' or 'Organization man' (p.41). Then, organizations have been constructed as individuals, sharing some human characteristics such as personal identity. Therefore, organizational members may refer to an organization as if it has an identity. In this sense 'it is useful to treat identity as a narrative...as a continuous process of narration where both the narrator and the audience are involved in formulating, editing, applauding, and refusing various elements of the ever-produced narrative' (Czarniawska 1997, p.49). Narrative is defined as 'the constitutive process by which human beings order their conceptions of self and of the world around them' (Worthington 1996, p.13) and it is 'the primary form by which human experience is made meaningful' (Polkinghorne 1988, p.1). Therefore, what is important is not if the narration is a fair interpretation of reality, but its meaning (Gabriel 2000).

There has been discrepancy about the differences between a narrative and a story. For Gabriel (2000), stories have 'resonant plots and characters, involving narrative skills,

entailing risk, and aiming to entertain, persuade, and win over' (p.22); while for Boje (1991), 'people told stories in bits and pieces, with excessive interruptions of story parts, with people talking over each other to share story fragments, and many aborted storytelling attempts' (p.112-113). For our purposes, we will treat narrative and story as interchangeable as elsewhere (Hopkinson 2003; Reissman 2008). Weick (1995) tells us that storytelling is a process of making sense of experiences and events and for that 'what is necessary...is a good story' (Weick 1995, p.61). In addition, S oderberg (2003) proposes five characteristics that a good narrative should have based on Bruner (1991): accounts of an event occurring over time, retrospective interpretations based on past experiences, focusing on human action, part of identity construction process, co-authored by the audience. For our purposes, we anticipate that members of this conference will narrate their experiences retrospectively and will construct themselves as well as the ASB and these narrations will be co-author by a specific audience: the researcher and the attendees to the ASB conference where this paper will be presented. In this sense, this 'situated talk enacts broader social structures in the form of organizational and institutional identities' (Ainsworth and Hardy 2004, p.160), including the legitimacy as an academic conference.

Traditionally, identity has been defined as something central, distinctive and enduring characteristics of an organization (Albert & Whetten, 1985). However, this view has been contested (e.g. Brown 2006). Similarly, Martin et al. (1983) study of a unique organizational culture in organizations argues that the culture may not be unique. In fact, storytelling in organizations reveals differentiated and fragmented perspectives on organizational meanings and values (Martin 1992). Similarly, official stories of organizations may not be unique, as presented in the "official story" which can be told or can be express on the internet, in the press, and annual reports (S oderberg, 2003). However, there are different interpretations of it within the same organization. In this way, an organization may be defined as something that is always in the state of 'becoming' (Tsoukas & Chia, 2002). As stated by Foucault (1986), individuals may resist control (e.g. impositions of identity) in everyday interactions such as enacting counter-narratives (Humphreys and Brown 2002).The narrative approach allows adopting 'a polyphonic understanding of the world' (S oderberg, 2003). For instance, David Boje's (1995) study of stories in Disney reveals that the traditional company's history of a happy family has been contested by other silenced stories of employees and Walt Disney's closed collaborators. Therefore, we expect that the stories enacted by the ASB's members may be fragmented rather than one unique and shared story. Consequently, it's is

possible that the social construction of ASB and its legitimacy may be unique, differentiated or fragmented (Martin 1992). In other words, the narratives of the participants of this conference will form a collection of multi-voice stories that construct a polyphonic organization (Fairclough 1992; Hazen 1993) due to the plurality of voices (Brown 2006). These voices construct the conference in different ways by attributing to it more or less legitimacy, and in this way the participants construct themselves as more or less supportive of this organization.

Methodology

We will use the narrative approach (Reissman 2008), in order to enact stories about the ASB conference. These stories will be treated as the physical evidence of language due to the lack of written narratives about ASB. In addition, Patriotta (2003) suggests that narratives contain organizational memory and Reissman (2008) points out that interviews are helpful to ‘generate detailed accounts’ (p.23). In this way, we asked questions that invite participants to narrate freely their own view and the view of other scholars on ASB, their experiences in different roles they took, their experience in other academic conferences, their own explanations for the long history of ASB, and the future of this conference. The aim of these questions was to ‘open topics and allow respondents to construct answers in ways they find meaningful’ (p.25). Our purpose was to intervene as less as possible during the interviews and to follow Gabriel’s (2000) advice of becoming ‘a fellow-traveler on a narrative’ (p.32).

We follow the approach suggested by Reissman (2008): interviewing, transcribing, and co-producing. Similarly, Czarniawska (2002) notes that the interviews are a site for narrative production and the editing a site for co-production. Thus, we participate in the narrative production ‘by listening and questioning in particular ways, we critically shape the stories participants choose to tell’ (Reissman 2008, p.50). In other words, we first edited the interviews to form the narratives by eliminating the interviewer’s questions, co-editing the answers in narrative form, cleaning the narrative (e.g. the phrase “you know what I mean” was eliminated, interviewer interruptions, etc), and setting the boundaries of each narrative as suggested by Reissman (1993; 2008). Each participant enacted more than one story or narrative and we categorized them based on the main theme(s) and we also categorized the narratives based on the narrator’s support to and involvement with the conference, according to: the degree of legitimacy attributed by the narration, the encouragement to others to be involved in, and the

intention to participate in the future. In this tradition and under the narrative approach, it is difficult to provide validity and reliability recipes as those used in quantitative research. The validity of the stories told by participants and the story told by the researchers has to be replaced by ‘persuading the audiences about the trustworthiness’ of the collected narratives and the interpretation (Reissman 2008, p.186). However, once we categorized each narrative by theme and by narrator’s support, we did a second round of categorization of narratives to see whether they fit into those previous categories.

The interviewees were selected from a list that was initially originated from a broader research study called the “ASB history project”. For this paper, we have 12 interviews that were conducted not only by one of the authors, but also by other researchers involved in the broader project. The profiles of the interviewees are shown on Appendix 1, where a summary of their academic position, their affiliation, the roles that they took at ASB, and the period of involvement. The majority were interviewed at their own university and the rest by phone.

Discussion

The 12 interviews generated around 30 narratives. As noted elsewhere (Gabriel 2000), some stories were richer than others in terms of better plots and not just presenting factual descriptions. We found closed to 20 different themes and each narrative was assigned more than one theme, if necessary. When we check again if the narratives fit into those categories, it was easier to see how a broader category or theme was better. Then, we ended up with 10 broader themes as shown on table 1.

Table 1: Themes of the Narratives

No.	Themes	No. of Narratives
1	Regional Conference	11
2	Friendly & Supportive	10
3	Legitimacy of the Conference	10
4	Hosting the Conference & Sense of Obligation	8
5	Comparison with Other Conferences	7
6	First Time at ASB	7
7	Formal Structure & Future	7
8	New Scholars/ Teaching Researchers	7
9	Networking & Sharing Experience	5
10	Working Ideas	4

The three more common themes were the *regional conference*, the *friendliness and supportiveness*, and the *legitimacy of the conference*. The *friendliness and supportiveness of the conference* theme has a shared meaning in almost every narrative that mentioned it, as one of the central characteristics of the ASB. On the other hand, a *regional conference* theme has a variety of meanings. Sometimes it was referred as something too local and small, and with less importance, and some other times, it was referred as something that promotes the second most mentioned theme: the *friendliness and supportiveness*. Similarly to these contradictory meanings, the theme *legitimacy of the conference* represented different things for different narrators. For some the legitimacy of the conference is justified by the good feedback, the subsequent publication in a journal, or the fact that some scholars presented papers also at other National or International conferences, and the peer review nature of the conference. At the same time, for some narrators the conference is not legitimate due to the fact that some established scholars, committees for promotion, and Deans do not recommend it or recognized it. *Comparison with other conferences* was referred as being better than other National or International conferences in terms of feedback, collegiality, friendliness, supportiveness, involvement, interest of the audience, and less aggressive and competitive, on one hand. On the other, ASB was compare as not being as rigorous, legitimate, and recognized as the other conferences mentioned before. *The first time* at ASB usually was a nice, surprising good experience, with a friendly environment. This theme was presented also with the theme of good venue for *new scholars* or scholars that have teaching, but not much of research experience, especially in the Atlantic region. It is also stated that the

conference is legitimate for *new scholars*. *Networking and sharing experience* is also related to the theme *regional* because it may help scholars to share ideas for teaching and be in contact with researcher in your field due to the small size of some the Atlantic universities. *Hosting the conference & sense of obligation* has different connotations such as obligation, pressure to conform, duty, a need, an opportunity, or a contribution.

Our analysis also focused on categorizing the members by their narratives in terms of support to ASB and the legitimacy that they attributed to the organization. We categorized them as: the *true believers*, the *pragmatic believers*, and the *skeptical believers*. Each of them constructed ASB in a different way as shown on the negative or positive connotations of the themes explained before. For instance, they differ on the degree of both the “affection” towards ASB and the belief of the legitimacy of ASB for career advancement in the academic profession, in comparison with other National or International conferences. We show only a few selected extracts of the narratives for space reasons.

True believers:

In this narrative, the ASB event is constructed like a holiday, a time to catch up with friends who share an interest for research. There is a comparison with other conferences, in which the questions at ASB seem to be more challenging and the narrator constructs herself as someone that not only presents papers at ASB, but also at AoM or ASAC. In doing so, she establishes the legitimacy of ASB. She shows affection and respect for this conference:

It's like Christmas

[Probably they think] I'm really crazy, but it's like Christmas for me. I really love the people that I've met on the PhD program, but I never get to see them anymore. ASB is like the time when I have a weekend to go crazy and catch up with everybody. Like 'what paper are you working on?' but at ASB we're not ... competing for each other's time. The session that I was in at ASAC was really good, but I've been on other sessions at the Academy of Management where the ... audience was not as involved in my paper. I presented my paper and I had one question, two questions and they weren't hard questions, like they were just like, scratching the surface of the paper. But at ASB, every paper I have presented at ASB, the questions that I have gotten were gruelling. They were like really challenging (*Interview 8 by Salvador Barragan; June 26, 2008*).

Again, we have a narrator that retrospectively made sense of his experiences at this conference and what that has meant to him in terms of professional development: publishing in a tier 1 journal and receiving a nurturing support to develop working ideas. He attributes a human attitude to ASB, which is different that the attitude of ASAC. He

establishes the legitimacy of the conference by his publication in a journal, the support he receives and at the same time he shows his continuing support by presenting papers there.

My first time

The first time I went to ASB was shortly after my MBA. I presented a paper, which actually was the very first paper I ever presented at a conference. And we won a “best paper award” and that paper eventually got published in a tier 1 journal and ... so my introduction to ASB was pretty positive. Ever since then, I presented one paper per conference. I used it as ... an opportunity just to think and talk about ... some ideas that I was working on, rather than to present finished research. ASB has the right kind of attitude, which is developmental ... a little bit more laid back and it’s a little bit more ... ‘let’s hear what you have to say’ rather than the kind of ... view that is ASAC, quite competitive and I, as I say, I don’t, I don’t enjoy that nature of the conference, it’s not as nurturing (*Interview 6 by Salvador Barragan; June 26, 2008*).

The third narrator compares the ASB with ASAC and AoM. For him, the quality of the conferences are not different, the only thing that differs is the attitude that scholars have towards ASB and the numbers. He establishes the legitimacy of ASB by saying that who presents at ASB also presents at the other conferences as he has done. They have books and textbooks published. He also considers that the age of ASB and ASAC are comparable. So, the quality should not be different.

Legitimacy

I’ve been to EGOS and ASAC and SCOS and a bunch of others, those conferences aren’t any ... better than ASB. In the Academy of Management 7000 papers, so at ASB we’re talking about 100 papers. ASB is a peer review conference, but there’s this taken for granted assumption that it’s small. There’s ASAC and ASB in Canada. ASB is just as old as ASAC, probably older. People who present at ASB present at the Academy of Management and have written textbooks or books. So, there doesn’t seem to be a significant difference between ASB and ASAC, other than the attitude that we have towards ASB. You have a generation of scholars who were pressured to publish in top tier journals. Then, when they grow up to be senior researchers bringing up other students and they tell them: ‘You’ve got to publish in the Academy of Management. That’s what they did for me, that’s what I [do] for you.’ The Academy of Management has only been around for 50 years, it started with 7 people. Well, ASB has been around for 35 years, which is close to 50. So, the Academy of Management starts in a country with 10 times the population of Canada, 10 times the scholarship. So there is no substantive reason for why ASB is not as [the same] quality as ASAC or [as] the Academy of Management, just smaller numbers (*interview 5 by Salvador Barragan, June 23; 2008*).

Pragmatic believers

This narrator supports the conference and has had a great experience there. However, she has not being for a few years. She encourages young scholars to go for learning purposes, but she doesn’t attribute the same legitimacy as ASAC has. She constructs ASB as a friendly atmosphere and good for networking.

A great place to cut your teeth

I haven't been to ASB in a few years now...but as a new faculty member, I found it a great introduction into the conference world. So my memories of were that it was a great place to cut your teeth and try out some new ideas, but it was pretty low risk and fairly friendly in terms of the atmosphere...not, I wouldn't have categorized it as a high level conference. It is a regional conference, but a good place to learn. It's useful for younger faculty members and a good place to network, to see what jobs were available in the region. There was rigor there, but I wouldn't say that it was at the level of some of the American conferences and it's certainly not at ASAC level (*interview 11, by Salvador Barragan; July 22, 2008*).

In this case, we also have a partially support to the conference by encouraging new researcher as a starting point. However, at some point they have to fly and go to National or International conferences. She is pragmatic in the sense that going to ASB is less expensive for people at the Atlantic in terms of transportation.

It's time for you to move on

I encourage people to go especially for new faculty because it's less expensive than flying. Most of the time, you can drive wherever you are going, except (Memorial) we always have to fly. It's a good starting point. So...I never discourage someone [to go], but I have at some point to say 'it's time for you to move on, but it is time for you to go to something national or international'. Most people don't want to appear to be stupid ... or not knowledgeable in front of their peers so ... there is an increased pressure on them if you go to a national or international conference (*Interview 2, by Salvador Barragan; June 15, 2008*).

Skeptical believers

This narrator compares the career of a researcher with the career of a hockey player by establishing the difference between attending to a farm team (very low in the scale) and attending to the NHL (the maximum place to play). In this sense, he uses the tiered system belief in academia to rate ASB in comparison with ASAC and AoM and attributes a lower legitimacy to ASB. He does not support the ASB by questioning himself the need for this conference for Atlantic Canada.

The farm team versus the National leagues

The conferences are ... on a tiered system and ASB is the bottom tier conference and the top tier is the Academy of Management, and ASAC, is the middle tier. People are looking for bigger conferences. It's like... you're trying to make the NHL, it's your goal to be a professional hockey player and you can't make it so you play in the farm leagues. If you don't have to play in the farm leagues, and you can get to the NHL, you're going to skip those farm leagues. And a lot of the PhD students are skipping the farm leagues. I'm not sure how much the other universities in Atlantic Canada support it? How much do they really care? (*Interview 3, by Salvador Barragan; June 16, 2008*).

This narrator attributes a lower legitimacy to ASB by not presenting papers there, by saying that he will try to send papers to other National or International conferences, and by paying attention to what the Dean would say about ASB.

God forbids if you send it to ASB

What I did is acted as a division chair...I'm not sure that I ever submitted papers to ASB...because usually if I had done 2 or 3 papers in a year, then I was sending maybe this one to Academy and this one to ASAC and this one to maybe EGOS and ASB would not be on the map...but it's hard to sort of denigrate the conference. And usually, the Dean basically said, 'You know, if you're going to get a paper, you're going to get it into Academy, I'll be much more impressed with that than if you send it to ASAC and, God forbids, if you send it to ASB' (*Interview 10, by Salvador Barragan; July 22, 2008*).

Conclusions

Narrating the ASB conference through the lenses of different people provide us with multiple 'windows into organizational life' (Gabriel 2000,p .29). We found a polyphonic organization, constructed in different ways. It was like the 'Tamara-land' described by Boje (1995) in which people observed a variety of plays and endings under the same theater and the same play. For the case of the ASB, we should follow Czarniawska's (1997) advice that 'organizational autobiographies' should not be treated as the 'history of the company' but to treat them as 'lives under construction' (p.53). In this way, the social constructionist view that we took, help us not only to discover the organization that is out there, but also to see how some participants of this conference in different periods of time, from different universities, and with different academic ranks, and roles at the conference constructed this institution (Berger and Luckmann 1966), especially its legitimacy as an academic conference for the Atlantic region. These narrators also construct themselves as *true*, *pragmatic*, and *skeptical believers* in ASB and also they contributed to the re-production of what this conference is on their eyes.

Appendix 1 – Profile of the Interviewees

Universities	No.
Saint Mary's	3
Mount Saint Vincent University	2
Acadia University	3
Memorial	2
University of New Brunswick	2
Total	12

Academic Positions	No.
PhD students	2
ABDs	1
Assistant Professors	3
Associate Professors	2
Full Professors	2
Ex-Deans	2
Total	12

Level of Participation at ASB				
Presenter	Chair/Div	Reviewer	Volunteer	No.
x	x	x	x	4
x	x	x		1
x				1
x			x	1
	x			2
x		x	x	2
x		x		1
Total				12

Period of Involvement	
70s - 80s	1
80s - 90s	2
90s - 20s	5
present	9
Total	17*

* More than 12 due to participation in more than 1 period

References

- Ainsworth, S., and C. Hardy. "Discourse and Identities." In *The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Discourse*, D. Grant, C. Hardy, C. Oswick, and L. Putnam, eds. London: SAGE Publications Ltd. (2004).
- Berger, P., and T. Luckmann. *The Social Construction of Reality*. New York: Anchor Books (1966).
- Boje, D. M. "The Storytelling Organization: A Study of Story Performance." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 36 (1991), 106.
- . "Stories of the Storytelling Organization: A Postmodern Analysis of Disney as "Tamara-Land"." *Academy of Management Journal* 38 (1995), 997.
- Brown, A. D. "A Narrative Approach to Collective Identifies." *The Journal of Management Studies* 43 (2006), 731.
- Bruner, J. "The Narrative Construction of Reality." *Critical Inquiry* 18 (1991), 1-21.
- Burrell, G., and G. Morgan. *Sociological Paradigms and Organisational Analysis*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company (1979).
- Campbell, S. "If a Tree Falls in the Forest. . . Reproducing Organization through Text -- a Hermeneutic Analysis of Curricula Vitae and the Atlantic Schools of Business Conference." In *Proceedings of the 37th Atlantic Schools of Business Conference*. Acadia University, September 28-30 (2007).
- Czarniawska, B. *Narrating the Organization: Dramas of Institutional Identity*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press (1997).
- . "Narratives, Interviews, and Organizations." In *Hanbook of Interview Research: Context & Method*, J. F. Gubrium and J. A. Holstein, eds. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage (2002).
- Fairclough, N. *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press (1992).
- . "Critical Discourse Analysis and the Marketization of Public Discourse: the Universities." *Discourse and Society* 4 (1993), 133-168.
- Ford, J. D. "Organizational Change as Shifting Conversations." *Journal of Organizational Change Management* 12 (1999), 480-500.
- Foucault, M. "Polemics, Politics and Problematizations." In *The Foucault Reader*, P. Rabinow, ed. London: Penguin (1986).
- Gabriel, Y. *Storytelling in Organizations: Facts, Fictions, and Fantasies*. New York: Oxford University Press (2000).
- Giddens, A. *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press (1991).
- Hazen, M. A. "Towards Polyphonic Organization." *Journal of Organizational Change Management* 6 (1993), 15.
- Hopkinson, G. C. "Stories from the Front-line: How they Construct the Organization." *Journal of Management Studies* 40 (2003), 1943-1969.
- Humphreys, M., and A. D. Brown. "Narratives of Organizational Identity and Identification: A Case Study of Hegemony and Resistance." *Organization Studies* 23 (2002), 421.
- Long, B. "The Mission: Uncovering a Sense of ASB through a Critical Hermeneutic Analysis of Individual Mission Statements." In *Proceedings of the 36th Atlantic Schools of Business Conference*. Mount Allison University, Sackville, NB Sept.29-Oct. 1 (2006).

- Long, B., R. Pyper, and A. Rostis. "Constructing a Legitimate History: Crisis, Legitimacy, and the Atlantic Schools of Business Conferences " *Canadian Journal of Administrative Sciences* (In press) (2008).
- Martin, J. *Cultures in Organizations: Three Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (1992).
- Martin, J., M. S. Feldman, M. J. Hatch, and S. B. Sitkin. "The Uniqueness Paradox in Organizational Stories." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 28 (1983), 438-453.
- McLaren, P. G. "I'd Like to Thank the Academy": An Analysis of the Awards Discourse at the Atlantic Schools of Business Conference." *Canadian Journal of Administrative Sciences* in press (2008).
- Mills, A. J. "Restructuring the Atlantic Schools of Business (ASB) Forum." *The Workplace Review* April (2005).
- Morgan, G. *Images of Organizations*. California, U.S.: Sage Publications, Inc. (2006).
- Murray, W. C. "Entering the Professorate: When Individual Identity Construction Meets Institutional Habituation." In *Proceedings of the 37th Atlantic Schools of Business Conference*. Wolfville, Nova Scotia (2007).
- Patriotta, G. "Sensemaking on the Shop Floor: Narratives of Knowledge in Organizations." *Journal of Management Studies* 40 (2003), 349-375.
- Polkinghorne, D. E. *Narrative Knowing and the Human Sciences*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press (1988).
- Prasad, P. *Crafting Qualitative Research: Working in the Postpositivist Traditions*. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc. (2005).
- Putnam, L., and F. Cooren. "Alternative Perspectives in the Role of Text and Agency in Constituting Organizations." *Organization* 11 (2004), 323-333.
- Pyper, R. "The Atlantic School of Business (ASB): The Search for Legitimacy within Business Education and Research in Canada." In *Proceedings of the 37th Atlantic Schools of Business Conference*. Wolfville, Nova Scotia (2007).
- Reissman, C. K. *Narrative Analysis*. Newbury Park, California: SAGE Publications, Inc. (1993).
- . *Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc. (2008).
- Rorty, R. *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1989).
- Søderberg, A.-M. "Sensegiving and Sensemaking in an Integration Process: A Narrative Approach to the Study of an International Acquisition." In *Narratives we Organized by*, 11, B. Czarniawska and P. Gagliardi, eds. Amsterdam ; Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins (2003).
- Weick, K. E. *Sensemaking in Organizations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage (1995).
- . *Making Sense of the Organization*. Oxford: Blackwell Business (2001).
- Worthington, K. L. *Self as Narrative: Subjectivity and Community in Contemporary Fiction*. Oxford: Clarendon Press (1996).
- Yue, A. R., G. Durepos, E. McLeod, and A. J. Mills. "Realizing Where We Have Been: Critical Reflections on Making History and the Atlantic Schools of Business." In *Proceedings of the 5th Critical Management Studies Conference (CMS)*. Manchester, UK, July 11th -13th (2007).