Letter from the Editor

BY ALBERT J. MILLS

Welcome to the first Special Issue of the *Workplace Review* – **'Thinking on the Edges of Management and Organizational History.'**

The special issue arises out of a group of papers presented at the Business History Division of the 2016 annual conference of the Atlantic Schools of Business (ASB), held at Saint Mary's University in Halifax. In each case, in the spirit of ASB as an exploratory conference, a number of scholars presented papers in which they explored various themes from the field of management and organizational history - more to engender conversation, discussion and speculation than to arrive at a finalized or punctuated narrative. Normally, the conference would serve to surface and discuss ideas, which would only later be turned into more finalized forms for publication. However, with the collection of papers by an experienced group of management and history scholars we felt encouraged to continue the debate by publishing the papers as a special issue.

The Special Issue consists of the first four papers and is followed by two articles from our regular format that examines teaching practices in business education and our case analysis feature.

Special Issue:

In our opening paper, Gabrielle Durepos (Mount Saint Vincent University) explores the positives in the emerging 'fragmentation in historical organization studies,' arguing that "a healthy fragmentation [i.e., various approaches to understanding the past] can only exist alongside an ethic of pluralistic understanding." To arrive at this conclusion she explores, what she calls, "five motivations for doing history research."[1]

In the second paper, Albert J. Mills (Saint Mary's University) explores the potential links and divergences between ANTi-History (an approach that examines how networks of people, artefacts, and ideas produce knowledge of the past) and Microhistory (an approach that seeks to understand the history of social life through focus on micro activities, people and events). His provisional conclusions suggest that while there are "some distinct differences [between ANTi-History and Microhistory] both can learn from each other – especially in the focus on . . . the singularization of history in which actors are studied at the level of their particular contextual relationships (relatively) free of metanarrative baggage."[2]

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[1] Gabrielle Durepos' recent publications include (with A.J. Mills) `ANTi-History' in The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods in Business and Management, edited by Catherine Cassell, Ann Cunliffe and Gina Grandy, 2017; (with A. J. Mills) `ANTi-History, relationalism and the historic turn in management and organization studies,' *Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management*, 12(1): pp. 1-16, 2017); and "ANTi-History: toward amodern histories". In Patricia Genoe McLaren, Albert J. Mills, & Terrance G. Weatherbee (Eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Management and Organizational History* (pp. 153-180). London: Routledge; (with A. J. Mills, R. Suddaby, and W. M. Foster), `Re-visiting the historic turn 10 years later: Current debates in management and organizational history - an introduction. *Management & Organizational History, 11*(2), 67-76, 2016; and "ANTi-History: toward amodern histories". In Patricia Genoe McLaren, Albert J. Mills, & Terrance G. Weatherbee (Eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Management and Organizational History* (pp. 153-180). London: Routledge.

[2] Mills' study of ANTi-History is a theme that was featured in the October 2016 issue of the Workplace Review – see Ryan MacNeil, `Rhetorical history and regional advantage: An ANTi-History of the "Queens Cluster" in Nova Scotia, Canada.' Mills' recent publications include (with J. Helms Mills) `Archival Research' in The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods in Business and Management, edited by Catherine Cassell, Ann Cunliffe and Gina Grandy, 2017; (with K. E. Coller, and J. Helms Mills) `The British Airways Heritage Collection: An ethnographic 'history'. *Business History, 58*(4), 547-570, 2016; and (with C. Bettin and J. Helms Mills) `"The Halifax School": An Actor-Network Analysis of Critical Management Studies and the Sobey PhD in Management Programme. In C. Grey, I. Huault, V. Perret , & L. Taskin (Eds.), *CMS : Global Voices, Local Accent*. London: Routledge, 2016.

The third paper, by Terrance C. Weatherbee (Acadia University), explores the hitherto neglected role of former Canadian Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King in the development of a human relations approach to managing industrial relations – decades before the work of Hawthorne Studies' researchers Elton Mayo and Fritz Roethlisberger. Weatherbee contends that "this . . . historically unacknowledged work qualifies [King] as a pioneer of management thought."[3]

The fourth paper, by Shelley Price (St. Francis Xavier University), Chris Hartt (Dalhousie University), and Megan Baker (Saint Mary's University), draws on ANTI-History – particularly the concept of the non-corporeal actant (recurring and embedded ideas that influence social action) – to explore "the Canadian seal hunt debate as a colonial project. . . . By engaging with actor-network theory," the authors begin by interrogating the seal hunt "through the non-corporeal actants traditionally used in the debate (truth seeking, quantifying humaneness and defining morality) and then reassembled using non-corporeal actants that are traditionally used in Inuit relations to the seal (interconnectedness, fairness and compassion, and tradition)." Setting out to "contribute to the growing literature on decolonizing practices," the authors demonstrate how an actor-network theory approach can be used to study the discursive positions within this complex debate."[4]

Regular Features Section:

Our regular section begins with a paper by Scott MacMillan and Tony Yue (Mount Saint Vincent University) who explore business teaching practice through an existentialist focus on the student. Contending that "today's students are very diverse when they arrive at university," MacMillan and Yue put forward a case for exploring "the higher education experience, specifically business studies, and the various factors which affect student success." To that end, they draw on existentialist theory and outline "a model . . . to strategically understand the student experience."[5]

The issue ends with our case analysis feature by Neil Maltby, Jennifer Alex, and Mark MacIssac (Saint Francis Xavier University). The case focusses on 'Rough Trade: Big Rock Brewing Company Inc. and the Canadian Brewing Industry.' The authors begin with the disclaimer that they "do not intend to illustrate either effective or ineffective handling of a managerial situation." Instead, they provide detailed and illustrative date to allow students to discuss the contributing factors to the company's (Big Rock) performance and CEO Bob Sartor's assessment of the situation; to evaluate how the company performed financially; discuss the role of the "craft beer environment in Alberta and across Canada" to the creation

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[3] Weatherbee's recent publications include `History of-in-and Critical Management Studies,' in A. Prasad, P. Prasad, A. J. Mills, & J. Helms Mills (Eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Critical Management Studies*, 2015; (with Genoe McLaren and A. J. Mills) *The Routledge Companion to Management & Organizational History*. London: Routledge, 2015; and (with A.J. Mills and G. Durepos) `Resembling Weber: The-past-as-history in Management and Organization Studies. *Organization, 21*(2), 225-243, 2014.

[4] Recent publications by the authors include Hartt (with G. Durepos, A.J. Mills and J. Helms Mills). Performing the Past: ANTi-History, Gendered Spaces and Feminist Practice. In Albert J. Mills (Ed.), *Insights and Research on the study of Gender and Intersectionality in International Airline Culture*. Bradford: Emerald Books; Price and Hartt (with Yue and Pohlkamp) `We the Inuit: Fluid notions of Age and Non-Corporeal Actants,' in Aaltio, A., Mills, A. J., and Helms Mills, J. [Eds.] Ageing, *Organizations and Management*. Palgrave. London (2017); and Hartt, C., et al, "Sense-Making and Actor Networks: The Non-Corporeal Actant and the Making of an Air Canada History." Management & Organizational History, 9(3), 288-304, 2014.
[5] The authors' recent publications include Yue, A.R., & MacMillan, S. (2013). The Situation of Global Careers in Canada *Careers Without Borders: Critical Perspectives,* New York, NY: Routledge; MacMillan and Yue (with A. J. Mills) `Both how and why: Considering Existentialism as a Philosophy of work and Management. *Philosophy of Management, 11*(3), 27-46, 2012; and Yue (with A. Bryman, E. Bell and A. J. Mills) *Business Research Methods. First Canadian Edition*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2011.

of an "open market;" and to assess the "strategic consequences" [that] result from the analysis for Big Rock."[6] An in-depth teaching note for this case is available upon request.

Afterword

If you have an idea for a Special Issue of the Workplace Review please contact myself (albert.mills@smu.ca) and Ellen Shaffner (ellen.shaffner@smu.ca). To submit a paper for review, please contact Ellen Shaffner, Managing Editor at the email above.

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[6] The authors' recent publications include Alex,J., MacIsaac, M., & Maltby, N. (2016). `The North West Company: Analyzing financial performance,' Ivey ID: 9B16B017. London, Canada: Ivey Publishing.

Gabrielle Durepos
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IN PRAISE OF FRAGMENTATION IN
HISTORICAL ORGANIZATION STUDIES

There is a rise in history research in management and organization studies. This is parallel by a rise in various communities of scholars doing history. This has lead to field level fragmentation. The paper explores five motivations for doing history research that can unite otherwise divergent communities of history researchers. The objective of the paper is to suggest that a healthy fragmentation can only exist alongside an ethic of pluralistic understanding.

Introduction

There has been a rise of history research in management and organization studies (MOS) in the past 20 years (Mills, Suddaby, Foster & Durepos, 2016). Maclean, Harvey and Clegg (2016: 3) call the emerging field "historical organization studies" and describe it "as organizational research that draws extensively on historical data, methods and knowledge, embedding organizing and organizations in their socio-historical context to generate historically informed theoretical narratives attentive to both" history and MOS. The rise of history research in MOS has been accompanied by the rise and development of a diversity of historically minded communities of scholars who draw, to varying degrees, from the fields of history and MOS. The central argument of this paper is that the *diversity* of scholarly communities and their respective history research agendas is healthy and should be encouraged. This opinion is based on the notion that despite the philosophical differences that inform *how* history research is undertaken, communities share motivations that inform *why* they do history research. In this paper, I provide reasons why fragmentation in historical organization studies is good and why it should be promoted. A central aim of the paper is to caution that a healthy fragmentation can only be fostered alongside the emergence of a shared ethic of "pluralistic understanding" (Maclean, Harvey & Clegg, 2016: 2).

In light of the above, the paper and argument runs as follows. First, I take stock of the proliferation of history research in MOS. Second, I outline five motivations for doing history research and give empirical examples. Third, I describe and promote an ethic informed by *pluralistic understanding*.

Proliferation of History Research in Management and Organization Studies

There is no doubt that history research in MOS has increased over the last 20 years (Mills, Suddaby, Foster & Durepos, 2016). This is evident in both the launch of the journal *Management & Organizational History* and the re-launch of the *Journal of Management History* in 2006. Though these specialist journals have ensured a home for history research, it has spilled beyond these venues into generalist management journals, most notably through history themed special issues (Carol, 2002; O'Sullivan, Graham & McKenna, 2010; Godfrey, Hassard, O'Connor, Rowlinson & Ruef, 2014; Rowlinson, Casey, Hansen & Mills, 2014). Other important outcomes of the momentum for more history are edited collections dedicated to capturing various theoretical and methodological debates about how to

best engage in the craft of transforming the past as history (Genoe McLaren, Mills & Weatherbee, 2015; Bucheli & Wadhwani, 2014).

The proliferation of history research in MOS has come with a (less documented) rise in various communities of scholars engaged in the craft. These communities inform history research with different methods and theory conventions (Suddaby, 2016). Due to varied philosophical assumptions, each ascribes different meanings to words like *past*, *history* and *historiography*.

Based on this, the current condition of historical organization studies can be characterised as *field level fragmentation*. I use this term to suggest a research area characterised by multiple communities of scholars who pursue their craft in divergent ways. In conditions of field fragmentation, commensurability (understanding) is possible but convergence might not necessarily be desired.

The field's fragmentation is evident in reading management history journal articles (see for example, the exchange between Taylor, Bell & Cooke, 2009 and Toms & Wilson, 2010). Though an extensive literature review covering the span of history research in MOS over the past 20 years would surely reveal the extent of the fragmentation, it is also evident in other venues like academic conferences. Participation at conferences including the history stream at the Critical Management Studies Conference, the Management History and the Critical Management Studies divisions of the Academy of Management, the Management History Research Group as well as the history stream of the European Group for Organization Studies over the past five years provides a window into the emergence and interactions of the various communities. While the intent of this paper is not to factually capture, document and compare the defining characteristics of the various history research communities, some examples are necessary to illustrate the point. The flavours of history now in currency include critical management history, management history of the Academy of Management, economic history, labour history, business history, management and organization history, and the list continues.

The various communities reveal their identities, virtues and philosophical differences in a number of ways. At conferences, aspects of scholar identities are revealed in simple exchanges like introductions ('My name is ___ and I'm a trained historian'), paper presentations as well professional development workshops. Conversations about methods, the use of archives, the use and development of theory, and what kind of contribution 'management history' articles should make (empirical, theoretical, both?) are rampant and animated. Strong opinions are expressed concerning appropriate venues in which to publish management history articles, as well as value judgements about respective referencing style (extensive footnotes or in-text citations).

Points of convergence and divergence between communities are revealed through these debates. There is uncertainty about whether the debate impedes bridge building across communities or propels it. What is certain is the extent to which the debate illustrates the field level fragmentation characteristic of historical organization studies. This is cause for reflection. What does it mean for historical organization studies to be fragmented? Is this a productive or self-defeating condition? Is this characteristic of an immature discipline that will reach maturity when homogeneity is achieved? Will we eventually measure the level of maturity of the field of historical organization studies by its ability to have achieved commensurability? Can and should communities of scholars put aside their philosophical differences for the sake of convergence and knowledge building? Despite these questions, an engagement with the literature in historical organization studies reveals shared motivations for doing history research. As a result, there may be enough commonality to foster mutual and respectful understanding among communities.

Motivations for Doing History Research

In this section, I summarize what I believe are shared motivations for engaging in history research followed by respective examples of published history research. This summary is not exhaustive, nor is it intended to be. It is instead to stress that despite the fragmentation that is characteristic of historical organization studies, there is seemingly convergence in the motivations that inform the craft.

History as a vehicle for critique

Some have argued that the potential of *history to engender critique* motivated the early appeals for more history in administration science by Zald (1991, 1993, 1996), Kieser (1994) and Jacques (1996). Indeed the potential of history to engender critique was central to calls for an historic turn a decade later (Clark & Rowlinson, 2004; Booth & Rowlinson, 2006; Üsdiken & Kieser, 2004; Rowlinson, Stager Jacques & Booth, 2009). This motivation fuels much of the history work undertaken by critical management studies scholars (see for example, the 2015 CMS history stream call co-convened by Cooke, Mills, Mollan, & Durepos).

Fulfilling the agenda of history as a vehicle for critique is achieved in a number of ways. For example, history research can be undertaken to de-naturalise hegemonic organizations by revealing alternative and problematic pasts (Mills, 1995; Rowlinson, 2002; Booth, Clark, Delahaye, Procter & Rowlinson, 2007). Another form of de-naturalization has targeted dominant historiography that seek establish singular truths of the past. De-naturalization is pursued through developing alternative historiographies that expose history as subject to politics and thus, always multiple (Durepos, 2015; Durepos & Mills, in press). These histories are usually anti-performative in that they problematize narrow equations that promote one sole purpose of history: an engagement with the past only if it can yield solutions / lessons learned to maximize firm productivity and efficiency in the future. The narrow equation is destabilized by research that introduces other purposes for doing history like narrating and storytelling (Mills & Helms Mills, 2013; Rowlinson, 2004). Another hallmark of critical management research is reflexivity (Fournier & Grey, 2000). Many critical management histories provide reflexive accounts of the how the past becomes shaped as history. One way the agenda of reflexivity has been achieved has been to write (as part of the narrative) how the historians' choice of archival traces, and mode of telling the story, thus their choice of emplotment (White, 1973, 1985) shape the resulting history. Indeed these histories expose the historian as central to the molding of history.

History of an intellectual discipline or academic field

Another motivation that informs management history researcher is a desire to document or reassemble the history of ideas, the past of an academic discipline or/and an intellectual field. The sub-discipline of MOS called *the History of Management Thought* or the *History of Organization Theory* is dedicated to tracing management thinking, ideas and theorizing over time. Contributions to this field are plentiful and vary in at least four ways.

First, they vary in temporal scope. Some histories of management thought cover broad time periods (George, 1968, 1972; Harding, 2003; Litterer, 1959; Mee, 1959; Pollard, 1974, 1978; Urwick & Brech, 1944; Witzel, 2012; Wren, 1972, 2005; Wren & Bedian, 2010; Wren & Boyd, 1997). Others are considerably narrower in scope and cover one period, event or school of thought like the Human Relations School (Bruce & Nyland, 2011; O'Connor, 1999a, 1999b), the Hawthorne Studies (Hassard, 2012) or management in the Cold War era (Kelley, Mills & Cooke, 2006).

Second, there is variance in the scope of content covered. Some contributions to the history of management thought seek to capture, in a broad way, the many theorists and theories that have come to constitute the academic discipline of management over time (George, 1968, Witzel, 2012; Wren, 1972, 2005). Wren's (2005) work, for example, begins with a focus on management before industrialization and ends with a chapter on the globalization of business and opportunities for managing across cultures. In a similar vein, Witzel (2012) covers an impressively wide span of time in his history of management thought. He begins with the Bonze Age (civilization builders of Egypt, Mesopotamia, China, India, Greece and Rome) and ends with the Internet Age. Others adopt a mid level focus and feature the past of a sub-discipline. Khurana's (2007) study of the rise of American Business Schools is an example. Another example is Wadwhani's (2010) book chapter that highlights the development of entrepreneurship theory. Finally, others focus more narrowly on one theorist/theory to assess its transformation over time. Examples include research on Max Weber (Durepos, Mills & Weatherbee, 2012; Mills, Weatherbee & Durepos, 2014), Peter Drucker (Genoe McLaren, Mills & Durepos, 2009), Abraham Maslow (Dye, Mills & Weatherbee, 2005; Cooke, Mills & Kelley, 2005; Cooke & Mills, 2008) and Kurt Lewin (Burnes & Cooke, 2013).

Third, the goals of the research vary. Some researchers trace the history of management thought to debunk knowledge that has become taken for granted or introduce an alternative to the dominant narrative (Foster, Mills & Weatherbee, 2014; Jacques & Durepos, 2015; Mills, Weatherbee, Foster & Helms Mills, 2015; Marens, 2015). Others trace the history of management thought to introduce new theorists, theories and knowledge that contributes to the historiography of management thought (Wanderley & Faria, 2012; Genoe McLaren & Mills, 2015). Still others try to capture the past of a discipline in a factual manner (Wren, 1972, 2005; Witzel, 2012).

Fourth, the histories of management thought are approached from a variety of philosophical lenses. Some adopt an ontological realist lens and document the past as a series of causal facts (Wren, 2005; Witzel, 2012). Others engender a history of management thought that is critical of mainstream history for its silences, omissions, absences and marginalization. Interpretive or social constructivist histories of management thought seek to show the socially constructed nature of facts and emphasize the need for contextually sensitive history (Shenhav & Weitz, 2000). Postmodern histories are critical of hegemonic Western narratives that privilege efficiency and rationality, and unproblematically adopt a progressive mode of emplotment where later events are illustrated as marked improvements of those prior (Jacques & Durepos, 2015). Postcolonial histories explore the geopolitics of knowledge creation, thus the processes through which knowledge is produced around the north / south divide. Postcolonial histories question who produces the knowledge, for whom it is produced and who is privileged in the accounts (Cooke, 1999; Ibarra-Colado, 2006).

History to build or develop construct/concept clarity in an academic field

Historical research plays a fundamental role in developing construct/concept clarity. As a result, achieving concept clarity is another motivation for doing history research. While positivist scholars prefer the term *construct* clarity, constructivists are more attuned to the notion of *concept* clarity and here I use *concept clarity* to imply both. As Suddaby (2010: 346) notes, concepts are "phenomena that cannot be directly observed" they are "abstract statements of categories." Developing clear concepts is fundamental to building propositions, which outline the relationship between concepts (Zikmund, 2003). It is key to developing theory, which is made of combinations of propositions that explain the relationship between observed phenomena. In general, concept clarity is fundamental to knowledge building from any epistemological lens. Ensuring the clarity of concepts is crucial for providing a common language in a

research community to facilitate communication, assist in empirical analysis as well as enhance the creativity of research.

Suddaby (2010) discusses elements that are important to ensuring concept clarity. These include crafting clear definitions, delineating scope conditions, and outlining the relationship between constructs. Historical analysis is fundamental to each element. For example, Suddaby (2010: 348) suggests that to arrive at clear definitions the researcher must first show earlier uses of the term and also "illustrate, as exhaustively as possible, prior variation in how the term has been used." Clear definitions emerge from careful etymologies, of which historical analysis is central. Another example is delineating scope conditions, which implies outlining under which conditions the proposed concept, with its suggested constitution, adheres. Types of scope conditions that are of concern to theorists include space, values and time. Ensuring the scope condition of time means assessing in which temporal context a concept assumes plausibility or accuracy. Ensuring temporal scope conditions is only possible through an engagement with the past. A final example is outlining the relationship between constructs. The latter is done by demonstrating the "historical lineage of a new construct" and positioning that concept in the web of "extant related constructs" (Suddaby, 2010: 350). Historical analysis is central to ensuring each of the building blocks of concept clarity are laid, therefore it is central to developing concept clarity.

There are many examples of historical research in management and organization studies intended to shed light on contemporary MOS concepts. Mills (1995) sheds light on mundane reproduction of discrimination (racism, gender discrimination) in organizations through a historical case study of image making at British Airways. Though Mills (1995) is less explicit that the goal of his paper to develop 'concept clarity' of workplace discrimination, the study contributes largely to what is workplace discrimination and how it is perpetuated at work. Another book length study that contributes to our understanding of a concept central to workplaces today is Jacques (1996) postmodern history of the notion of the employee. By providing an alternative history, the study adds clarity to how we make sense of the notion of the employee today. Lastly, Rowlinson and Hassard (1993) shed light on the notion of corporate culture by tracing a history of the histories of Cadbury.

Business and organizational history

Histories that fall within this umbrella carry an assortment of labels including, organizational history, business history and company history. This type of research involves the "systematic study of [the past of] individual firms on the basis of their business records" (Rowlinson, 2004: 301). It also includes research on "the ways in which companies manage and represent their pasts" (Rowlinson, Cark, Delahaye, Booth & Procter, 2008: 339). This research is sometimes written by academics and other times authored by commissioned historians or corporate sponsors. A point of concern for business and organizational historians is *access*. The type of access one has to the company documents has tremendous consequences for the type of history one can write. While access to some archives (documents that have been organized and catalogued by an archivist) or collections (the files a firm has saved and which are usually scattered in the company building) are restricted, other times it is open to the public therefore unrestricted.

Some organizational records are housed in archives open to the public and therefore access is granted after the management historian writes the archivist for permission or upon registration with the archive front desk. Access in these archives is unrestricted and the consequent organizational histories are also unrestricted. Recent research on the history of Pan American Airways, which relies on materials collected at the *Otto Richter Library* at the *University of Miami* provide fruitful examples (Durepos, Helms Mills, & Mills, 2008; Durepos & Mills, 2012a; Hartt, Mills, Helms Mills, & Durepos, 2009). A

history of Air Canada provides another illustration of the point (Hartt, Mills, Helms Mills, & Corrigan, 2014). The archives on which the history relies include *The Aviation and Space Museum*, and *Library and Archives Canada,* both of which are considered public archives. In each instance, authors used materials from the archive and wrote unrestrictive histories.

In other times, the documents are housed in a private or semi-private archive or collection where permission for access must be sought. This can have consequences for the type of history written. In this situation, the firm usually reserves the right to vet the resulting history. But on rare occasions, the firm can grant the researcher unrestricted use of the company documents. Rowlinson (1988, 2004) for example had unrestricted access to the Cadbury's document collection. In my own research on a history the Nova Scotia Museums, I was given unlimited access to a wide range of files and documents. I collected data under this agreement over a five-year period. Another example is Mills' (2006, 1995, 1994) research on the history of British Airways. Mills (personal communication) recounts the friendships made with archivists who helped with data collection and the subsequent friendships broken after he published his un-vetted history, which exposed problematic pasts of the airline.

Still in other instances, it is the organization that desires a company history. The firm either produces one in-house, hires a writer or history consulting firm (for example, The History Factory, History Associates Incorporated). These founder-funded histories are commissioned projects and though access is unrestricted, it is customary for those who commission it to vet the final project. Examples include Robert Daley's (1980) founder funded history of Pan American Airways, Robert Slater's (1998) history of Jack Welsh and General Electric, Ron Joyce and Robert Thompson's (2005) story of Tim Hortons and Walter Isaacson (2011) story of Steve Jobs.

Undertaking historical research to develop theory about the craft of history

In the inaugural issue of *Management and Organizational History*, Booth and Rowlinson (2006: 5) called for "alternative methods and diverse styles of writing appropriate for studying organizations historically." This signalled the need to develop unique and innovative theory and methods for an emerging field with roots in both history and MOS. Many have responded to this call by developing theories that can accommodate research at the intersection of two fields with different conventions. Four examples include ANTi-History, rhetorical history, genealogical pragmatism and organizational legacy.

ANTi-History, developed by Durepos and Mills (2012a, 2012b, in press), draws on three literatures, namely, the sociology of knowledge (Mannheim, 1985), postmodern historiography (Jenkins, 1991; Munslow, 2012) and actor-network theory (Latour, 2005). It is an alterative approach to history that looks at the socio-political processes through which the past is transformed as history. To this end, ANTi-History involves mapping actor trials (attempts to make sense of the past) and the trails they leave in doing so, over time. The emphasis is on tracing the tactics of actors who capture the interest of others and transform their view of the past to match that of their own. ANTi-History also probes the ontological potential of history by privileging actor practices and the multiple ways history can perform the past in those practices (Durepos, 2015). ANTi-History seeks to account for actors' subjective experiences of time by focusing on actor practices. It seeks to map how actors live their past in their present practices, and through this enact various histories in those practices.

Another example of a construct that has the potential to bridge the divide between history and MOS is rhetorical history (Suddaby, Foster & Quinn-Trank, 2010). Rhetorical history is defined as "the strategic use of the past as a persuasive strategy to manage key stakeholders of the firm" (Suddaby, Foster & Quinn-Trank, 2010: 157). Suddaby (2016: 54) notes that history is increasingly recognized "as an

important but underutilized asset of the firm." As a result, research that looks at how organizations use and shape their history strategically is on the rise. Suddaby and Foster (2015) offer that firms use history to leverage the collective memory of organizations to help garner support for implementing strategies and tactics that shape the future.

Like rhetorical history which focuses on the ways firms use history in the *present*, genealogical pragmatism is also a present-centered approach (Marshall & Novicevic, 2016). Marshall and Novicevic (2016: 100) offer genealogical pragmatism as useful for doing a "retrospective (re)analysis of present concepts and practices." While genealogical analysis features present issues and concepts to trace their origins, pragmatism focuses on addressing "viable conceptual alternatives" (Marshall & Novicevic, 2016: 100). In short, genealogical pragmatism is dedicated to uncovering alternative evolutions of events or concepts and maps alternative possibilities for how to theoretically conceive of that concept. Through tracing other genealogies of present taken for granted concepts, the concepts is liberated from its usual connotations and possibly expanded to accommodate alternative and pragmatic meanings.

Another concept that has potential for historical organization studies is organizational legacy (Mitchelmore, 2015; Suddaby, 2016). It focuses on specific aspects of the history of a person, firm or region to account for its unique elements of competitive behaviour. As Suddaby (2016: 55) notes, the "research shares a common assumption that the entities' unique historical heritage is a critical variable in explaining economic outcomes."

In praise of Fragmentation: Toward an Ethic of Pluralistic Understanding

The various research communities that make up the field of historical organization studies share common motivations for doing historical research. This is despite the diversity of approaches in use to do history. The premise of this paper is that an ethic *pluralistic understanding* can be achieved on the basis of the shared motivations that exist for doing history research.

An *ethic* implies a set of behavioural principles that guide the conduct of group. It is a shared and explicitly expressed set of beliefs, attitudes and opinions that govern the way individuals act toward one another and trough this, foster a sense of community. As implied in this paper, the management history community is made of researchers with different ideologies, or philosophical assumptions. But a common ethic based on *pluralistic understanding* can foster mutual respect, tolerance and perhaps even a celebratory attitude toward diversity. Pluralistic understanding draws on Weber's notion of *verstehen*, or *understanding* (Maclean, Harvey & Clegg, 2016). It is characterised as a condition of respect of difference. It is "open to alternatives and different forms of synthesis" (Maclean, Harvey & Clegg, 2016: 18). To foster this condition, the collapse of seemingly opposite points of view or contrasting philosophical traditions is discouraged. Instead, "an empathetic tolerance of different methods and practices" is encouraged. (Maclean, Harvey & Clegg, 2016: 18). How can we foster an ethic of pluralistic understanding?

To begin fostering an ethic of pluralistic understanding, I propose seven guidelines. This list is by no means exhaustive, it is intended as a point of departure. The first suggestion is to approach our craft with an acknowledgement that there are different ways to do history, different disciplinary conventions and different philosophical traditions. This acknowledgement implies learning another language or acquiring what Maclean, Harvey and Clegg (2016) call "theoretical fluency", which is my second guideline. Third, I suggest the need to ask questions of those who we perceive approach their craft differently, with an authentic intent to learn their 'trade'. Fourth, the course of action necessitates being open to answers

framed by another language. Fifth, it also necessitates recognizing and reserving value judgements that are framed by our own disciplinary conventions and traditions. Sixth, it involves developing a comfortable theoretically fluency, one that can be leveraged to measure the rigour of *any* research based on its own metrics. This implies an acknowledgement that research traditions have their own disciplinary metrics and philosophical conventions. It necessitates learning to give constructive feedback using another's metrics. Finally, at the basis of an ethic of pluralistic understanding is the notion that learning about other ways of doing the craft does not come with an automatic acceptance of adopting those ways as your own.

In short, this trans-disciplinarity implies an acknowledgement of other theoretical and conceptual languages. At its basis is an authentic willingness to become multi-lingual and to work toward heightened theoretical fluency. An ethic of pluralistic understanding will prevent boundaries and gatekeepers but encourage different ways of doing historical organization studies. Pluralistic understanding in historical organization studies promotes healthy debate and mutual learning. It prevents complacency. Finally, with an ethic of pluralistic understanding, management historians can celebrate heterogeneity and diversity.

Conclusions

In this paper, I have reviewed the momentum for more history in MOS to suggest that its rise in popularity has come with the rise of a diversity of communities of history scholars who approach their craft with different conventions and philosophical traditions. I have argued that notwithstanding these differences, management history scholars are united by the common motivations that inform their craft. Despite the field level fragmentation that currently characterizes historical organization studies, these common motivations should be celebrated and are fundamental to fostering an ethic of pluralistic understanding informed by theoretical fluency.

Over 20 years ago, Zald (1993, 1996) celebrated the fragmentation of Administrative Science brought on by its rapprochement with the humanities and history. I wonder whether Zald's ideal version of historical organization studies would also be characterized by fragmentation? In this paper I have argued that *healthy* fragmentation can only be fostered alongside the emergence of an ethic of pluralistic understanding (Maclean, Harvey & Clegg, 2016).

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GETTING DOWN AND DIRTY:
MICROHISTORY FROM THE ANTI-HISTORY PERSPECTIVE

In this paper I review the potential of microhistory to deal with the call for alternative (critical) approaches to historiography in Management and Organization Studies (MOS). First, I lay out some of the key arguments for such a critical approach and then review major aspects of microhistory to assess their potential contribution to on-going debates within MOS. Finally, I compare microhistory with ANTi-History and the potential for a fusion of ideas.

Introduction

Over the past three decades there have been increasing calls for an historic turn in Management and Organization Studies, reaching its zenith in the mid-2000s with Booth and Rowlinson's (2006) manifesto of a critical approach to the study of the past. Their outline was not simply echoing a call for a more historical approach to management and organization studies (Kieser, 1994) but a critical approach to the study of history itself. Booth and Rowlinson (2006) were not envisioning a fusion of ahistorical MOS (Burrell and Morgan, 1979) with atheoretical history (Jenkins, 1994) but rather forms of critical historiography that complemented critical studies of management and organizations. To that end, their call for an historic turn in MOS included attention to historical methods and styles of writing , as well as a concern with ethics and metanarratives. In the process they set out to encourage wider reading of MOS and Management history scholars of poststructuralist accounts of the past, including Foucault, Hayden White and others. Here Booth and Rowlinson (2006) sought to shift attention away from factualist accounts that sought to *present* and *represent* history to include narrative and archaeo-genealogical accounts that pay attention, respectively, to the role of narrating and discourse in the creation of account of the past (Rowlinson, 2004).

ANTi-History as a Critical Approach to Study of the Past

While this particular approach did not specifically result in an historic turn in MOS (Mills, Suddaby, Foster & Durepos, 2016) it did have the result of encouraging debate around the idea of alternative ways of studying the past. One such approach was the development of ANTi-History (Durepos & Mills, 2012a, 2012b; Hartt, 2013; Hartt, Durepos, Mills, and Helms Mills, 2017; Mills and Durepos, 2010; Mills, Weatherbee & Durepos, 2013). This approach has been discussed at length elsewhere but here I will outline some of the main features of the approach: first, it draws on a critical appraisal of actor network theory (ANT – see Latour, 2005), seeing history as the outcome of actor networks (that may or may not include the actions of historians). That is the ANT in ANTi-History. The importance of knowledge of the past to humanity is represented by the reference to History in ANTi-History; in other words, it is in one sense an approach to and valuing of history. However, the `i' calls forth a critical and liberationary concern with the negative uses of history as truth claims for controlling understandings of the past. Examples of such abuse would include American exceptionalism and Soviet historical materialism (Franklin, 1973) – both used at one time or another to impose severe constraints on `Un-Americans'

(Schrecker, 1998) and enemies of the state (Morgan, 2003). The hyphen in the middle of ANTi-History signals the oscillation between history as a valued and history as a dangerous human phenomenon; between history as the outcome of actor-networks and history as historians' re/presentations of the past.

In tracing how 'knowledge of the past' or history comes to be produced an ANTi-History approach `follows the actors' over time and in a specific place to understand the processes that serve to produce knowledge of the past *as* history. For example, Myrick, Helms Mills and Mills (2013) set out to understand the use of history by the Academy of Management (AoM) by following accounts of actors early to the process (e.g., so called "founding members") of establishing an academy of management and also how initial histories of the emergent organization were developed and served to provide substance and legitimacy to something that, for the longest time, was a very small and loose association of management scholars. Myrick et al (2013) argue that subsequent histories of the AoM were not simply factual accounts written up by historians but rather were selective accounts that influenced the writing up of particular narratives that served to legitimize the association. In other words, much of the history was metaphorically `written' by numerous participants, which were in part and selectively brought to a wider audience through a single narrative account by an actual or designated historian (see for example the influential history of the AoM by Charles Wrege, 1986). Here we would note that while actor network theory has typically `followed the actors' through an ethnographic approach (Latour and Woolgar, 1979), Durepos and her colleagues draw on archival research to follow actors over time (see Corrigan and Mills, 2012 for a discussion of the differences and the implications for research; for a discussion of the differences between modern, postmodern and amodern archival research see Mills and Helms Mills, 2017).

In following the actors as they produce knowledge of the past (and of the present – the two often become intermingled) Anti-History focusses on *relationalism*. Here we are looking for the various ways that objects (e.g., dinner tables), people (e.g., association members) and non-corporeal actants (e.g., the idea of an association of management educators – see Hartt, 2013) come together at points in time to create a sense of something – something that may or may not be understood as knowledge. We are interested in the socio-politics that sometimes fuse people and things and idea together and sometimes do not. For example, the early attempts to form (what became understood as) the AoM was only partially successful, garnering a small group of men (sic) to meet over dinner in the Christmas break and talk about management education. Possibly the small numbers, the focus on dinner, and the lack of a forum for paper presentations served to limit the idea of the loose group of participants. That was in 1936 to 1941. The association as such no longer existed during the next few years. It was not performed as an association or even a dinner event. In 1947-48 it was revived (the label, which was developed by the organizers, is itself an invention to suggest some form of continuity). The new association was relatively successful in reproducing itself for another two decades before it morphed into a much large association, with membership going from little over 100 to a number in the thousands.

In following the actors we are, in particular, looking at *performance* of knowledge, i.e., the ways that actors convey a sense of the past through the way they explain and enact that sense. For example, two management educators who originated an idea of an association of management educators developed the idea through the act of contacting selected professors (enacting a decision), outlining their vision through written invitations, organizing a dinner for people to attend and ensuring that a talk to attendees was centred on the idea of an academy of educators. In the process they evoked images of existing associations and how the proposed new association would be different.

In the process of following the actors we do not, as modernist historians do, set out to discover a single truth of explanation of the past; nor do we follow postmodernist historians in seeking plural (competing) truth claims (or relativity). Instead, our starting point is amodern in that we "aim to show that history is

not single, not plural, but instead multiple" (Durepos and Mills, 2017). Unlike postmodernism, that argues that different (and potentially unconnected) histories are the outcomes of the different perspectives of individual historians, our amodern approach focusses on the socio-politics of networked activity where multiple versions of the same phenomenon are created.

Microhistory

> Microhistory is . . . the intensive historical investigation of a relatively well defined smaller object, most often a single event, or a `village community, a group of families, even an individual person' (Ginzburg and Poni, 1993 cited in Magnusson & Szijarto, 2013, p.4).

According to Magnusson & Szijarto (2013) Microhistory has been around since the 1970s but has been somewhat eclipsed by cultural and postmodernist histories that gained more prominence in the same era. Certainly, until now, interest in microhistory has been very limited in management and organizational history and in MOS. Microhistory is defined through reference to several, sometimes competing, factors: First, it "allows an intensive historical study of the subject, giving a completely different picture of the past from the investigations about nations, states, or social groupings stretching out over decades" Magnusson & Szijarto (2013, p.5). This is not simply a level of study. Microhistory doesn't simply explore the micro aspects of social life to throw light on the larger - macro – aspects of social life. It invests the micro with a significance of allowing us to see the performativity of social life; analogous to a sensemaking view of the past, without the Weickian theoretical framing (Weick, 1995 –see also Hartt's, 2013, attempt to fuse critical sensemaking with ANTi-history). This is directly associated with the second and third aspects of microhistory. Second, "microhistorians always look for the answers for `great historical questions' . . . when studying small objects" (Magnusson & Szijarto, 2013, p.5). In other words, action at the micro level speaks louder than macro studies that pay less attention to individual action and how it performs social life. Third, Microhistory places a stress on agency: "people who lived in the past are not merely puppets in the hands of great underlying forces of history . . . they are regarded as active individuals, conscious actors" Magnusson & Szijarto (2013, p.5). Fourth, and contested, is the claim that the strength of microhistory "lies in its capacity to break with metanarratives" Magnusson & Szijarto (2013, p.10). Fifth, as Magnusson in particular advocates, microhistory should eschew general conclusions through a "`singularization of history' . . . to analyse the interlocking of *event*s, *narrative*s, *analysis*, and *new events* . . . [through study of] the textual environment" Magnusson & Szijarto (2013, p.10, italics in the original). Sixth, "much of the theory and practice of microhistory rests on anthropology" (Magnusson & Szijarto, 2013, p.39).Seventh, the microhistorian "is not interested in how the majority acted, only in what the individual under consideration did. For the microhistorian knows that each of us takes his/her own path in dealing with our daily lives, and that is the path the microhistorian seeks to trace" Magnusson & Szijarto (2013, p.107). Eighth, Magnusson refers to microhistory as "an ideology rather than a method" to combine the notion of a methodology and a conceptual framework, avoiding the suggestion that the phenomenon under review is of a "purely technical nature"(Magnusson & Szijarto, 2013, p.132).

Applying Microhistory in MOS

To be clear, I have relied heavily on Magnusson and Szijarto's (2013) account of microhistory and that may be a limitation. However, I argue that they have provided a useful starting point for analysis of the relevance of microhistory to understanding the past in business studies. To begin with, Microhistory's focus on the micro is in sharp contrast with much of MOS research, which tends to more macro and

quantitative analysis. Instead we are directed to examine a small slice of an organization's processes, people, and/or events. In the case of large organizations this could mean studying much smaller units (departments, etc.) within a given organization. What can we gain? What are we likely to lose? To take the issue of strategy as an example, Mintzberg (1978) looks for patterns in a `stream' of decision-making. A microhistory could miss those patterns through an over-focus on one small unit of an organization. On the other hand, Mintzberg and other scholars of strategic thinking may overlook (a) the specific processes through which decisions come to be made and b) how certain decisions are particularistic and only tangentially linked to other decision outcomes – suggesting coherent patterns where coherence is far from clear (Mintzberg, Brunet and Waters, 1986). If we look at gender discrimination in Air Canada, for example, we can find a pattern of discrimination over time, stretching right back to the start of the airline (Mills and Helms Mills, 2006). However, a closer reading of `the pattern' indicates that (i) there are distinctly different patterns (Helms Mills, 2002) over time but that (ii) the meanings embedded in each `pattern' are such that it is questionable whether the idea of a pattern is meaningful beyond serving as a descriptor of problematic behaviour. In other words, to understand how certain organization processes become discriminatory we may need to get inside the minutia of selected events and people to see how certain ideas are produced (Corrigan and Mills, 2012).

In this way, through micro study of the meanings invested in seemingly random activities we may be better able to address the larger question of discrimination at work. While policies and legislation can help to deal directly with "systemic discrimination" (Abella, 1984) it can miss the multitude of mundane activities that unintentionally produce discriminatory cultures regardless (Abella, 1984).

The microhistory focus on agency is important not only in strengthening the various calls in MOS for the study of agency (Weick, 1995; Ermarth, 2001; Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006; Helms Mills, Thurlow and Mills, 2010; Hartt, 2013) but also in raising important methodological (and "ideological") questions about how to study agency. For Magnusson (Magnusson & Szijarto, 2013), the agency of the individual should be studied without the baggage of metanarratives that force us to ask how or whether person `A's actions are reflective of a greater discourse or metanarrative. Instead, argues Magnusson, each micro situation should be studied for how people produce knowledge in context (or "textual environment"). Returning to the issue of gender discrimination, it may be the case that a group of people comes to construct the need for a new organizational position in terms of specific technical expertise. They may not consciously exclude women from the position but their understandings of the type of technical knowledge required may have that effect. This type of knowledge can steer gender researchers to more closely study how certain understandings and associated activities create discriminatory situations that may or may not be linked to other, broader activities.

Methodologically, the close study of micro processes suggest an anthropological approach based on attempting to find ways of getting inside the thinking and relational activities of the people, events and activities studied. This approach encourages a further rethink appropriate research methods for gaining insights into organizational processes – methods that were very much in vogue during the popularity of organizational culture in the 1980s (Pettigrew, 1979; Schein, 1985; Deal and Kennedy, 1982) but has taken more of a back seat recently. (Weick's studies of sensemaking, for example, do not involve anthropology nor do many of the poststructuralist accounts of micro organizational processes). Actor network theory, on the other hand, has kept alive the ethnographic tradition within the study of organizational life (Latour & Woolgar, 1979; Law, 1994). On the surface, however, it would seem more challenging for archival research where the researcher is immersed in textual analysis. Magnusson and Szijarto (2013) contend that the element of anthropology can be seen in the fact that studies of people in the past can be as strange to the researcher than the study of people's that one is not familiar with. That is an important aspect of this kind of approach. Namely, to treat those under study as people that are removed from the researchers' direct experience and knowledge and avoid the temptation to try to

understand them from today's perspectives. Magnusson and Szijarto (2013) also suggest the use of critical incidents as a point of entry for the study. Much like Karl Weick (1993a; 1993b) studies accidents and disasters microhistory tends to focus on curious events in need to explanation. In his study of sensemaking in historical context, Hartt (2013) focused on Air Canada's decision to hire a new CEO from outside the ranks of their pilots and thus depart from their established practice.

Finally, although Magnusson and Szijarto (2013) don't specifically adopt a critical perspective they do express sympathy with cultural studies and postmodernist history, referring to their perspective as an "ideology" rather than a simple methodological approach. This challenges the normal social science wisdom of objectivist and generalizable research in favour of local, contextualized, and ideologically driven research – an approach that eschews metanarratives. As such microhistory has the potential to ally itself with critical management studies and critical management historiography.

Microhistory and ANTi-History

A reading of microhistory theory and practice suggests some point of intersection and divergence with ANTi-History. To take it point by point. First, the idea of an intensive historical study of the subject at the micro level is similar to ANTi-History's focus on following the actors. It is through following the actors across various contexts (micro and macro) that ANTi-History develops a sense of how particular knowledges of the past are developed. In the process the distinction between micro and macro collapses as actors are viewed through a series of performances and relational activities. A divergent point here may be in the emphasis placed on human, non-human, and non-corporeal actants. While Magnusson and Szijarto (2013) refer to "the interlocking of *event*s, *narrative*s, *analysis*, and *new events*" it is not clear how they consider the role (or influence) of non-human actors on knowledge outcomes. While both microhistory and ANTi-History attempt to focus on specific events and people stripped of preconceived metanarratives microhistory seems to exclude the influence of the "underlying forces of history" (Magnusson and Szijarto, 2013, p.5). Similarly, ANTi-History does not take for granted the notion of "forces of history" it does take into account the role of history as a non-corporeal actant (Hartt, 2013). In other words, people in context may evoke the idea of history to recruit (enroll) others to their viewpoint or to translate specific past events as historical artefacts in order to achieve the same end. Thus, for ANTi-History, the "forces of history" are not so much actual concrete events that influence people at a later point in time so much as a phenomenological resource that people reproduce (translate) as they make sense.

Second, ANTi-History attempts to understand and explain the development of knowledge of the past to gain insights into the production of certain aspects of social life. Unlike microhistory, this may or may not answer any `great historical questions' (Magnusson & Szijarto, 2013, p.5). However, in fairness to Magnusson, he also questions this particular aspect of microhistory, arguing instead for a "`singularization of history' . . . to analyse the interlocking of *event*s, *narrative*s, *analysis*, and *new events* . . . [through study of] the textual environment" Magnusson & Szijarto (2013, p.10, italics in the original). The notion of the singularization of history is an interesting one that suggests that each localized, contextualized series of people and events have more to tell us than if we attempt to extract generalizable points. While ANTi-History is sympathetic to this approach there are four important differences: i) we include non-human and non-corporeal actants as part of the study of influences at the micro level; ii) we collapse micro and macro concepts into contexts in which followed actors appear; iii) we allow for the multiplicity of history – even within the singularization of history; and iv) we see history as a meta discourse (as well as a non-corporeal actant) rather than a real account. In the latter regard, it is not clear to what extent microhistorians problematize the relationship between history and the past (Munslow, 2010). On the one hand, Magnusson talks about the singularization *of* history but on the other he views microhistory as sympathetic to postmodernist history and cites the work of Munslow.

Third, in terms of focus and level of analysis, microhistory and ANTi-History share a similar space in terms of study of agency. Both see human agency as important and advocate a focus stripped of metanarrative. However, as argued above, ANTi-History includes non-human and non-corporeal influences on how knowledge (both extant and of the past) comes to be developed. Here, however, we find our most fundamental difference. Like modernist and postmodernist historians, microhistory seems to overly focus/centre on the cognition of the individual historian in the production of history. Magnusson & Szijarto (2013, p.154) concede that the individual can influence the production of history "but only indirectly": they argue that "individuals do not make history; it is scholars who do so. Individual actions can influence that process, but only indirectly." ANTi-History, on the other hand, argues that history is written (i.e., performed, voiced, enacted as well as actually written down) through a series of relational activities that may or may not include a professional or otherwise designated historian. As Kalela (2012) contends, even in those situations where we might defer to the account of a historian, that account is influenced by disciplinary (e.g., existing histories of a chosen subject, such as Air Canada – see Pigott, 2001; Smith, 1996; McGregor, 1980); public (e.g., official histories of events), and popular histories (e.g., movie characterizations of historical events).

Finally, Magnusson's (Magnusson & Szijarto, 2013, p.154) notion of microhistory as ideological, in which he contends that all written history arises from the imposition of a particular worldview, shares with ANTi-History the problematization of historical accounts and opens the door to critical historiography.

Concluding Thoughts

What I have tried to undertake in this paper was a discussion around the need for and the problematization of history and the past in Management and Organizational Studies. I have argued that not only do studies of management and organization need to take more account of history and the past but that for this to happen and to be effective we need to develop more critical approaches to historiography. I have outlined two approaches that offer potentially useful ways forward – ANTi-History and Microhistory. I have attempted to provide an analysis of the potential of each to contribute to management knowledge of the past. In a comparison of ANTi-History and Microhistory I tried to reveal not only the potential for interrelationships and fusion between them but also to provide further reflection on the need for more study of the past in MOS and the problems in attempting to do so. Finally, in the comparison of ANTi-History with Microhistory I argued that while they do have some distinct differences both can learn from each other – especially in the focus on, what Magnusson calls, the singularization of history in which actors are studied at the level of their particular contextual relationships (relatively) free of metanarrative baggage.

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FROM MANAGEMENT PIONEER TO PRIME MINISTER:
WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE KING

William Lyon Mackenzie King is famous for being the longest serving Prime Minister in Canadian history. However, he had another quite different life as an academic, researcher and scholar, executive manager, and internationally renowned consultant. This work paper argues that this other historically unacknowledged work qualifies him as a pioneer of management thought.

Introduction

The existing attitude of Capital and labor toward each other is too largely one of mistrust born of Fear. … An industrial system characterized by antagonism, coercion, and resistance must yield to a new order based upon mutual confidence, real justice, and constructive good-will.   (Mackenzie King, 1918, p. 10).

William Lyon Mackenzie King is most famously known for being the longest serving Canadian Prime Minister. So long was his service that Mackenzie King still holds the historical record for the longest serving elected head of government for any of the fifty-three countries comprising the former British Commonwealth of Nations. As Prime Minister he would helm the national government while Canada recovered from horrors of the Great War, suffered the economic and social ravages of the Great Depression, send its sons and daughters to fight in the global struggle against tyranny in World War II and finally, lead the planning for national reconstruction afterwards.

Given the longevity and significance of his leadership it is not surprising that Mackenzie King remains *politically* famous. In the last two national surveys asking who was the most historically significant Prime Minister in the country's history, Canadian historians and political scientists ranked Mackenzie King as first and third respectively. However, before becoming a Prime Minister Mackenzie King had another and very different life. A life which was comprised of equal parts: academic, researcher and scholar; practicing executive manager; and internationally renowned industrial and management consultant. A two-decade career where he made significant and important contributions in the realm of management and organizations! A life which lies almost completely unheralded outside of the odd footnote in political biographies (an exception is Martin, 1991 who calls Mackenzie King Canada's first management consultant) with contributions to management thought and practices that still remain absent from the histories of early management and organizations studies (for the one exception see Kaufman, 1993).

In the process of surfacing the significance of Mackenzie King's accomplishments for our understanding of these early influences on management thought and practice this paper will make two related arguments. First, that Mackenzie King's earlier and alternative career work qualifies him to be included amongst those who have already been recognized in our canon as pioneers of management. Second, that Mackenzie King's contributions and influence on management thought and practice have remained largely unknown and unheralded because of the nature of management historiography and how the field's history has been constructed. The sections which follow will reconstruct this other unknown career to

successively highlight the significance of his contributions to management thought and practice. The paper concludes with observations on the problematics of how management history has been constructed.

Student and Academic

From 1891 through 1895 Mackenzie King attended the University of Toronto where he studied political economy for his first degree and law for his second. Leaving Toronto for the United States in 1896, he went on to commence graduate studies in political economy while on a scholarship at the University of Chicago. After a year in Chicago he chose to transfer to Harvard University in Boston; having received a full fellowship from that institution. While at Harvard Mackenzie King would continue his studies in political economy and economic history, but would also broaden them to include sociology. At Harvard he would study under and draw significant intellectual inspiration from several of his professors; luminaries such as the noted economist F.W. Taussig and the eminent sociologist/economist Thorstein Veblen amongst others (Ferns & Ostry, 1955). Mackenzie King would complete both an MA (1898) and a PhD (1909) (Hutchison, 1952) and he would even lecture there briefly as a Fellow in Political Economy (Ferns & Ostry, 1955). By the time he had completed his education he had become both a scholar and a trained social scientist (Craven, 1979); an academic whose groundbreaking thesis and post-graduate work involved the study of labour conditions in the clothing and garment industry on an international basis. And a researcher whose work had been published in several learned academic journals and texts (King, 1897a, 1897b, 1897c, 1912; MacKenzie King, 1918).

However, Mackenzie King was not an academic of the *ivory tower* kind. Throughout his time as a student and later - while learning and working to become a seated academic and researcher - he constantly sought to inform his understanding of the world of business and work through his studies and his experiences (a pattern he carried into his political career as well). For example, while working in Toronto as a journalist to help pay for his education, King conducted research on industrial relations within the local garment industry. While doing so he discovered that profiteering on Government contracts was rampant throughout the industry and he observed that the profiteering came solely at the worker's expense. One of the most egregious profiteering occurred in companies who were producing uniforms and bags for a government department; the Canadian Postal Service (Hutchison, 1952).

Encouraged by his father, who was also a lawyer, Mackenzie King presented the findings of his study to the government's Post Master General of the day. The position was held by one William Mulock, then a Cabinet Minister in Wilfred Laurier's federal government. Mulock reacted by hiring Mackenzie King to conduct a follow-on study. This study would focus on all government commissioned contracts. So Mackenzie King saw himself reengaged with his academic work and studying that portion of the garment industry which traded with - and supplied other government agencies - the National Postal Service, the Federal police force, the North-West Mounted Police, and Canada's Militia.

On the basis of Mackenzie King's findings, and his recommendations for redress stemming from them, the process of government contracting was amended and legislated into Canadian Law. The legislative changes, both of which were drafted by Mackenzie King himself, were designed to solve two of the problematic issues he had identified in his research. First, the obvious requirement to prevent future contractors from engaging in profiteering at taxpayers' expense. More importantly for Mackenzie King was the second. The critical legal protections needed to prevent the economic abuse of workers. This latter protection was addressed by Mackenzie King in the form of a fair wage clause which would also be introduced into Canadian law through Parliamentary approved legislation. The fair wage clause would be included in all federal government contracting from that point forward (Hutchison, 1952).

Executive Manager

Mackenzie King's work had so impressed Mulock and the Prime Minister of the day, Wilfred Laurier, that they offered him employment in government. Despite a concurrent and competing offer of a teaching post at Harvard, Mackenzie King would accept Mulock's offer instead. Shortly thereafter he would take up his post as the Deputy Minister of the newly formed Federal Department of Labour. As the Deputy Minister, he would spend a great deal of time resolving labour disputes, industrial work actions, and strikes from one end of the country to the other. Representing the government, he literally traveled from the Atlantic coast to the Pacific coast and every point in between. He regularly worked directly with representatives of both capital and labour; with owners, management and employees, and with other business and labour leaders whilst acting as a consultant and mediator.

During his tenure as Deputy Minister he would be responsible for resolving over forty major labour disputes and industrial conflicts (Dawson, 1958b). Based upon these experiences he would draft and recommend another ground breaking piece of legislation: the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act (IDIA). The IDIA would be passed into law in 1907 and come to have a profound impact on the relationship between capital and labour in Canada. The act would reserve the right of the Canadian state to mediate labour disputes, conduct independent investigations, and made conciliation procedures mandatory before any actions could be taken by either labour or management (Webber, 1991). This act would set the context for labour and management relations in Canada for the next century.

He would also utilize his academic and social science training as the basis for setting up a Labour Library (Stunden, 1977) and for founding and editing the official government record of labour in Canada, the *Labour Gazette* (Granatstein, 1977). Mackenzie King implemented both as a way to collect and record labour statistics. At the time, there was little record keeping on unionization, labour disputes or conciliation as most unions in Canada were simply *branch plants* of American ones. As a social scientist, Mackenzie King believed that facts and data were needed to triumph over either labour or management *opinions* when resolving a dispute (Stunden, 1977).

His actions as Deputy Minister was so successful that the Laurier government asked Mackenzie King if he would run for an elected office within it. Mackenzie King subsequently ran as a candidate in the following federal election. He was successful in his electoral bid and he would go on to serve in the federal government from 1908 through 1911. During that time, he would hold a Cabinet portfolio as the Minister of Labour and he would continue the work he began as Deputy Minister by regularly engaging directly with industry and labour as a conciliator and mediator. Thus, fulfilling what was now legislatively the government's role in resolving labour issues through intervention when required. Based upon these experiences he would draft other legislation designed to curb what he viewed as the excesses of industrial practices placed upon the workers or at the expense of the broader social community. While his tenure as Minister of Labour would be cut short in 1911 by an electoral loss for the federal government, his experiences as both Deputy Minister and Minister of Labour had by then made him a leading and internationally recognized labour expert. This status that did not escape the attention of several key actors: the President of Harvard University, The Rockefeller Foundation, and J.D. Rockefeller.

Scholar and Researcher

In 1914, the Rockefeller Foundation sought out Mackenzie King to help form and become the first director of a new type of research department. A department whose focus would be the study of industry

and labour relations in the United States (Kaufman, 1993, 2003). Mackenzie King would accept the offer and work for the Rockefeller Foundation from 1914 through until 1918. During this time his work for the foundation would see him become an industrial consultant to some of the largest firms in the United States; be called upon as a labour expert giving testimony to the United States Congress; and become a close friend to J.D. Rockefeller, Jr. This latter relationship having developed out of circumstances wherein the foundation's original plan for Mackenzie King to conduct research on industrial relations had to be suddenly halted when Mackenzie King was called upon to help the Rockefeller family to manage the aftermath of a serious strike and crisis at the Colorado Fuel & Iron company (CF&I).

In 1913 the miners at CF&I went on strike to protest what they saw as unfair treatment at the hands of company management. Unsafe working conditions were the primary justification for a job action and the cessation of work. The following year, in April of 1914, the strike culminated when the Colorado National Guard was brought in at the request of the state Governor. The Guard used their rifles and machineguns to break up the strike by firing on the striking worker's encampment. While the reports of how many died vary, there were numerous recorded deaths attributed to gunfire and the subsequent destruction of the encampment. Fatalities included those of both armed and unarmed miners and their families - including women, and almost a dozen children. The strike would be proclaimed as the deadliest strike in the history of the United States and characterized in the press as the Ludlow Massacre. An action which served to outrage the public and to pit public opinion firmly against the Rockefeller family as part owners of CF&I (Andrews, 2008; McGuire & Reckner, 2002).

One of the first issues that Mackenzie King was asked to address was what conditions at CF&I had led to the strike in the first case and to determine what could be done to ensure that similar events would not happen in future. The result of Mackenzie King's investigation, research, and recommendations became the roadmap to guide management and employee relations at CF&I going forward. Mackenzie King's innovative solution was the establishment of an employee representation plan (ERP) at CF&I. Mackenzie King specifically designed this plan to establish and foster a more cooperative and positive relationship between the managers and employees of the company; a relationship Mackenzie King believed would benefit both groups. This ERP would go on to redefine the management-employee relations at CF&I and would become popularly known as the Colorado or Rockefeller Plan (Kaufman, 1993).

Industrial and Management Consultant

Mackenzie King's work at CF&I was viewed as such a success that his ideas and formulations on ERPs would inform other companies on management-employee relations. His customized plan for CF&I would become used as a template by many other companies across numerous industries throughout the United States (Kaufman, 2007) and would be widely adopted over the next two decades (Dawson, 1958a). In large measure the widespread adoption was due to Mackenzie King's own efforts. After his work with CF&I he was regularly hired as a consultant to help devise and implement plans for some of the largest U.S. corporations. These included companies like the Bethlehem Shipbuilding and Bethlehem Steel companies, the Consolidated Coal Company, General Electric, International Harvester and several divisions of Standard Oil (Dawson, 1958b; H. Grant, 1998; Hutchison, 1952).

By the end of WW I hundreds of companies employing over 1.5 million persons had either outright adopted or instituted some form of Mackenzie Kings ERP concept (Nelson, 1982; Patmore, 2006). Mackenzie King's stature as a scholar, manager, consultant and labour expert within industry and government circles was such that he would be offered the Directorship of the philanthropic Carnegie Corporation (Esberey, 1980) and would be selected by the President of Harvard University, Charles

Elliot, to assume the first Deanship of the new School of Business at Harvard (Witzel, 2005). Mackenzie King would accept neither. He would instead return to Canada to pursue a political career.

By the time Mackenzie King had left the Foundation and returned to Canada, the growth of ERPs in the United States had reached a critical mass. By 1935 over 2.5 million employees had become members of an ERP (Patmore, 2006). Mackenzie King's template would eventually move across the border and be adopted by numerous firms in Canada. ERPs made their first appearance in the Canadian subsidiaries of major U.S. corporations; those who had themselves implemented a Rockefeller Plan internally in the U.S. These adoptions were then followed by many other independent domestic Canadian firms (H. Grant, 1998). While the absolute numbers of Canadian companies (including employees in U.S. branch plants) adopting the plan or variants thereof was smaller than those of the U.S., Canadian adoption rates were almost double of those found in the United States (Patmore, 2006).

Mackenzie King's Contribution to Management Thought and Practice

To fill the gap left behind when Mackenzie King departed from the Rockefeller Foundation to return to Canada, ten of the largest and most well-known companies in the United States formed the Special Conference Committee. The mandate of the committee was to discuss and find solutions to the challenges presented by industrial labour (Helfgott, 2003). Considering the influence and impact Mackenzie King's work in industry had the committee would see the Rockefeller Foundation establish a formal Industrial Relations Section at Princeton University in 1922. Other universities would follow suit and the formal, scientific study of what would become known as Industrial Relations in the United States would begin. These first universities included the likes of Stanford, MIT , the California Institute of Technology, the University of Michigan, and perhaps most notably at the University of Wisconsin in what became known as the Wisconsin School (Kaufman, 1993).

In that same year, a larger Industrial Relations staff was to be brought together and formed within the Rockefeller Foundation. This group would continue Mackenzie King's original task of conducting scientific research into labour and industry. They would also serve as personal advisers to Rockefeller in Mackenzie King's absence. In 1926, this group would be spun off from the Foundation to become a not-for-profit organization. It would be renamed as the Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc (IRC). Both the Rockefeller Foundation and the IRC would continue to advocate and sponsor continued education in industrial relations at various universities in the U.S. (Helfgott, 2003). This allowed Industrial Relations to become a distinct area of scholarship and teaching, separate from political economy or the sociology of class relations (Giles, 2000).

The institutional knowledge base for what would eventually become first known as the Human Relations School; and later as Human Resource Management (HRM), stems directly from the Mackenzie King's ERP – now known popularly as the 'Rockefeller Plan' - and the changes that it brought about in the employment relationship in the United States (Adler, 2003). Mackenzie King's ideas and his ERP template had become the most well known and most emulated form of employee representation plan in both the U.S. and Canada and comprised the first structural foundations for HRM (Jacoby, 2003). Thus "progress in HRM, and in management generally, would have been much less certain" if not for Mackenzie King's work and his conversion of Rockefeller from 'absent landlord to champion of worker's right[s]' " (Beaumont, 2003, p. 465).

So Mackenzie King's ideas and efforts spawned an emergent industrial philosophy predicated upon "the benevolent treatment of workers as an act of "enlightened self-interest,"" where "joint labour-management councils would replace industrial conflict with workplace harmony" (H. Grant, 1998, p. 70). An

"industrial system characterized by antagonism, coercion, and resistance" was slowly to be replaced with one based on a vision of "mutual confidence, real justice, and constructive good-will" (MacKenzie King, 1918, p. 10). For the next two decades, the emergent shift in thinking on the labour problem would continue to advance and make progress. It would not be until the Great Depression and a resurgent labour movement that any major changes would arise in industrial relations in the U.S. Change would come through direct government intervention in the form of the National Labor Relations Act or 'Wagner' Act of 1935. The Act established the legal entitlement of employees to form or join independent trade unions. It effectively ended the existence of employee representation plans in the U. S. (H. Grant, 1998) and would re-contextualize modern Industrial Relations (Kaufman, 2001).

A Management Pioneer?

So what are the conditions, factors, or criterion to be considered when determining whether someone has earned the label of management pioneer? Being first or being famous? Having made broad and sweeping contributions or small and specific ones? Being recognized as a practitioner or theoretician, a generalist or specialist? Is it the longevity or just the pragmatic relevance of their ideas and thoughts which are more important? Each and all of these may be seen to have been employed to identify, categorize, label or declare management pioneers within our canon (see for example Urwick, 1956; Witzel, 2012 for different approaches; 2005; Wren, 1972; Wren & Boyd, 1997).

This historiographic portrayal of Mackenzie King's non-political career could be considered as a *prima facie* case for Mackenzie King's ideas and work having a lasting and significant impact on the development of management thought and practice at a crucial point in the development of modern labour relations. It is obvious that Mackenzie King has significantly contributed and directly to the evolution and changes in the employment relationship that have led to the practices we see today. His work for the Rockefeller Foundation and with CF&I and other large firms and the sheer impact of the numbers of firms and workers alone supports this contention. His other indirect contributions; those mediated by and through other individuals and institutions, are also evidence of his contribution. These include: the efforts of the Rockefeller Foundation, the U.S. Congress, the Special Committee and the IRC and their collective defining of management and labour relations. While ignored by the contemporary historical record which portrays Mackenzie King dominantly as politician and Prime Minister, his stature as a scholar, a researcher and a prominent practicing consultant was clearly recognized by his contemporaries. This is evidenced in the choices of those who hired him as scientist and researcher, a manager and consultant or by those who would seek to employ him as a Director of the Carnegie Foundation or Dean of the Harvard Business School. If the recounting of his contributions in historiographic terms are insufficient it could be argued that in the absence of unproblematic or specifically formulated criteria of *pioneer-ship*, that a comparison with others already identified in our field's historical record is a next logical step. For these purposes two other more central and historically recognized figures can be used as comparative exemplars: F.W. Taylor and Mary Parker Follett (Wren, 2005).

Mackenzie King's stature as an industrial consultant, social scientist, and practicing manager should compare fairly with that of F.W. Taylor's status as a central figure of management thought. Both were individually recognized in their lifetimes for their contributions. This recognition was international in scope and held by both industry and government alike. Mackenzie King's and Taylor's ideas and thoughts were significantly informed by their experiences as practicing managers and their work was centered upon the relationship between management and worker. While Taylor's and Mackenzie King's educational and scholarly experiences were different, both chose to ground their work in science; preferring the use of facts and figures over the practices of tradition or heuristic (Seim, 2007; Wren, 2005). They both had lasting impacts on the development of the field of both management and

management-labour relations in the earliest and formative years (Granatstein, 1977, p. 9; Kaufman, 2003; Wren, 2005). They both had a significant impact on the formalized teaching of management and labour relations in higher education.

Similarly, the social values and beliefs of Mackenzie King are parallel with those for which M.P. Follett has become recognized and esteemed. This is clearly present in the way that each of these two gave considered thought to the relationships between multiple actors within industry. Parallelism in thought where each strove to serve society by first understanding and then reducing or changing the nature of the relationship between owners, managers, and employees within industry as well as industry's very relationship with the broader aspects of modern society. In this respect they were both very much ahead of their time (Eylon, 1998; Mendenhall, Macomber, & Cutright, 2000; Wren, 2005).

The list of management pioneers has never been a stable one. It has shifted and changed with the development of the field (Cummings & Bridgman, 2008, 2011; Feldheim, 2004) and with broader changes in society within which management practice and thought is found (Calas & Smircich, 1996). What gets recognized as a pioneering contribution, or even *just* a contribution, can also hinge upon historiographic processes rather than on the importance of the contribution or any considered criteria applied to one (Mills, Weatherbee, & Durepos, 2013; Weatherbee, Durepos, Mills, & Helms Mills, 2012). Scholarly contributions to management knowledge and practice have been written out for political and ideological reasons (Cooke, 1999) or for fear of social condemnation and perceived harms to reputation or legitimacy (Cooke, 2003; Hayek, Novicevic, Humphreys, & Jones, 2010).

If the contributions of individuals are retained only because they are politically or socially acceptable (Cooke, Mills, & Kelley, 2005) rather than for their practical or theoretical significance, what does this say about how we choose the pioneers for and in our histories? Since management pioneers are subject to appear and later disappear then we must acknowledge that choosing management pioneers is a problematic process (Calas & Smircich, 1996). One that appears to be just as dependent upon political, social, and historical processes operating within the study and practice of management as for any *scientific* reason.

Unobserved, Unwritten and Unheralded

Mackenzie King's vision, clearly expressed in his *Industry and Humanity*, was the culmination of his experience in labour relations and an authorial crystallization of his belief in "the need to ensure industrial peace and to humanize the relationships of capital and labour" (Granatstein, 1976, p. 13). In this respect, Mackenzie King was a generation ahead of his contemporaries in recognizing that "industry must be made to serve humanity" and that the state had an obligation to ensure that social justice and social security prevailed in industry (McGregor, 1962, p. 232). Mackenzie King's ideas on the responsibilities of owners and management and the duty owed to their employees had a great influence on a capitalism in crisis at the beginning of the 20th Century (Gitelman, 1988). Mackenzie King's ideas helped to ameliorate the fears of both radical unionism and interference of the state in business; notions which prevailed amongst owners and managers in light of what they saw as the labour problem (Tone, 1997). Mackenzie King's path was a new and innovative *third way* which introduced a new era in labour relations in the United States (Chernow, 1998). From this perspective, Mackenzie King can be considered a reformer whose efforts served to remake labour-management relations at a crucial juncture (Scheinberg, 1978).

Commencing with CF&I, Mackenzie King designed a specific and pragmatic recipe for management-employee cooperation and for the conduct of labour relations. Ideas that would sediment into the capital-labour context of the United States for the next two decades (Magat, 1999) and for even longer in Canada.

Mackenzie King's ideas would also serve to broadly sketch out the foundations and pathways for the formalized study of what would become the sub-fields of Industrial Relations and Human Resource Management. His consulting practices placed industrial management's feet firmly on a path that would fundamentally alter management-employee relations across thousands of firms and for millions of employees. A path where personnel departments developed and evolved *hand in glove* with the institution of ERPs (Nelson, 1982) and a progression in industrial relations to a point where employee voice (Freeman & Medoff, 1984) was first heard. These steps were needed in order for management to begin to develop a shared sense of responsibility for organizational work. In other words, Mackenzie King's work began the process of leading management thought and practice in industry away from the paternal philosophy of industrial betterment and the sole reliance on the hyper-rationalizations of Taylor's Scientific Management. A movement towards what would become the Human Relations and Employee Management/Personnel Management paradigms that followed (Barley & Kundra, 1992).

In the United States, Mackenzie King's contributions first became masked and then hidden behind the much larger and more prominent Rockefeller name when the ERP concept became commonly known as the Rockefeller Plan. While Mackenzie King's contributions historically disappeared with the passage of the Wagner Act in the United States the Rockefeller fame lived on (Schenkel, 1995). After the Second World War, what remained of Mackenzie King's thoughts on the relations between capital, labour and society were further overwritten by the new and much more narrow and disciplinary narrative of Industrial Relations (Kaufman, 2007). A field of study that still exists in some antipathy with that of disciplinary management; perhaps not surprising given the managerial bias and anti-labour sentiment of much of the work in the mainstream of management and organization studies (Alvesson & Willmott, 2003; Alvesson & Wilmot, 1992; Burrell & Morgan, 1979). A practice stemming from the Cold War context where the writing out of anything that questioned managerialism which was seen as a proxy for being of the political left and antithetical to capitalism and the Western Democratic project (Cooke, 1999; Cooke & Mills, 2008; Cooke et al., 2005).

Mackenzie King is also not domestically known as an academic, a researcher, or a management/industrial consultant (Martin, 1991) because the independent investigation or study on the history of management thought and practice in Canada remains all but non-existent (McLaren & Mills, 2015). That which does exist has noted that scholarly work in Canadian business schools first lagged then emulated U.S. counterparts (Austin, 2000) and that management history had already been cast by U.S. authors (George, 1968; Wren, 1972). Canadian Business Schools have always largely simply adopted American domain practices; including their histories. Mackenzie King's work experience and thoughts, summarized in Industry and Humanity, is little referenced today in either the United States or in Canada (Kaufman, 2003). Whether only because of the ahistorical nature of management scholarship in general (Booth & Rowlinson, 2006) or because management scholarship tends to ignore what does not fit within its project's past (Foster et al., 2014) is a question which has yet to be fully answered!

Historiographic processes, that is how histories come to be written, reinforce what knowledge is or is not to be considered of value within the management domain (Foster, Mills, & Weatherbee, 2014). External contexts such as the Cold War (Foster, Helms Mills, & Mills, 2014; J. Grant & Mills, 2006; Kelley, Mills, & Cooke, 2006) or the New Deal (Foster, Mills, et al., 2014) are largely discounted though they have just as much impact on how a field's history is written (Durepos & Mills, 2012) as any process of knowledge discovery, accumulation or practice within a field (Weatherbee, 2015). Understanding the process of how a discipline's history comes to be written and how a discipline's knowledge of the past comes to be valued; that is whose work is considered pioneering, foundational or key, is a critical element in surfacing the contributions which lay the groundwork for our own contemporary perspective of the field.

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REASSEMBLING THE CANADIAN SEAL HUNT DEBATE USING NON-CORPOREAL ACTANTS TO RESPECT THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN INUIT AND THE SEAL

This paper attempts to examine the Canadian seal hunt debate as a colonial project that has transformative effects on the ways of life of Inuit in relation to the seal. By engaging with actor-network theory, the seal hunt debate is first interrogated through the non-corporeal actants traditionally used in the debate (truth seeking, quantifying humaneness and defining morality) and then reassembled using non-corporeal actants that are traditionally used in Inuit relations to seal (interconnectedness, fairness and compassion, and tradition).

Introduction

Colonialism still operates within the many domains of society that regulate the industries that "help sustain livelihoods and ways of life" (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2014). A colonial project is "a socially transformative endeavour that is localized, politicized and partial, yet also engendered by longer historical developments and ways of narrating them" (Thomas, 1994, p. 105). Colonial projects affect "different actors differently as they act according to their specific needs and practices" (Proulx, 2003, p. 209).

There is a long *history* of actor-networks positioned against each other within the controversy that surrounds the Canadian annual seal hunt (herein after referred to as the seal hunt). This paper employs actor-network theory (Czarniawska-Joerges and Hernes, 2005; Doberstein, 2013; Latour, 2005; Law and Hassard, 1999; Mol, 1999; Mol, 2002; Mol, 2010) to explore and then (re)explore the narratives that are used to transform the socio-political spaces affecting the livelihoods and ways of life of Inuit in relation to the seal. Southern methodologies are tempered reflexively via Indigenous methodology (Kovach, 2010; Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2008) and Inuit stories and mythologies to guide us through a respectful analysis of the text.

This paper has the potential to contribute to the growing literature on decolonizing practices. It also serves as a demonstration that an actor-network theory approach can be used to study the discursive positions within this complex social debate. Furthermore, it may contribute to the body of literature on non-corporeal actants that influence the decisions of actor-networks (Hartt, 2011; Hartt, 2013a; Hartt and Yue, 2012; Hartt, et al., 2009).

Theoretical Framework and Methodology

Latour (2005) suggests that research should not begin with a theoretical frame, but can be applied only after following the actors and actants around the topography of the social phenomenon under study. The

structure of this paper emerged from the interrogation of textual narrations of the historical developments of the seal hunt. An iterative and reflexive process of sense making was applied through the reading and (re)reading of the histories as presented by the actor-nets to understand the non-corporeal actants positioned by the actor-nets.

This paper is a product of a larger study on the complexity of the seal hunt dispute as a colonial project. The socio-historical developments were textually sourced by following the organizational actors through social media, websites, government documents, academic journals, corporate documents, television broadcasts, Youtube videos, books and newspaper articles. We began the study by following the histories as narrated by the various actors, including the academic community, European Union[1], World Trade Organization, Celebrities, Government of Canada, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, the Canadian Sealers Association and the International Fund for Animal Welfare. We then mapped the network landscapes so as to surface the non-corporeal actants that the various actors employed to transform the social and political spaces surrounding the seal hunt. The network mappings revealed three powerful non-corporeal actants: the constructions of truth, humaneness and morality. These are positioned discursively as sociopolitical-acts and are expressions of enduring colonial practices. They transform the landscapes that sustain livelihoods and ways of life of the Inuit in relation to the seal. We then examined stories as narrated by various Inuit actors, including the Nunavut Government, Nunatsiavut Government, NunatuKavut Community Council, Nunatsiaq News, Inuit myths and legends and lived histories as shared by many Inuit. The examination of these networks revealed three different powerful non-corporeal actants: interconnectedness, fairness and compassion, and traditions. In this paper, we use the non-corporeal actants of truth, humaneness and morality to narrate the historical developments of the seal hunt and then (re)assemble the seal case using the non-corporeal actants of interconnectedness, fairness and compassion, and traditions.

Hartt (2013a) says that "a non-corporeal actant is a force or powerful influence on actors and physical actants in a network that exists in the intercedes of relationships between those actors and actants without being reducible to any actor or actant" (p. 30-31). We extend this understanding by interrogating the directions of the force in the intercedes of the relationship between Inuit and the seal.

Actor-Network Theory

Actor-network theory blends well with other relational approaches (for example: critical sensemaking via non-corporeal actants (Hartt, 2011; Hartt, 2013a; Hartt, 2013b; Hartt and Jones, 2013; Hartt, et al., 2014) historiography via ANTi-History (Durepos, 2009; Durepos and Mills, 2012a; Durepos and Mills, 2012b; Durepos, Mills, and Weatherbee, 2012; Mills and Durepos, 2010); dramaturgy via postdramaturgy (Corrigan, 2015; Corrigan, 2016; Corrigan and Beaubien, 2013) and Indigenous methodologies via political ontology (Blaser, 2009a; Blaser, 2009b; Blaser, 2010a; Blaser, 2010b; Blaser, 2013; Blaser, 2014; Blaser, Feit, and McRae, 2004)).

Actor network theory is not a theory as much as it is a methodological approach to study complex networks of human, non-human, discursive and non-discursive, physical and non-physical actors, networks, actants and actions. Latour's (1993, 1996, 1999, 2005, 2013) works on actor-network theory (ANT) are likened to the work of ants: slow, detailed and deliberate. The pace of the approach allows actors, actants and actions in a network to be followed while looking for the idiosyncrasies and paradoxes that contribute to its complexity. The knowledges are produced from the infra-level (from the subjects,

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[1] Citations throughout text for documents relating to the European Union (EU) are categorized under the European Commission (EC). The EC represents the EU by performing responsibilities such as proposing laws and policies and monitoring their implementation (https://ec.europa.eu/info/about-european-union_en).

the actors and actants themselves). The infra-languages and infra-knowledges (ways of narrating and ways of knowing) are the researcher's focus. The social phenomenon is then shared, discussed, represented and related through the actors and actants. Mills et al. (2014) suggest that to "unravel the link between the past and history" an "'epistemically skeptical,' relational approach" is necessary (p. 225). Durepos, Mills, and Weatherbee (2012) suggest that "telling the past relationally calls for an exploration of the tensions between different modes of knowing" (p. 267). The historical representations that we share in the analysis are an attempt to highlight the tensions that arise from trade disputes. We consider these disputes as potential colonial projects which can have transformative effects on the ways of life of Inuit in relation to the seal. We narrate the historical developments with the understanding that the 'past' and 'history' are "ontologically dissonant" (Munslow, 2010, p. 3).

"Patterns of meanings that converge" may be found in complex social events (Harré & Slocum, 2003: 100). We interrogate the textual documents for the moments where the patterns of meaning converge by looking around the actors, groups, institutions and policies that construct the relations (storylines, identities, rights and duties, and social forces) and the power differentials between the parties (Slocum-Bradley, 2007). We use ANT tools to surface the patterns of meanings and relations surrounding the parties.

Hartt (2013) states "[t]he researcher must pursue the work from the perspective that the knowledge (s)he produces is both real and relative; both socially produced through the analysis and pre-existent" (p. 58). Hartt's (2013) use of non-corporeal actants (NCAs) permits a better understanding of the non-physical constructions with multiple meanings and interpretations that are positioned by actors in their sense making efforts. NCAs are a heuristic referring to such forces as values, memories, beliefs, ideas and traditions that are non-physical meaning they have not concretized. This approach allows us to follow the actors, actants and actions over time and examine the relations between them as they shifts between representations. It provides a mechanism for observing the oscillations between the inter-personal and inter-group relations. Through the interrogation and examination of the convergences and tensions in the complex and enduring social dispute, we explore how identities become bound to rights and duties, and how storylines are mobilized within the social. Actor-network theory focuses on the mobilization of actors and actants within a network, interrogating positions supports the examination of the actions that mobilize the actors and actants. For the purpose of this paper, which is part of a larger study, we have limited the histories to the following narrations and the interactions between the actors via these histories (see Table 1.).

Table 1. Histories of the Seal Hunt Dispute: Textual documents for this study

Year of Publication	Title of Document	Organization
2014	Inuit Decry WTO Appellate Decision to Uphold Discriminatory, Flawed Seal Ban	Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami
2012	European Communities – Measures Prohibiting the Importation and Marketing of Seal Products (DS400, DS401): First Written Submission by the European Union	European Union
2016	The EU seal regime: KH-04-16-014-EN-N	European Union
2014	Dispute Settlement: Dispute DS401 European Communities – Measures Prohibiting the Importation and Marketing of Seal Products	WTO

Year of Publication	Title of Document	Organization
2016	Canada's Commercial Seal Hunt: Past, Present and Future	IFAW
2012	Aboriginal seal hunts	IFAW
2016	Indigenous seal hunts	IFAW
2009	Group Uses Inuksuk for Anti-Sealing Campaign	Nunatsiaq News
2010	Less symbolism, more realism please	Nunatsiaq News
2014	Most Europeans don't like "public morality" trade bans: survey	Nunatsiaq News

The Seal Hunt Case

A media release on May 22, 2014 by the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami[2] (Appendix A) declaring the EU seal ban as discriminatory to Inuit is the starting point of our interrogation. A relationalist exploration provides clarity around the historical developments surrounding the experiences of discrimination that arise through the interactions of ontologically dissonant groups. According to Durepos, Mills & Weatherbee (2012), a relationalist exploration requires reflection of the processes and contexts that produce tensions between different modes of knowing along with the tracing of stories that have become concretized through series of localized (Haraway, 1988; Law and Mol, 2001) translations (Latour, 1986). Exploring the processes and contexts surrounding how the EU seal ban has come to be and why the series of decisions are viewed as discriminatory to the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami is of interest.

The tensions the are produced between the modes of knowing are referred to by Blaser (2013) as "ontological conflict". These are experienced with the convergence of various modes of knowing in one localized area where the tensions affect the relationships and understandings of the patterns of meaning within the localized network. NCAs are powerful forces embedded within these modes of knowing and when they are ontologically different conflict or tension arises. NCAs such as the values, beliefs, traditions and ideas of the Inuit in relation to the seal have generally been understood in society only through the ways that historical documents are narrating them. It is widely publicized that the EU seal ban stipulates through Article 3, Condition 1 (EC) 1007/2009 that "[t]he placing on the market of seal products shall be allowed only where the seal products result from hunts traditionally conducted by Inuit and other indigenous [sic] communities and contribute to their subsistence". Furthermore, the Regulation[3] acknowledges the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples[4]* which

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[2] The national representational organization protecting and advancing the rights and interests of Inuit in Canada (www.itk.ca).

[3] Regulation (EC) 1007/2009 Whereas (14): The fundamental economic and social interests of Inuit communities engaged in the hunting of seals as a means to ensure their subsistence should not be adversely affected. The hunt is an integral part of the culture and identity of the members of the Inuit society, and as such is recognised by the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Therefore, the placing on the market of seal products which result from hunts traditionally conducted by Inuit and other indigenous communities and which contribute to their subsistence should be allowed.

[4] *UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Article 8*

1. Indigenous peoples and individuals have the right not to be subjected to forced assimilation or destruction of their culture.

2. States shall provide effective mechanisms for prevention of, and redress for:

(*a*) Any action which has the aim or effect of depriving them of their integrity as distinct peoples, or of their cultural values or ethnic identities;

(*b*) Any action which has the aim or effect of dispossessing them of their lands, territories or resources;

(*c*) Any form of forced population transfer which has the aim or effect of violating or undermining any of their rights;

recognizes the rights of Indigenous peoples to protect their culture. These are examples of narratives that obfuscate discrimation, since they position the actors as sensitive to the rights of Inuit to protect their culture. These documents are symbolic of a desire not to explicitly discriminate against Indigenous peoples. As part of the process for approval to pass the legislation, it may have also been necessary to include language that symbolizes respect for the rights of Indigenous peoples.

Fiske (2000) suggests that explicit forms of discrimination have been for the most part replaced by modern forms of subtle discrimination. She also explains that social content is complex and humans tend to employ simplifying strategies when managing intergroup relations. The inclusion of the Inuit and Indigenous peoples Condition (herein after referred to as the Inuit exemption) on the Regulation appears to be an example of the employment of a simple strategy to a complex social issue. The Inuit exemption does not clarify what is meant by "hunts traditionally conducted by Inuit and other indigenous [sic] communities" and "contributing to their subsistence", neither does it outline a requirement for the humaneness of the hunt, but it does however express rights to further define these conditions[5]. One of the main concerns with regard to the Inuit exemption is that it was decided without consultation with Inuit peoples and a further concern is that when further definitions of the conditions are decided Inuit will not be part of the design or negotiation. A bi-product of tension and conflict between modes of knowing is trauma. As a result of colonial projects (body of processes and historical relations) many Indigenous peoples have or continue to experience trauma and in most cases this trauma is multigenerational (Linklater, 2014; Ross, 2014).

To better understand the non-corporeal actants beneath the surface of this decry, we reassemble the historical development through the narratives of truth, humaneness and morality and then again through interconnectedness, fairness and compassion, and traditions. These non-corporeal actants have been chosen after careful interrogation of the sociopolitical-acts of various actors within the seal hunt.

Historical Development - Representation 1

On May 22, 2014, the World Trade Organization (WTO) Appellate Body announced their decision to uphold the European Union's (EU) ban on the importation of seal products (EC, 2012; WTO, 2014). With respect to our understanding of Thomas' (1994) explanation of colonial projects, we consider decisions whether made by the WTO, EU or any other actor-net as politicized and as endeavors to transform social spaces. Furthermore, with respect to ANT, we consider all actions, activities and actants enrolled in the networks as part of the body of sociopolitical-acts. Each has the power to influence the perpetuation of the narrative and form a part of the body of narratives within the discursive space surrounding the social events.

Truth, Humaneness and Morality. According to Harré (2009) cognitive conditions, such as longstanding beliefs and conventional judgments, are complex, since rights and duties are contestable" (p. 295). The complexity of this debate circulates around the heuristics of truth, humaneness and morality, while these social constructions are contestable. When the WTO and EC establish a *truth* and a process of conferring truth, with or without intention, these decisions reify narratives. The WTO and the EC made statements that the ban on the importation of seal products was "necessary to protect public morals"

(*d*) Any form of forced assimilation or integration;
(*e*) Any form of propaganda designed to promote or incite racial or ethnic discrimination directed against them.
http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf
[5] Regulation (EC) 1007/2009 Whereas (17): In particular, the Commission should be empowered to define the conditions for the placing on the market of seal products which result from hunts traditionally conducted by Inuit and other indigenous [sic] communities and contribute to their subsistence…

(EC, 2012; WTO, 2014). They contest that the seal hunt and the manner of killing seals is inhumane and contributes to unnecessary suffering of the seal.

According to the European Food Safety Authority "there are only a very limited number of studies published in peer-reviewed journals that can be used to evaluate, with a high degree of certainty, the efficacy of the various killing methods employed in different seal hunts around the world. Other studies (e.g. by NGOs, industry linked groups) that highlight serious deficiencies and concerns in the hunts may contain potentially unproven serious biases" (EFSA, 2007). The "Scientific Grounds for the Public Moral Concern" section 2.4 of the European Commission's (2012) document refers primarily to the EFSA's (2007) report. The EC (2012) report references four studies conducted by veterinarians: Burdon et al (2001), Daoust et al. (2002), Smith et al. (2005) and Butterworth et al. (2007). The EFSA's conclusions are that the reports are conflicting and uncertainty is high in the data interpretation (European Food Safety Authority, 2007). Since the EU report of 2012, Butterworth and Richardson (2013) conducted another study of the hunt from the perspective of the welfare of the seals from a veterinary science perspective so as to measure the ability of the hunt to effectively meet generally accepted principles of humane slaughter. In their analysis of video, they confer that the hunt is not able to meet the principles. However, the Daoust et al. (2014) study critiques the Butterworth and Richardson (2013) study as lacking in scientific rigour. This disagreement appears to focus on the assertion of a truth.

The heuristic of humaneness continues to recirculate within the dispute; however, on December 6, 2007, the Scientific Panel for Animal Health and Welfare of the European Food Safety Authority adopts a scientific opinion with regard to the animal welfare aspects of killing and skinning seals. The summary recommends a four-step approach to ensure the humane killing of seals. This would include the effective hitting/shooting of the seal, the effective monitoring the seal for insensibility and death, the effective bleeding-out of the seal, and effective implementation (or training of hunters, independent monitoring or inspections) (EFSA, 2007).

On July 23, 2008, the EC issued a summary of the impact assessment on the potential impact of a ban of products derived from seal species. This summary assessment considers options such as "the total prohibition of placing on the EU market of seal products", "a total prohibition of imports and exports", "a labelling system allowing consumers to distinguish between individual seal products on the basis of welfare considerations" or "bi-/multilateral agreements between the EU and one or more range states" (EC, 2008, p. 3).

On September 16, 2009, the European Parliament passes a regulation establishing rules with regard to the placement of seal products on the European market, which includes the Inuit exemption (EC, 2009).

The ideology of humaneness is a powerful heuristic with overarching force that has an influence on this controversy. It has been used in discourse and narrative to engage in network membership. The Huffington Post B. C. ("Canada's Largest Dairy Farm Employees Accused of Animal Cruelty", 2014) opinions that training is necessary to ensure employees abide by the policies and procedures of humane killing and that even when all employees are trained, counter-social behaviour will exist. It is offered that 100% compliance on any policy over an extended period of time is not possible. This opinion was offered in response to an event where eight employees at a large Canadian dairy farm were filmed beating cows. The dairy farm owner is cited as saying that this was an obvious training failure. Humane killing and inhumane or counter-social behaviours make their way into socio-political spaces, this conversation is not unique to the seal hunt.

As a part of the process of conferring truth about the humaneness and morality of the seal hunt, the EU considered public opinion polls (surveys) and letters from members of the EU. The EU has stated that

there is ample evidence that the "moral concerns of the EU public" with regard to the killing of seals are both "deep and longstanding" (EC, 2012, 1). "The moral concerns of the EU public are confirmed by a series of opinion polls" (EC, 2012, 74) whereby eight of the ten surveys were prepared for the International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW) and one by Respect for Animals (see Appendix B). According to behavioural economists Johnson and Goldstein (2003) surveys can be designed in a manner so as to achieve the answers (truths) that are desired. Whereas the surveys conducted by the IFAW found Europeans to be against the seal hunt, according to an article published in Nunatsiaq News a May 2014 poll commissioned by the Trade Fairness Coalition (a coalition formed by The Fur Institute and the Canadian Sealers Association) found that "a clear majority of Europeans (63%) feel that seal hunting is acceptable in some form", and that "[t]hree-quarters of Europeans see the use of animals as acceptable as long as harvesting is done in a way that protects animal welfare and the sustainability of the resource" ("Most Europeans don't like "public morality" trade bans: survey", 2014). The links between actors and actants are important to understand the relations within the network and how the truths are mobilized is embedded in the actions linking the actors and actants.

The IFAW reports that it was founded in 1969 to end "Canada's cruel seal hunt" and they identify the EU ban on seal products as one of the many major victories won by their activities (IFAW, 2016c). Allen (1979) positions the IFAW and Greenpeace as two of the most powerful anti-sealing entities who have been at the forefront of the construction of a new economic industry which he calls the anti-sealing industry. The IFAW's actions towards ending the seal hunt are amongst the acts that influenced the EU and subsequent WTO decisions. Their campaigns since 1969 are part of the body of narratives that have constructed the public opinion about the seal hunt. Their statements with regard to the Inuit exemption are also a part of their campaign against the seal hunt. We explore three statements. The first[6] according to the Internet Archive Wayback Machine[7] appeared around June 16, 2012 (date first saved in the Internet Archive) and remained substantially unchanged until around January 29, 2016 (date last saved in the Internet Archive). This article no longer exists on the IFAW website; however, was used to for a period of time to represents the recent position of the IFAW on the Aboriginal seal hunts. This is a part of the body of narratives used in campaigns against the seal hunt and the campaigns that inform the IFAW supporters. However the second[8] and third[9] provide statements of IFAW's current position on the Indigenous seal hunts. There are three notable differences, which we can presume have transpired through the IFAW's desire to clarify, change or strengthen its positions.

1) The IFAW had provided conditions to their non-opposition to the Aboriginal seal hunts, "[s]o long as it is conducted on a sustainable basis, and that reasonable precautions are taken to minimize unnecessary suffering, IFAW does not oppose the killing of seals for food, clothing and other products for local use by indigenous peoples. Nor do we oppose the sale and local distribution of seal products from subsistence hunts within indigenous communities" (IFAW, 2012). These are no longer present in the Indigenous seal hunts position statement or the Commercial seal hunting and Inuit section of the Canada's Commercial Seal Hunt: Past Present and Future document.

2) They include a claim that the Canadian government is slow to action the Inuit certification processes. "The European Union's ban on seal products includes an exemption for products from indigenous hunts. However, it took the Canadian government years to even begin the process to put a certification program for Inuit seal products into place" (IFAW, 2016a).

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[6] can be found at https://web.archive.org/web/20120616125517/http://www.ifaw.org/canada/our-work/seals/aboriginal-seal-hunts
[7] The **Internet Archive** Wayback Machine is a service that allows people to visit archived versions of Web sites. Visitors to the Wayback Machine can type in a URL, select a date range, and then begin surfing on an archived version of the Web. The Wayback Machine stored seven iterations of this website.
[8] Can be found at http://www.ifaw.org/united-states/our-work/seals/indigenous-seal-hunts.
[9] Can be found at http://www.ifaw.org/sites/default/files/IFAW-2016-Canada's-Commercial-Seal-Hunt-Past-Present-Future-0.pdf

3) They strengthen their claims that the IFAW has never opposed the Inuit hunt. "IFAW's campaign against the commercial seal hunt has never targeted subsistence hunting, by Inuit or anyone else. Those who claim otherwise are misinformed, or worse, are attempting to discredit IFAW with misinformation" (IFAW, 2016a).

4) The urge the Canadian Government to support Inuit following the disappearing markets for seal products, "[a]lthough most trade bans have exemptions for Inuit seal products, the argument is made that disappearing markets for seal products have unintentionally damaged Inuit livelihoods as well. We urge the Government of Canada to take measures to ensure that the inevitable disappearance of global markets for seal fur does not negatively impact Inuit livelihoods" (IFAW, 2016b).

The WTO, EU and IFAW all have clear statements that they do not oppose the Inuit subsistence hunt. So, when focusing on the search for truth, humaneness and morality why it is that we still do not understand why the National Inuit Leader Terry Audla, President of Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami decried that the WTO decision to uphold EU ban on Canadian seal products is discriminatory. While the anti-sealing industry currently impresses they do not oppose the Inuit hunt, the positioning statements do not remove from the body of knowledge the archive of discriminatory statements that remain in the memory of those who have lived experiences as Inuit. 'The past' is often conflated in the memory of the actor-networks (Hartt and Jones, 2013; Hartt, et al., 2014). Harré (2002) talks about the limitations of the "spatio-temporal location of the embodied speaker" (p. 620). He explains that a speech-act is spatio-temporally situated but within the embodied speaker. The memory of the speaker resurfaces the lived experiences as related to an incident. If the person is experiencing a discrimination, it is in relation to their other felt experiences of discrimination. In 2009 P*e*TA used the Vancouver Olympics Inukshuk to protest the Canadian Seal Hunt (see image Appendix C), the protest is a symbol of discrimination against the Inuit seal hunt (Bird, 2009). While IFAW and P*e*TA are certainly not the same organization, the felt sense of discrimination from one anti-sealing organization may be conflated just as historical felt senses of discrimination can surface in the here and now via the memories of the embodied speaker.

Inuit have hunted seals for generations, none of the studies conducted by academics, the EFSA, opinion polls or surveys approached Inuit hunters or Elders to better understanding Inuit qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) around the seal hunt. Inuit qaujimajatuqangit means Inuit traditional knowledge and "It's part of a painstaking, often neglected process of transferring priceless, ephemeral wisdom to yet one more generation by showing it to them with their own eyes" (Mitchell, 2016). Through this process of knowledge transference, Inuit develop a basis of relational knowledge with others (human and non-human).

Historical Development - Representation 2

In Krieger (1952), a reference to seal hunt philosophically critiques the intellectual discussions at *Rencontres Internationales de Genève.* This he says is where philosophers "met to discuss problems which live in that intermediate zone of value between philosophy and society – problems like the European Spirit, Technical Progress, Moral Progress, Toward a New Humanism. The temper of these discussions is well illustrated by an incident which took place early in the discussion of technical and moral progress. One participant arose and tendered to the assembly a piece of advice, taken, he said, from an old Eskimo proverb: when you want to hunt the seal in the sea, don't go whistling in the mountains. This admonition to present concrete proposals for action took the conference by storm, thereby revealing the deep-rooted desire of European intellectuals to apply themselves to the solution of political and social problems" (p. 239). We question the deep-rooted desire of European intellectuals to apply themselves to this solution as this may be considered a continued colonial project. The cycle of traditions surrounding socio-political problems may be better explored using Inuit traditions to surface understandings

surrounding the seal hunt (commercial and subsistence). When you want to discuss the seal hunt, don't go to the intellectuals, go to Inuit qaujimajatuqangit (IQ), Inuit hunters, Inuit Elders and the seal.

Interconnectedness, Fairness and Compassion, and Tradition. We question whether the focus on truth, humaneness and morality respects traditional relations between the Inuit and the seal or whether they act to separate them. To examine this question, we reassemble the historical developments through non-corporeal actants that engage Inuit traditional values, beliefs and relations to the seal.

In the beginning, Avilayog, a girl from Padli, was killed by her father as she clung to the side of a boat which he thought she would overturn in the rough seas. He chopped her fingers off with a hatchet and when they fell into the sea they became the whales and the seals. Avilayog now lives with the sea creatures as Sedna, the mother of the sea mammals ("The Mother of the Sea Mammals", 2011). Sedna did not want to die, but when she did she rested peacefully under the sea with the sea mammal. In some versions of the myth, Sedna is deeply respected by hunters. They pray to her and ask her to release the sea mammals so that they may feed their families. Sedna willingly releases the sea mammals and they willingly surface to the hunters, so that they may fulfill the cycle of life (Houston and Parrott, 2014). The seal, like all of nature, is a part of the ecosystem and like all beings it is a part of the cycle of life. Just as Avilayog's body was transformed into the seal, the seal's body is transformed so as to feed the hunters and the families. The mythologies are passed from generation to generation as a way to share the traditions of respect for those who have lost their lives to nourish the lives of others. The spirit of the seal is not lost in death, but is transformed into new life (Gauthier, 2013).

Gauthier (2013), an Inuk hunter and artist, helps us to appreciate the cycle of life as bound to spirit rather than body and form. The transformation of one being nourishes the spirit of all the lives it feeds. A seal eats fish (which eat smaller fish) in turn the seal is eaten by bears, sharks, humans or other predators. For centuries the spirit of the seal has been linked to the spirit of the people through the hunt and subsequent use of meat, fur, sinew, bone, fat and all the other parts of the seal. In this way the spirit of the seal is fulfilled, to do otherwise is immoral from the position of the seal. In many Indigenous worldviews; however, from the perspective of the Inuit, other Indigenous cultures and the spirit of the seal, hunting and harvesting of seals whether by harpoon or by rifle whether for subsistence or for trade is respectful of the traditional interconnectedness between Inuit and the seal.

Wenzel (1987) investigates the impact of the anti-sealing industry on the Inuit peoples of Canada and Yup'ik and Aleuts peoples of Alaska. He stresses the interrelationship between Inuit and the seal focusing not only on subsistence but the "submergence of earlier basic subsistence and barter condition" to the "main cash-producing commodity available locally to Inuit" where money was needed "especially for the acquisition and maintenance of imported hunting technology" (p. 197). The Inuit subsistence hunt contributed to the resiliency of the peoples to inhabit the lands of the North and establish an identity in relation to the land. The barter system was however an important traditional mechanism that supported the Inuit relations with neighbouring communities. In a likeminded way, Richling (1989) investigates the changes in patterns of economic organization as relating to the seal hunt in Labrador, Canada. In particular, he examines a village inhabited by both Inuit and Settlers and "respective patterns of domestic economic organization and values in mediating the effects of technological change on the local seal hunt" (p. 61). He stresses the decline in wildlife harvesting impacts on Inuit and Northern peoples. Those persons who have chosen to live from the land and where the economy is based on the resources provided by the land are economically impacted. The traditions of Inuit in relation to the seal are not only linked to subsistence, but also harvesting for bartering and economic exchange.

The Richling (1989) study provides an opportunity to explore Inuit and Settler economic relations with regard to the seal. When Settlers live in close relations with Inuit, qaujimajatuqangit can be transferred. Some Settlers set up trading posts and purchased the resources harvested by Inuit. These Settlers had

limited access to IQ. For Settlers who adopted Inuit livelihoods, such as hunting, fishing and trapping on the lands, knowledge transference was more likely. The ways of knowing and being in the world are not transferred through the blood, but through respectful engagement with traditional ways of knowing and being in the world. This transference is possible through a series of temporal spatial stories, experiences and moments of translation. In harsh lands where knowledge with regard to access to life sustaining resources is necessary, the Settlers depended on IQ for survival. One of many colonial project that contributes to the cycles of trauma that are mobilized through continued discrimination is the idea that Inuit and Indigenous traditions are temporally situated in the socio-past prior to European contact. Inuit ways of knowing and being in the world did not cease to exist or cease translation through contact with Settlers. Inuit share knowledge with Settlers and Settlers knowledges have been employed in IQ.

Igloliorte (1994) writes in "An Inuk Boy Becomes a Hunter" that "[s]eals were always plentiful when the thin ice appeared in early winter, and Inuit hunters would be out all over the place. The seals were everywhere, looking for breathing holes at open spots in the thin ice, and the hunters would get up while it was still dark to go and wait for them at the breathing holes" (p. 65). The traditional method of harvesting seal often required the use of a harpoon; however, Igloliorte also mentions that he used a .22. Arnold (1989) explains that Inuit use of harpoon technology was not constant and that changes in harpoon technology occurred over the thousands of years of known use. He also states that adaptation to rifles and modern harpoon technologies "is typical of Inuit culture and helps to explain how [the] culture has been able to survive into the modern period" (p. 81). The shift from traditional methods to modern methods does not change the importance of the seal to the Inuit. "Seals were very important to the Inuit" (Igloliorte, 1994, 66) and seal continue to be an important element of Inuit identity and survival. Subsistence in this context relates to the harvesting of seal to help sustain livelihoods or traditional ways. Whether the seal supports subsistence or bartering/trade ability, whether the animal is harpooned or shot, there is an interconnectedness between the Inuit and the seal bound by traditions of fairness and compassion. This lends to whether traditions of fairness and compassion are transferable to non-Inuit hunters so that they may harvest seal to help sustain their livelihoods and connections with seal. That said, to date, as far as we are aware all studies of humaneness conducted on the non-Inuit hunt have been performed using Eurocentric models of sustainability and humaneness. We propose an Inuit model of sustainability and humaneness be used to support the non-Inuit hunt. We also propose that this model be used as a tool to mobilize knowledge transference.

The decline in the market for seal products will affect Inuit and non-Inuit commercial and subsistence hunters. Livernois (2010) identifies a need to interrogate the seal hunt from a purely economic perspective. He argues that by looking solely at the economic arguments for and against the sealing industry the benefits of ending the commercial seal hunt exceed the costs. However, he indicates that if this is strictly about economics, the anti-sealing industry needs to be willing to pay the sealers to end the hunt. In this line of thought, the anti-sealing industry may owe the Inuit compensation for negative impacts on livelihoods. The anti-sealing and the sealing industry are not separate and polar; they are interconnected. The anti-sealing industry benefits from the sealing industry via fundraising dollars, just as the commercial sealing industry is interconnected with Inuit ability to sustain livelihood based on the seal hunt. Pelly (2001) explains that for the Inuit the importance of the seal hunt is about more than its economic value. There is a spiritual, cultural and social element to the hunt that relates to Inuit identity. If the markets for seal products are eliminated, how will the Inuit identity in relation to the seal be affected? Multigenerational trauma is the transference of loss of identity through a series of conflicts or tensions between modes of knowing. It may not be necessary for the IFAW, EU or WTO to consider the rights of non-Inuit to maintain connections with ways of knowing and being in the world; however, IQ concepts of interconnectedness, fairness and compassion and traditions may. Decolonizing trauma involves the noticing of the processes and contexts surrounding colonial projects and deconstructing the systems that contribute to lateral violence. If non-Inuit sealers have sustained livelihoods for generations

in relation to the seal, are we concerned about the commercial sealers' identities in relation to the seal and their ancestral linkages to the livelihood? Healing from trauma does not occur when colonial projects have found new victims.

In this enduring and complex social dispute, the actors and institutions influence the unfolding of events and are influenced by the non-corporeal actants that are enrolled into the network as knowledges, values, truths, heuristics and positions. An anthropocentric person approaches the seal from its value to man whereas in Inuit tradition the seal is part of (and) interconnected with man. As demonstrated by the television show "Brain Dead" and supported by media (talk shows, photo ops for Paul McCartney, etc.) the value of the seal to southern culture is to be cute. But, this ignores Inuit culture and Indigenous philosophy in the broader sense. The spirit of the seal is an actant in the actor-net which interacts as the ecology of the north. Each actant (rock, bush, ice floe, bird, bear, fish, seal, man or woman, etc.) has a spirit and that spirit has a purpose. To reduce the seal to cute deprives its spirit of its role. All things change and the spirit of a being is fulfilled by a spiritual transformation which serves a purpose. A seal which provides food to a bear may complete its bodily presence and form, but continues in its spiritual lifecycle. A seal which provides food and clothing to people also serves a purpose.

Conclusion

This paper lays the framework of an exploration of the complexity of forces that influence the sealing versus anti-sealing dispute. The narratives from or about Inuit persons and the manners and methods employed to include Inuit traditions in the discussion on the Canadian seal hunt are explored. Anti-sealing positions of the WTO, EU, and IFAW bring forward conversations about the Inuit seal hunt. In particular the IFAW's 2012 statement "[s]o long as it is conducted on a sustainable basis, and that reasonable precautions are taken to minimize unnecessary suffering, IFAW does not oppose the killing of seals for food, clothing and other products for local use by Indigenous peoples" is a part of the historical processes and contexts that construct the body of colonial projects. The narrative positions that the IFAW supports the EU Inuit exception, but wished to specify the terms of the exception for the EU, the Inuit and the seal. This statement has been removed from their current narrative, but perhaps still resides in the body of knowledge supporting Inuit beliefs around discrimination.

The Inuit exception seems to give legitimacy to the Inuit through their history but ignores the Inuit traditional beliefs and cultural legends. In particular, IQ teaches that all things have spirits and agency. This belief is congruent with actor-network theory; action is shaped by all things in the network whether animate or not. The seal and more particularly the spirit of the seal is an actant in the network of northern ecology as are the fish, the sharks, the bears, the water and the earth. The spirit of the seal is fulfilled by the hunt (whether by man, bear, shark or other predator) but not fulfilled by starvation or disease brought on through man-made ecosystem imbalance. Humans are part of the ecosystem balance – humans are interconnected with the seal. Inuit traditions of fairness and compassion teach us that the hunt and use of the whole animal by the people brings joy to the spirit of the seal. Yet, the actor-net of those disconnected from the ecosystem of the north embraces the hunt as an inhumane slaughter.

It is known by many that Inuit persons have a long history of multigenerational transference of knowledge surrounding the tradition of hunting the seal. This tradition includes a mutually respectful connection with the seal and hunting methods that are based on fairness and compassion toward all life. The respect for interconnectedness recognizes the need for ecosystem balance and understanding the habits of the seals. "[P]eople didn't over-hunt. Inuit knew the habits of the seals, and they conducted themselves accordingly. They knew that when there had been a heavy snowfall over the winter, few seals would be seen early spring. Only when the snow settled would they start coming around in large numbers" (Igloliorte, 1994, 62). In the efforts to better understand the Canadian annual seal hunt, the consultation

of the traditional Inuit knowledge and Inuit peoples has not been conducted. In the search for truth, in quantifying humaneness and in defining morality around the seal hunt, Inuit knowledge and Inuit peoples' knowledge should be consulted.

In the efforts to decolonize the process surrounding decision making of the seal hunt, we are concerned about the elimination of both explicit and subtle forms of discrimination. We are also concerned about the discontinuation of colonial projects and processes whether they be imposed on Indigenous peoples or non-Indigenous peoples. In an interconnected world, the fair and compassionate treatment of all beings (human and non-human) is a part of the body of traditions that brings healing into spaces where there is ontological conflict or dissonance.

While truth, humaneness and morality are linguistically abstract, they surface from within the debate as concrete positions. The anti-sealing actor-network has succeeded in shrinking the market for seal products and the Inuit exemption is treating the Indigenous peoples separately. This appears to be a form of othering (Said, 1993). Inuit and Indigenous persons have entered the debate, perhaps not only to sway public opinion about the potential for a multiplicity of truths, but also perhaps to make a statement about identity. Furthermore, this may be a statement of rights toward self-governance. The morality of the issue may be judged based on the knowledges within the local communities.

In the Inuit tradition the seal sustains livelihoods and ways of life. This is a tradition that Inuit shared with Settlers of the Northern regions. The way that Inuit hunt on the ice floes with harpoons or rifles is arguably different than the methods of harvest in the commercial seal hunt. To discriminate against one group's methods of killing (as cruel) when they are substantially the same as the modern Inuit methods of killing, essentially says that the modern methods of Inuit hunting are cruel and the modern and traditional methods of Inuit relations with the seal are cruel. Many modern Inuit wear seal fur fashions and carry seal fur trinkets in support of commercial and subsistence sealing. Respect for Inuit traditions of connectedness with the seal can be demonstrated not simply by positioning an Inuit exemption, but also by respecting the ways of life of Inuit in relation to the seal and by respecting the spirit of the seal in relation to the ecosystem. Just as Avilayog's death gave life to the seal, the seals' lives feed the hunters, in a cycle of transformation.

Appendix A: Media Release: May 22, 2014 - Inuit Decry WTO Appellate Decision to Uphold Discriminatory, Flawed Seal Ban

National Inuit Leader Terry Audla, President of Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami decried a decision by the Appellate Body of the World Trade Organization (WTO) to uphold a discriminatory European Union (EU) ban on Canadian seal products.
The Appellate Body failed to overturn a 2013 WTO Panel's decision that the EU seal ban is "necessary to protect public morals," an argument that Inuit find abhorrent. The EU doesn't deny that the ban is discriminatory, but argues that the discrimination is justified.
"I am morally outraged at the self-righteousness and sanctimoniousness of the EU's claim to protect the morals of its citizens," said Audla. "Inuit live according to the principles of fairness and compassion and we seek nothing more than to feed our families and make an honest living in the modern economy. It is morally reprehensible for anyone to impede those goals – which are the basic rights of any citizen of the world."
Inuit continue to reject the so-called "Inuit exemption" clause of the legislation, which was not designed by or in negotiation with Inuit, and remains an empty box. In its November 2013 decision, the WTO panel noted an "inherent flaw in the design and structure" of the Inuit exemption that would allow Greenland Inuit products to enter the EU but not Canadian Inuit products. The 2013 decision called on the EU to address the discriminatory aspects of the legislation.

"From what we can gather from today's appeal finding, the Inuit exemption itself is considered unjustified under Article 20 of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which potentially creates another set of problems with the EU in relation to Indigenous peoples," Audla said. "Nevertheless, I want to clarify that our position from the start has been a rejection of the seal ban regulation as a whole, including all that is contained in it, including the Inuit exemption."

"If the EU substantially and meaningfully consulted with all circumpolar Inuit prior to the entry of the ban, I am more than certain that we would have unanimously advised the EU institutions not to impose a ban," he added. "While Greenland is attempting to implement the exemption, I know that they are in principle against the ban, and are fighting an uphill battle against the negative market impacts the ban has brought to the EU."

Seal populations are abundant, and seal harvests are sustainable in regions where seals are harvested. Animal products are used and traded throughout the world on a regular basis. Seals are no different. The harvest provides important economic value to individuals and communities, as well as sources of income much needed to help sustain livelihoods and ways of life" (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2014).

Appendix B: Excerpt from EC, 2012, p. 74

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[291] Survey prepared by Orb for Respect for Animals, 16 December 2008 (Exhibit EU – 49).
[292] Survey by TNSInfratest for IFAW, February 2009 (Exhibit EU - 50).
[293] Survey by TNO NIPP, July 2006 (Exhibit EU - 51).
[294] Survey by Ipsos-MORI for IFAW, 11 October 2007 (Exhibit EU - 52).
[295] Survey by Dedicated Research for IFAW, May 2006 (Exhibit EU - 53).
[296] Survey by IPSOS for IFAW, 18 October 2007 (Exhibit EU - 54).
[297] Survey by Ipsos-MORI for IFAW, 11 October 2007 (Exhibit EU - 52).
[298] Survey by TNSInfratest for IF|AW, August 2007 (Exhibit EU - 55).
[299] Survey by IPSOS-Mori for IFAW, January 2008 (Exhibit EU - 56).
[300] Survey by TNSAisa for IFAW, February 2008 (Exhibit EU - 57).
[301] A summary of the results of the polls compiled by IFAW is provided as Exhibit EU - 58.
[302] The survey results and the accompanying note by Ipsos MORI are provided as Exhibit EU - 59.

Appendix C: P*e*TA protest against the Canadian Seal Hunt

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**THE EXISTENTIAL STUDENT:
TOWARDS A MODEL OF STUDENT SUCCESS**

Today's students are very diverse but more significantly arrive at university with varying levels of ability and motivation to pursue higher education. This paper explores the higher education experience, specifically business studies, and the various factors which affect student success. Existentialism provides key insights to help us focus on the individual and the challenges he/she faces in making sense of the higher education experience. A model is outlined to strategically understand the student experience and how we can make it a successful and meaningful one.

Introduction

Whether we want to become good parents, teachers, artists, firefighters or just decent people, life can have meaning if we strive to be who we want to be by doing what is necessary to become that person (Baggini, 2005: 116).

Ultimately higher education should be a place and time for students to ponder the big existential questions of life - Who am I? What do I want? How should I live? These are the existential questions we face throughout our lives and we are even more aware of them when we are at a crossroads in our lives and trying to decide which way to go. This is the situation university students find themselves in as they try to figure out their lives and discover their future.

Today's university students are diverse in a number of ways but, most importantly, they arrive at university with varying degrees of ability and commitment to pursue higher education. Some are very well-prepared and have the key skills needed for higher education study while many others are not. Some are totally committed to attaining a university degree and the multi-year investment of time and money while others attend for other reasons. Some have been pressured to attend university by family members or teachers, or simply because they see no other viable option. As a result the transition from high school to university can be problematic and many students have a negative experience with higher education. In this paper we discuss the higher education experience and various factors which affect student success. We use existential concepts to provide key insights into the individual and the challenges she faces in making sense of the higher education experience. We conclude with an heuristic to move towards strategically understanding and influencing the individual higher education experience.

Student Success

Students are flocking to college because the world is more complex, turbulent, and more reliant on knowledge than ever before. But educational practices invented when higher education served only the few are increasingly disconnected from the needs of contemporary students. (Greater Expectations, 2002: viii)

Today's students are extremely diverse in a multitude of ways – culture, age, socio-economic background, education, and life experiences (AACSB Business School Data Trends, 2013; AUCC Trends in Higher Education, 2011; Gudrais, 2011; Statistics Canada). They arrive at university with varying degrees of preparation, support, and commitment for higher education (ACT, 2008; Crosling, Heagney & Thomas, 2009; Lotkowski, Robbins & Noeth, 2004; Richardson, Abraham & Bond, 2012; Twenge, 2009). Some are well-prepared, have strong support networks, and are very committed to higher education while others are deficient in one or more of these areas. Some students have a clear goal and are extremely motivated while others may wonder why they're even going to university. Indeed we note anecdotally that increasingly our (the authors) students seem to be in business related studies as an unarticulated and incomplete personal answer to the question as to how to pragmatically live ones life.

For many students the transition from high school to university is a difficult one for a variety of reasons. Many now arrive at university lacking in key fundamental skills, without good support systems, and under enormous pressure to succeed. As a result they experience high levels of anxiety and stress (Conley, 2007; Hunter, 2006; Kantanis, 2000; Krause, 2005; Kuh, 2007, 2009; Kuh, Cruce, Shoup, Kinzie & Gonyea, 2008; Parker, Summerfeldt, Hogan & Majeski, 2004; Pritchard & Wilson, 2003; Wilcox, Winn & Fyvie-Gauld, 2005).

> First-year students are confronted with a variety of new personal and interpersonal challenges. Along with the need to make new relationships (especially if the student attends a university or college outside of their hometown), they must also modify existing relationships with parents and friends (e.g. learn to be more independent). They also need to learn study habits for a relatively new academic environment (one that typically involves more independence than was experienced in high school). (Parker, Summerfeldt, Hogan & Majeski, 2004: 170)

The definition of exactly what constitutes "student success" is debated, argued by scholars and lay people alike, and there are various ways used to define success in higher education. At the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education Research Policy Symposium held in 2013 the following were listed as being relevant to student success - gaining employment, gaining employment related to field of study, satisfied students, graduation, critical thinking, obtaining an education, satisfied employers, desire to gain knowledge, becoming a better engaged citizen, satisfied graduates, gaining opportunities to enroll in other programming, and contributing to meaningful research (OISE). According to Kuh et al, "Student success is defined as academic achievement; engagement in educationally purposeful activities; satisfaction; acquisition of desired knowledge, skills, and competencies; persistence; and attainment of educational objectives" (Kuh, Kinzie, Buckley, Bridges & Hayek, 2007: 10). Most scholars, therefore, would agree that while academic success such as meeting a goal GPA and remaining in school are important, there are other factors that need to be taken into consideration as well. "The degree to which students experience campus life as coherent or fragmented, linked or separate, depends on a number of factors; institutional size, mission, core values, and, to some degree, student attitudes and expectations" (Barefoot, 2000: 16).

One way to view academic success is using the performance formula, "Performance = Ability x Motivation" (Alarcon & Edwards, 2013; Cerasloi, 2014; Pinder, 2011). Students need both the ability to

successfully complete courses and the motivation to apply their ability. To help students be successful, in terms of ability and motivation, universities and colleges are employing a variety of programs including orientation programs, study skills training, student success courses, supplemental instruction, mentoring, career counselling, and other undertakings. "Student Success Centres" are springing up at many Canadian universities in one form or another. The first year experience is especially being targeted as students are adjusting to university and the first year sets the groundwork for future years (Jamelske, 2009).

These various attempts to address the challenges of today's students are positive initiatives, however, the problem of student success has become increasingly more complex. Moreover, in the context of professional training, research describes a nuanced series of contextual factor. Gegenfurtner's (2011) meta-analysis of motivation and transfer in professional training described higher correlations with motivation and transfer when knowledge is declarative and self-regulatory, not procedural in nature. Important to our argument is also the finding that learner centered rather than knowledge centered environments show greater positive correlations with measures related to transfer in professional training. Considering the most extreme form of lack of student engagement, Barefoot (2000: 14) notes, "Student attrition and retention are complex phenomena with many root causes." The most significant limitation is that the various initiatives only address part of the problem and fail to take into account the diverse needs of individual students. They also focus for the most part on academic success and ignore other aspects that may affect whether or not one completes higher education. Many students may be successful in their studies yet be very unhappy with their life overall and drop out for various reasons. In order to fully understand the student experience we must include the greater discussion of what makes a life meaningful at any point in time.

Existentialism

> The *search for meaning, emboldened by values that point to but never reach the eternal is too often obscured by our lives of habit and diversion. We must learn to appreciate life as an endlessly dynamic process of change, not a fixed state. We must understand that a robustly meaningful life, married to a joyous or peaceful psychological condition that is earned, defines high aspirations. And then we must live.* (Belliotti, 2001: 91)

The literature on meaning in life is vast and varied, and there are many views on what makes a life meaningful (Baggini, 2005; Baumeister, 1991; Belliotti, 2001; Cottingham, 2003; MacMillan, 2009). To understand meaning we need to consider both the macro view or long-term picture of one's life, and the micro or daily view of life; people need to feel that their overall life is a meaningful and at the same time, feel that their daily living is meaningful (Belliotti, 2001).

One substantial way to understand the daily experience of life and how we make sense of our lives overall is through the use of existential philosophy. Existentialism "attempts to understand how events in life fit into a larger context…involves the process of creating and discovering meaning, which is facilitated by a sense of coherence (order, reason for existence) and a sense of purpose (mission in life, direction)" (Reker & Chamberlain, 2000: 1). Existentialism focuses on the individual, argues that human meaning is a subjective experience, that the goal of human existence is the meaningful or authentic life, and that the individual self is continually being formed through choices and daily experience. Existentialism also emphasizes that since lives are continually being lived and contingent on many factors over a lifetime, the challenge of creating an authentic or meaningful existence is a continual process (Kierkegaard, 1956; Heidegger, 1967; Reynolds, 2006; Sartre, 1956). MacMillan (2009) emphasized three factors based on existentialism that contribute to how one understands work and which also apply to the educational

experience – "actioning beliefs", "being-with-others", and "everdayness."

Firstly, education is an opportunity to put "beliefs in action," where a person may "choose" to action his or her beliefs, and by these experiences, attempt to fulfill inner desires and live authentically. The career objective and the degree of study must therefore match with the beliefs and values of the student. A person may choose to be a teacher as they believe strongly in educating young people or an artist if they value creativity. Students need to feel that their time at university is a means to achieving their overall goals of life. This includes being satisfied with one's overall direction in life and with the pieces or components of life fitting together (MacMillan, 2009). It also usually means the feeling that you are part of something (belongingness) which highlights the importance of friendship and a sense of community. However, we do not exist in isolation but are influenced by many factors: family, beliefs about meaning, values, friends, and social norms, e.g., contribution. "A self worth wanting – a 'complete', 'emotional', 'moral' sort of thing, to which adjective such as 'true' or 'authentic, tend to be attached – is something with a character; where emotions, decisions, actions and reactions spring from a reasonably coherent cluster of beliefs and values" (Wilkes, 1999: 29). Ultimately higher education should be a place and time for students to ponder the big existential questions of life - Who am I? What do I want? How should I live? These are the existential questions we face throughout our lives and we are even more aware of them when we are at a crossroads in our lives and trying to decide which way to go. This is the situation university students find themselves in as they try to figure out their lives and their future.

Secondly, our lives are about experiencing other people, i.e., "being-with-others" (Sartre, 1956). Since the self is influenced by how others see us, the social aspect can be very significant. The importance of the social component depends on the individual, i.e., the degree to which other people affect our sense of self and how much we enjoy being with others. Some prefer little interaction with others while some only enjoy work when they are around other people. For many people the social aspect of life is the most important one as it provides a "connection" and "belonging" that many individuals seek out. It also means that students feel that they are part of something (belongingness) which highlights the importance of friendship and a sense of community – "relationships that promote a sense of belonging are especially likely to promote a belief that one's life is meaningful" (Lambert, Stillman, Hicks, Kamble, Baumeister & Fincham, (2013: 8). For many students the social aspect of education is perhaps the most important one as it seems to provide a "connection" and "belonging" that most of us tend to seek out.

> The need to belong is one of the core desires that shapes human behaviour: for
> adolescents this need is magnified. It is for this reason that the establishment and
> maintenance of friendship networks is of particular importance. Without friends, students
> have fewer resources at their disposal to assist them in the process of transition to
> university. (Kantanis, 2000: 114)

Thirdly, our lives are about 'everydayness,' the hour to hour daily experience of life where we engage in various activities, and exhibit our self. "Our being is immediately 'in situation:' that is, it arises in enterprises and knows itself first in so far as it is reflected in those enterprises. We discover ourselves then in a world peopled with demands, in the heart of projects 'in the course of realization'" (Sartre, 1956: 39). Students need to have a positive experience each day which means that the daily activities both in and out of the classroom and overall environment must combine for a satisfying and worthwhile experience.

A Strategic Model of Student Success

> *What students **do** during college counts more in terms of desired outcomes than who they are or even where they go to college.* (Kuh, 2001: 1)

Existentialism provides key insights on the individual and the challenges he/she faces in making sense of the higher education experience. The higher education experience is multifaceted but there are four questions at minimum which need to be addressed – Does the individual have the basic skills needed to be successful in higher education courses? Does the university environment (in and out of the classroom) support the individual? Does the individual see the relevance in his/her courses and the connection of the degree of study to overall life goals? Is the individual engaged in the daily process of education? These questions highlight the importance of strong self-leadership skills, a supportive environment, a relevant curriculum, and ultimately, student engagement. Self-leadership skills and a supportive environment are key components of student academic success. A personally relevant curriculum positively moderates the motivation to knowledge transfer relationship (Gegenfurtner, 2011). Similar to Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs model, these four factors can be placed on a pyramid with self-leadership skills at the bottom, a supportive environment as level two, a relevant curriculum as level three, and engagement at the pinnacle.
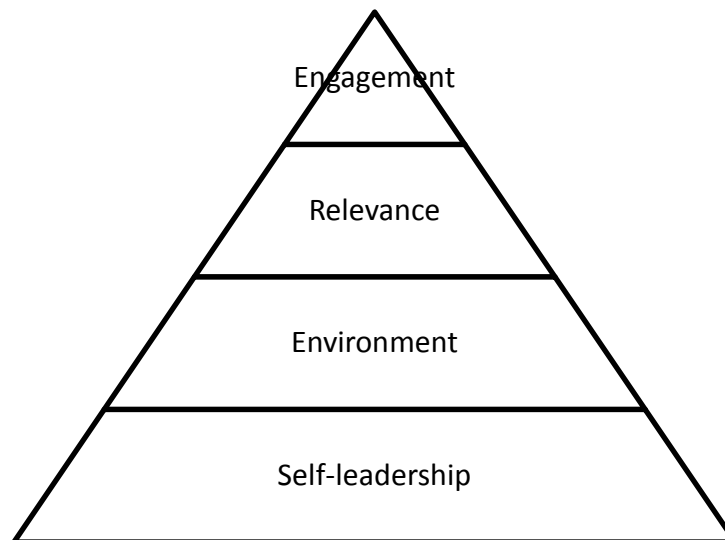
Self-Leadership Skills

Firstly, students need to have the necessary knowledge, skills and abilities to be successful in the classroom. Without the basic foundation skills to be academically successful education will be a frustrating and very difficult experience. In addition to the skills needed to complete university courses, students also need to be able to maintain a multi-year academic focus, to ask for help when needed, and be able to deal with the anxiety and stress that comes with university. All of these demands highlight the need for self-leadership skills - emotional intelligence, cultural intelligence, interpersonal skills, problem-solving skills, critical thinking, self-efficacy, time management, and stress management (Richardson, Abraham & Bond, 2012; Robbins, Allen, Casillas, Peterson & Le, 2006). Optimally students would arrive at university with a strong foundation in the key self-leadership skills but many students today are deficient in one or more of them (Byrd & MacDonald, 2005; Kuh, 2007; Parker, Summerfeldt, Hogan & Majeski, 2004; Peterson, Casillas & Robbins, 2006). Typical university course requirements include completing assignments, attending and participating in class, performing well on individual and group projects, doing individual and group presentations, and studying effectively for test and exams. These

tasks all require fundamental key abilities, e.g., attending classes requires discipline and responsibility, doing assignments requires writing ability, time management, performing well in groups requires interpersonal skills and the ability to work well in a multicultural environment, participating in class requires self-efficacy, and doing presentations requiring speaking skills. This means that universities must ensure that self-leadership skills are taught to students starting in first year.

Supportive Environment

Secondly, students need to have a supportive environment throughout their higher education experience. In "*It takes a village*" (1996) Hillary Clinton emphasized that youth needed support from a variety of areas in order to be successful growing up. This same philosophy can be applied to education as students need others to support them throughout the higher education process. This includes having friends, knowing their classmates, being comfortable with their professors, and having a mentor(s) to inspire them.

> In his 1993 book, *What Matters in College*, Alexander Astin reviewed the literature on college teaching, finding two things that made the biggest difference in getting students involved in the under-graduate experience: greater faculty-student interaction and greater student-student interaction. Though learning student names may seem a trivial matter in the entire university enterprise, it is a powerful means to foster both of these interactions. (Middendorf & Osborn, 1997)

In their study on Canada's "Performance and Potential in International Education" (2012), the Canadian Bureau for International Education (CBIE) found that 58 percent of international students had few Canadian friends. With an ever-increasing number of international students at Canadian universities this is a major cause for concern. We are social beings with a strong "need to belong" and social exclusion has a significant negative effect (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Lambert, Stillman, Hicks, Kamble, Baumeister & Fincham, 2013; Twenge, Baumeister, Tice & Stucke, 2001). Baumeister & leary (1995: 522) note, "human beings are fundamentally and pervasively motivated by a need to belong, that is, by a strong desire to form and maintain enduring interpersonal attachments. People seek frequent, affectively positive interactions within the context of long-term, caring relationships." Knowing one's classmates has a number of implications as they provide on-going support and make courses simply more enjoyable as they will feel a part of something. A general assumption may be that students naturally make friends and integrate easily into campus life but there are many students that don't integrate easily and are alienated on campus.

> When new students enter university, feeling lonely and homesick is a common experience… In this transitional phase students have an urgent need to belong, to identify with others, to find a safe place and to negotiate their new identities as university students, and friendship is about having friendly faces around and making initial contacts which may or may not develop into friendships. (Wilcox, Winn & Fyvie-Gauld, 2005: 713)

Students also need to have a positive relationship with their professors as a strong relationship provides benefits to both the student and the faculty. "If an employed graduate had a professor who cared about them as a person, one who made them excited about learning, *and* had a mentor who encouraged them to pursue their dreams, the graduate's odds of being engaged at work more than doubled. Only 14% of graduates have had all three" (Gallup Perdue Index Report, 2014: 7). Faculty also tend to me more engaged when they know their students. "When teachers know the young people they work with, they're

more likely to focus on students' growth and possibilities" (Chhuon & Wallace, 2014: 396). Support also includes having university (academic and non-academic) support systems and intervention programs available as needed.

> Because students generally benefit most from early interventions and sustained attention at key transition points, faculty and staff should clarify institutional values and expectations early and often to prospective and matriculating students. To do this effectively, a school must first understand who its students are, what they are prepared to do academically, and what they expect of the institution and themselves. (Kuh, Cruce, Shoup, Kinzie & Gonyea, 2008: 555)

Most students will struggle at some point in their academic life and will need assistance in any number of ways.

Relevance

Thirdly, students need to see the relevance of their university education; to connect what they are experiencing at university, in the classroom and outside of the classroom, with their post-university plans. It is demotivating for anyone, but especially students, when their hard work is not aligned with their objectives and they do not see the point behind their efforts.

> Today's students frequently need the purpose and meaning of activities spelled out for them. Previous generations had a sense of duty and would often do what they were told without asking why. Most young people no longer respond to appeals to duty; instead, they want to know exactly why they are doing something and want to feel they are having a personal impact. This is an opportunity: if young people understand the deeper meaning behind a task, they can bring their energy and passion to bear on it. (Twenge, 2009: 404).

This means that the core objectives of the degree of study need to be clearly articulated to students and supported by the year to year curriculum. Additionally, each course needs to have clear objectives which align with the overall core objectives. The objective should also include the basic employability skills valued by Canadian employers. The Conference Board of Canada lists the following as the key employability skills: Fundamental skills – communicate, manage information, use numbers, think and solve problems; Personal management skills – demonstrate positive attitudes and behaviours, be responsible, be adaptable, learn continuously, work safely; and;, Teamwork skills – work with others, participate in projects and tasks. These skills need to be emphasized throughout all degree programs in addition to the specific content area objectives. When students can draw a clear line between what they experience each day in the classroom with the core objectives needed upon graduation then they will be more motivated.

Engagement

Lastly, the ultimate goal is for students to be engaged and actively participating in their studies. Student engagement is a complex construct and dependent on many factors (Kuh, 2009; Kuh, Cruce, Shoup, Kinzie & Gonyea, 2008; Trowler, 2010; Zepke & Leach, 2010). Kuh (2009: 683) defines student engagement as "the time and effort students devote to activities that are empirically linked to desired outcomes of college *and* what institutions do to induce students to participate in these activities." This can also include taking part in activities beyond the classroom such as university clubs/societies, student leader programs, part-time and volunteer work on campus, volunteer work, and taking part in case competitions and research. Barefoot (2000: 16) notes that, "many faculty who teach first-year courses and

who believe in the importance of student involvement are including "involvement requirement" on course syllabi, building into regular courses out-of-class activities that have historically been optional and under the purview of student affairs." Having self-leadership skills, a supportive environment, and relevant curriculum should provide a foundation which will lead to overall engagement in their courses and other university activities.

Conclusion

In this paper we discussed student success and the overall higher education experience. Existentialism has been used to help us focus on the individual student experience and the factors that affect the overall higher education experience. This leads us to a model that articulates the core components of the individual experience consisting of self-leadership skills, a supportive environment, a relevant curriculum, and engagement with studies. It is apparent that a "one size fits all" approach is not; student abilities and needs are too diverse. Our model emphasizes the requirement to view the higher education experience comprehensively, considering both the ability and motivation of the individual student. This ultimately means that universities need to create mechanisms to monitor students so that we can more effectively direct our efforts to ensure that each individual experiences success. This is the major challenge of higher education in the twenty-first century.

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ROUGH TRADE:
BIG ROCK BREWING COMPANY INC.
AND THE CANADIAN BREWING INDUSTRY

Neil Maltby, Jennifer Alex, and Mark MacIsaac wrote this case solely to provide material for class discussion. The authors do not intend to illustrate either effective or ineffective handling of a managerial situation. The authors may have disguised certain names and other identifying information to protect confidentiality.

Editor's Note: *A comprehensive teaching note for this case is available upon request from ellen.shaffner@smu.ca or the authors.*

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In December of 2015, Bob Sartor, CEO of the Big Rock Brewing Company Inc. ("Big Rock") addressed his shareholders in the CEO's message of the annual report. Over the past two years, Big Rock's financial position had deteriorated. In his message, Sartor remarked:

> "Fiscal 2015 saw some significant unplanned erosion in profitability despite a healthy sales increase. This was caused by three factors
> - Changes to the Alberta Government's beer policies. There were two revisions to beer policies, one in March that added approximately $1.5 million in additional taxes to the company, and another in October that introduced a new tax structure that will increase taxation as we grow our business
> - Larger than planned start-up costs for our new B.C. brewery and higher sales costs in B.C.
> - The state of the Alberta economy, the result of which was a deliberate consumer shift to lower priced beer which depressed margins[1]"

Sartor was not the only one addressing challenges in the industry. At their meeting in July 2016, the provincial premiers discussed inter-provincial trade barriers in industries including beer and wine. Consumption rates were down in many provinces, large breweries were buying up smaller rivals, and government policies about the industry were in the spotlight. While growth in microbreweries had reached unprecedented levels, the volume of beer consumed was stagnant. Although Alberta was a good market to sell beer in based on consumption per capita, it constituted only about 12% of the total Canadian market. To access other markets, Big Rock launched initiatives in British Colombia, Toronto and even Korea. Despite this expansion, Alberta remained at the core of Big Rock's business, in part because of the challenges of accessing other markets.

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CANADA BEER INDUSTRY OVERVIEW

Europeans introduced beer to Canada in the seventeenth century, and today it is an important part of Canadian culture. According to Food Republic, Canadians ranked 25th globally in per capita beer 2014 consumption[2], with consumption among adults (aged 15+) at 75.48 litres per capita in 2014[3]. As a point of reference, milk consumption among all Canadians was 74.17 per capita in the same year[4]. The Canadian beer market was valued at $11.7 billion in 2014, up 1.7% from the previous year and representing compound annual growth of 0.6% from $11.4 billion in 2010[5]. This modest growth in value was a reflection of increases in price rather than amount of beer sold; total sales by volume actually fell from 23 million hectoliters (hL) in 2010 to 22.5 million hL in 2014[6]. The contraction in volume beer sales was attributed to declining consumption and escalating competition from substitutes[7] such as wine, cider and coolers. Brewing giants AB InBev and Molson Coors held 84.4% of the total market in 2014, with shares of 44.2% and 40.2% respectively[8].

Despite a relatively stagnant market and the dominance of large players, the number of small brewers in Canada was expanding rapidly. There were 520 licensed breweries in 2014, up from only 55 breweries in 1994 and up nearly 70% from 310 breweries 2010. Small breweries held an increasing portion of the Canadian beer market, with consumers buying less beer in favour of higher-quality brands. Volume production of breweries making less than 100,000 hectolitres per year had increased 70% from 2009 to 2014, from 1.18 million to 2.01 hL. By contrast, volume production of breweries producing more than 100,000 hL per year had decreased 6%[9]. The majority of new brewers were considerably smaller than the 100,000 hL benchmark. Three quarters of the breweries founded since 2010 had 2014 production of less than 2,000 hL, and 95% of the new breweries produced 15,000 hL or less[10]. These small breweries were typically producers of craft beers, including lagers, ales, pilsners, and stouts. Please refer to Exhibit 1: Number of Licensed Canadian Breweries by Production Level, hL. While the term "craft beer" was not subject to strict definition in Canada, it was clear that interest in this segment was as high as it ever had been and was poised for further growth.

ALBERTA BEER INDUSTRY OVERVIEW

Alberta had an important place in the consumption of beer in Canada. As of 2015 Alberta's population of 4,196,500 people represented 11.7% of Canada's population, yet Alberta consumed 12.2% or 2.78 million hL of beer[11] [12]. Indeed, legal age consumption of 84.6L per capita put Alberta as the 3rd biggest consuming province behind Newfoundland and Quebec and fourth by volume behind Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia. Per capita consumption and volume sales data is available in Exhibit 2: Per Capita Consumption of Beer (Legal Drinking Age Population) in L and Exhibit 3: Canadian and Imported Beer

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[2] Ranked: 50 Countries That Drink The Most Beer Around The World, Food Republic Infographic retrieved March 15, 2017 from http://www.foodrepublic.com/2014/09/29/ranked-50-countries-that-drink-the-most-beer-around-the-world/

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[12] Statistics Canada (2016) accessed July 20, 2016 from http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/demo02a-eng.htm

Sales Ranked by Market Size in hL, 2010 and 2015. There was, however, an unfortunate trend. Per capita consumption in Alberta was down 2.7% year over year in 2015. Over a five-year period each person in Alberta drank 6L of beer less in 2015 than they did in 2011. Only Newfoundland experienced as drastic a drop in consumption.

In terms of production, Alberta was home to over forty craft breweries and brew pubs[13]. The province witnessed the emergence of several craft brewers in the mid-eighties as consumers began to explore beer produced by small, traditional brewers. Yet, of more importance to Alberta, the number of brewery openings in the province was proportionally small relative to its population and market size. By 2015 only 6.2% of all breweries in Canada were located in Alberta. While 2014 and 2015 saw the number of breweries nearly double, there was clearly a gap between consumption and production. Please refer to Exhibit 4: Number of Licensed Breweries by Province/Territory, 2011-2015.

Several of the best known craft brewers in Canada emerged from Alberta, including Alley Cat Brewing Company and Wild Rose Brewing. Perhaps the best known brewer from the province, and, one of only three publicly-traded brewers in the country, was Big Rock Brewing Company Ltd.

BIG ROCK BREWING COMPANY INC.

Based in Calgary, Big Rock was one of Canada's producers of "premium, all-natural craft beers"[14]. Their products were sold across Canada and even exported to Korea[15] . Big Rock was listed on the Toronto Stock Exchange (BR) and the Over-the-Counter markets (BRBMF). The company was expanding rapidly, having just opened another brewery and restaurant in British Columbia and a brewery and the Beer House of Worship restaurant in Ontario. The company has also established a pub in Seoul, South Korea.

Big Rock sold its first beer in 1985. Over their thirty-year history, Big Rock grew into one of Canada's leading craft beer producers with sales of almost $40 million for the year ended 2015. They had a strong and diverse portfolio of beers including 12 flavours in their signature series, another 4 offered seasonally and a new option that was barrel-aged. With a mission to "brew deliberately different beer"[16], Big Rock primarily operated in Western Canada with breweries in Alberta and British Columbia. Listing in the US allowed the company to expand according to founder and then president Ed McNally. **"**Expanding our plant will allow Big Rock Brewery to meet the growing demands of our markets in Alberta, Seattle, Washington and San Francisco and Los Angeles, Calif.[17]" However, their new geographic focus was on the Ontario market to meet the goal of "all of our beer sold in Ontario, brewed in Ontario"[18]. As Ontario had the largest market for beer sales of all the provinces in Canada, time will tell if this decision helped the company overcome the struggles of the Albertan economy.

The last three years had resulted in deteriorating financial performance for Big Rock, especially in terms of profitability and stock performance. Notably, 2015 produced a $1,075,000 loss and the firms market capitalization fell from just over $105,000,000 in December 2013 to about $34,000,000 in December

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[14] Big Rock Brewery Inc. 2015 Annual Report
[15] Ibid
[16] http://bigrockbeer.com/brewery/history-of-big-rock
[17] HTTP://WWW.THEFREELIBRARY.COM/BIG+ROCK+BREWERY+NETS+$2.1+MILLION+FROM+INITIAL+SHARE+OFFERING-A012351554.

[18] Big Rock BreweryInc. 2015 Annual report

2015 as the company's stock price plummeted. Please refer to Exhibit 5: Selected Financials from Big Rock Brewery and Exhibit 6: Five-Year Big Rock Stock Price History. According to the company's CEO, these losses were due to external challenges, one of which was the state of the Alberta economy.

ECONOMY AND CHALLENGES

Once the juggernaut of Canada, Alberta's economy went bust in 2016. Long dependent on energy and related sectors, Alberta faced widespread economic challenges in the wake of the drop in oil prices. Please refer to Exhibit 7: 5 Year Oil Prices. Indicative of those challenges, the Alberta Treasury Board and Finance Department described the provinces economic woes as follows:

> The oil price shock continues to spread beyond the energy sector to other areas of
> the Alberta economy. The housing market has weakened further this year,
> construction activity is waning, and manufacturing shipments have experienced
> broad-based declines. The pullback in activity in the province is weighing on the
> labour market, and employment losses accelerated in the second quarter[19].

Further to the Treasury Boards comments, employment dropped 2.3% year over year, housing starts dropped by 31.7%, manufacturing shipments dropped by 11.8% and exports by 26.2%[20]. The situation was gravely affected by wildfires that shut down the northern part of the province during the spring.

For brewers, the situation was also challenging. Total sales of beer in Alberta experienced a 1.1% drop year over year, while over a five-year period consumption dropped from 90.89L to 84.65L per capita[21]. Adding to the challenges was the widely-held view that Alberta's tax policy was undermining its brewers' ability to compete with out-of-province rivals, a challenge aggravated by protectionism and monopolies in the beer industry.

PROTECTIONISM, MONOPOLIES AND POLITICS IN THE BEER INDUSTRY

It was a surprise to many consumers and beer producers that Canadians were not free to ship alcohol across provincial borders. While Canada held free trade agreements with over 50 countries and was a founding member of the World Trade Organization[22], free trade of alcohol did not exist between provinces. In 1928 the federal government created an Importation of Intoxicating Liquors Act to regulate the movement of alcohol in or out of provinces. The laws were enacted to regulate 'inter-provincial bottlegging' in the aftermath of prohibition as different provinces changed laws at different times[23]. The law created provincial monopolies for the distribution and pricing of alcohol. According to wine historian Mark Hicken, the major reason those laws remained in force, however, was financial. "The liquor boards want to maintain absolute control over all liquor in their jurisdiction so they can levy a liquor board markup on it"[24]. A markup is an increase in price set by the liquor board that raises the price of alcohol for consumers and provided lucrative revenue for the provinces. The revenue from markups greatly

[19] Alberta Treasury Board and Finance Department (2016). "Economic Trends: July 2016" accessed July 20, 2016 from
http://finance.alberta.ca/aboutalberta/economic-trends/current-economic-trends.pdf
[20] I.b.i.d
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www.cbc.ca/news/canada/canada-s-complex-liquor-laws-under-spotlight-in-new-brunswick-trial-1.3203101
[24] Mayer, Andrew (2011). "Canada's weird liquor laws". Accessed August 1, 2016 from www.cbc.ca/news/canada/canada-s-weird-liquor-laws-1.1004724

exceeded revenue from taxes. Over the years the provinces created their own policies about pricing, distribution, access to points of sale and costs of service, and utilized other forms of protectionism such as subsidizing local producers. The industry association for brewers, Beer Canada, documented such inter-provincial barriers in its publication titled "A Report Identifying Inter-provincial Trade Barriers in the Canadian Beer Industry".

A legal case in New Brunswick brought these issues to light. Retired steelworker Gerard Comeau was arrested for transporting too much beer and alcohol from Quebec to New Brunswick. Quebecois prices made it attractive for many New Brunswickers to cross the border. Comeau's defense attacked the charges by claiming the federal and provincial laws promoted protectionism – restricted sale of goods and services – and that this contravened the British North America Act of 1867 (BNA) on which the country was built. Testifying for the defense, Dr. Andrew Smith of the University of Liverpool pointed to Section 121 of the BNA that indicated all goods of any province should be admitted freely into other provinces[25]. Judge Ronald LeBlanc agreed. LeBlanc ruled the provinces restrictions on bringing alcohol into New Brunswick violated the Constitution's free-trade provisions[26].

The barriers to inter-provincial trade gained considerable attention in the aftermath of the trial. Canada's premiers put the topic at the top of the agenda for their meeting in Yukon in July. And while they reached an 'unprecedented' free-trade deal to deregulate and harmonize product and service trade across provinces, sensitive items like beer were not covered. Wine-producers in BC, Ontario and Quebec fared somewhat better. The premiers and liquor boards were concerned that free trade of alcohol and 'unfettered online ordering' in Canadian markets would open direct ordering of foreign alcohol producers[27]. In February 2016 Beer Canada made a formal request for an excise duty reduction on beer by 13.5% in budget 2016 to restore the excise differential between beer and coolers[28].

BEER MARKUP AND TAXES IN ALBERTA

Based on the Beer Canada report, the Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission (AGLC) appeared to operate a relatively open alcohol environment in terms of mark up and taxes compared to the other provinces[29]. Initially Big Rock President Bill MacKenzie expressed support for the AGLC's policies [30]. In 2010, the company's tax savings were $8.9 million based on sales of 153,000 hL[31]. However, the AGLC's policies also applied to those out-of-province rivals that sold beer in Alberta. Some of those firms were able to leverage local production incentives and local market protectionism in addition to benefiting from the Alberta small brewer mark-up program. In effect the environment reduced the barriers to entry for non-Albertan brewers while ignoring the challenges Albertan brewers faced in trying to access other provincial markets. Kevin Wood, the co-owner of the Drummond Brewing Company in Red

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[25] CBC (2015). "Canada's liquor laws go against spirit of Confederation, historian testifies". Accessed August 1, 2016 from www.cbc.ca/news/canada/new-brunswick/canada-s-liquor-laws-go-against-spirit-of-confederation-historian-testifies-1.3204212

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[30] Menzies, David. (2011). "Alberta's strange brew". Accessed July 14, 2016 from www.macleans.ca/economy/business

[31] I.b.i.d.

Deer, noted; "In economic terms, it makes sense to set up manufacturing facilities in other locations. There's really no advantage to brewing in Alberta whatsoever"[32].

In response to criticism about the policy, the provincial government made some changes in July 2016. The AGLC increased its beer markup $1.25 per L; previously, it had been as low as $0.20 per L based on brewer production volumes. As a result of the changes, firms with less than 200,000 hL of production faced the same tax scheme as larger firms, and foreign producers faced the same policy as Albertan producers. Speaking about the change, Finance Minister Joe Ceci indicated; "If you're producing beer and it's coming into this province, everyone is being treated the same. That's our direction"[33]. While treating all firms the same in terms of tax, the AGLC also introduced grants to Albertan brewers to support growth of beer producers. In response to the change, the Alberta Small Brewers Association, a not-for-profit organization representing breweries in the province, offered support for the change, writing that "…changes to the beer markup signals an understanding of the unique needs of the small and medium sized businesses that characterize Alberta's growing brewing industry"[34]. The full text of the Association's response is available in Exhibit 8: Association Response to Alberta Beer Mark-up Changes.

Companies and politicians from outside Alberta expressed concern. Saskatchewan Liquor and Gaming Authority (SLGA) minister Don McMorris indicated Alberta beers may be subject to new mark-ups in retaliation[35]. In B.C., Central City Brewing indicated the change would cost them 'upwards of $100,000' in new taxation[36]. And yet, Alberta's policies led to a wide selection of Saskatchewan and BC craft brews while Albertan offerings in those provinces are quite limited:

> In Alberta, you can buy products from half of Saskatchewan's eight craft breweries, as well as beer from larger independents like Great Western, while just two of the 30 Alberta Small Brewers Association brands are stocked in Saskatchewan government stores, including Big Rock and Wild Rose. In British Columbia, only Calgary-based Big Rock is available in provincial stores, compared to more than 30 B.C. craft beers currently stocked in Alberta[37].

While the AGLC may have been trying to promote development in its local craft beer industry and support exports to other provinces and countries, it faced the same constitutional attacks that characterized the defence of Gerard Comeau in New Brunswick. In her December 15, 2015 National Post article about the ALGA's tax change, Marni Soupcoff, the Executive Director of the Canadian Constitution Foundation, argued the Constitution "simply doesn't allow it to block other province's imports"[38]. And so the policy wrangling continued.

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[32] Tyler Dilfer (2015). "Craft brewing conundrum – An introduction to Alberta's beer mark-up policy" Accessed July 20, 2016 from http://www.albertabarley.com/craft-brewing-conundrum-an-introduction-to-albertas-beer-mark-up-policy/
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[38] Soupcoff, Marni. (2015). "Marni Soupcoff: Sorry Alberta – let the beer in". Accessed July 16, 2016 from http:news.nationalpost.com/full-comment/marni-soupcoff-sorry-alberta-let-the-beer-in

CONCLUSION

According to Bob Sartor, Big Rock's financial position had deteriorated and the industry was a significant contributing factor to his firm's performance. In the role of an industry analyst, analyze Bob Sartor's assessment of the situation. How did Big Rock perform financially? What does a PESTLE analysis indicate about the external environment of the craft beer industry? From a broader perspective, was the craft beer environment in Alberta and across Canada an open market? Should it be? What strategic consequences result from the analysis for Big Rock?

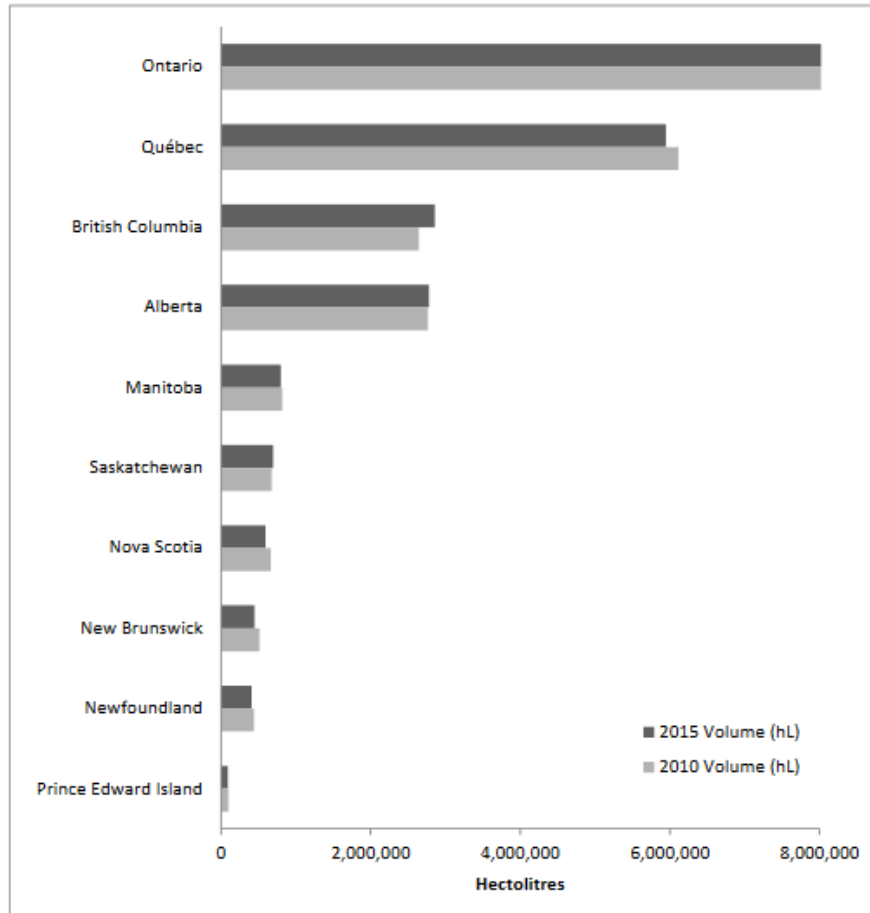**EXHIBIT 1: NUMBER OF LICENSED CANADIAN BREWERIES BY PRODUCTION LEVEL, HL**
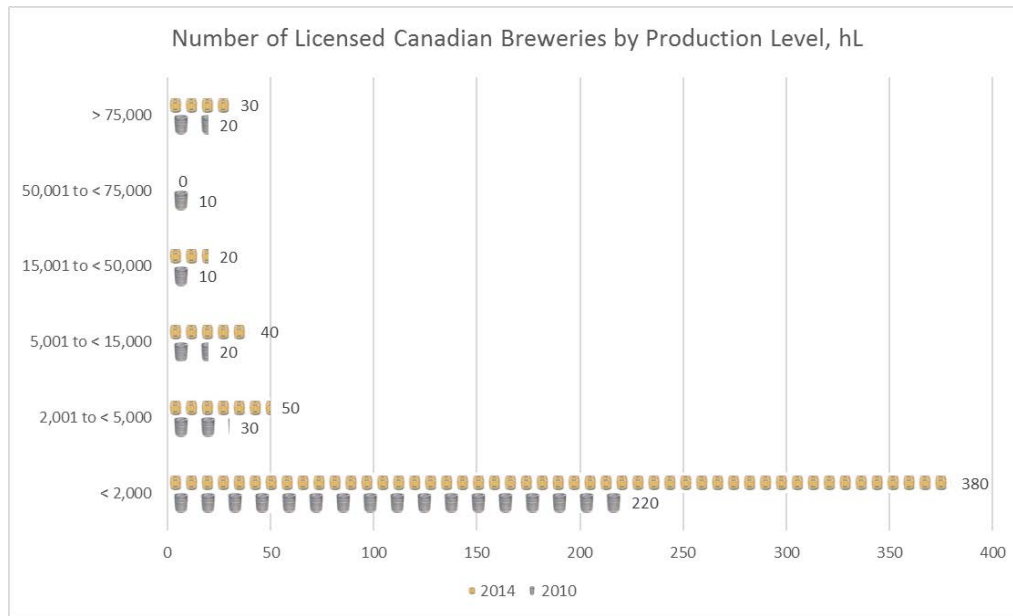
Source: Beer Canada

EXHIBIT 2: PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF BEER (LEGAL DRINKING AGE POPULATION) IN L, 2011-2015

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	% Change
Newfoundland	100.18	101.94	97.75	97.17	94.85	-2.4
New Brunswick	78.69	74.09	72.92	72.39	72.72	0.5
PEI	81.01	81.6	78.07	76.98	76.51	-0.6
Nova Scotia	83.61	83.1	80.1	77.96	77.31	-0.8
Quebec	95.68	93.52	90.27	88.7	88.2	-0.6
Ontario	78.34	78.15	75.19	73.33	73.52	0.2
Manitoba	87.24	84.73	79.93	77.3	77.5	0.3
Saskatchewan	84.1	85.31	82.94	80.65	80.75	0.1
Alberta	90.18	90.21	88.68	87.04	84.65	-2.7
British Columbia	74.71	73.33	73.24	73.77	75.4	2.2
Yukon	143.4	137.15	133.7	128.17	127.69	-0.4
NWT/Nunavut	68.79	76.47	72.2	71.01	70.43	-0.8
Canada	84.33	83.44	80.92	79.48	79.32	-0.2

Source: Beer Canada

EXHIBIT 3: CANADIAN AND IMPORTED BEER SALES RANKED BY MARKET SIZE IN HL, 2010 AND 2015

Source: Beer Canada

EXHIBIT 4: NUMBER OF LICENSED BREWERIES BY PROVINCE/TERRITORY, 2011-2015

|	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**
Newfoundland	na	na	na	na	4
New Brunswick	na	10	10	20	30
PEI	na	na	na	na	4
Nova Scotia	10	20	20	30	40
Quebec	100	110	130	140	160
Ontario	70	90	110	150	200
Manitoba	na	na	na	na	3
Saskatchewan	40	40	40	40	40
Alberta	20	30	20	30	40
British Columbia	60	70	80	100	120
Yukon	na	na	na	na	2
NWT/Nunavut	na	na	na	na	1
Total	330	370	430	520	644

Source: BeerCanada and Canada Revenue Agency Note: For confidentiality, some counts and quantities are rounded to the nearest ten, na = <5 breweries in the province for that year.

EXHIBIT 5: SELECTED FINANCIALS FROM BIG ROCK BREWERY

Big Rock	2015	2014	2013
Revenue	$ 39,594,000	$ 36,755,000	$ 41,587,000
Cost	$ 21,965,000	$ 18,930,000	$ 20,260,000
Gross Profit	$ 17,629,000	$ 17,825,000	$ 21,327,000
Operating Expenses	$ 18,775,000	$ 17,110,000	$ 18,045,000
EBITDA	$ 1,617,000	$ 2,985,000	$ 6,616,000
Net Profit	$ (1,075,000)	$ 624,000	$ 2,551,000
Current Assets	$ 9,269,000	$ 9,680,000	$ 7,407,000
Inventories	$ 4,935,000	$ 3,813,000	$ 2,983,000
Prepaid Expenses	$ 1,573,000	$ 669,000	$ 754,000
Accounts Rec'ble	$ 2,221,000	$ 1,473,000	$ 1,353,000
Assets	$ 51,315,000	$ 48,167,000	$ 42,657,000
Current Liabilities	$ 5,757,000	$ 4,958,000	$ 7,267,000
Accounts Payable	$ 4,051,000	$ 3,583,000	$ 4,100,000
Liabilities	$ 13,775,000	$ 9,724,000	$ 12,699,000
Equity	$ 37,540,000	$ 38,443,000	$ 29,958,000
ROS	-2.72%	1.70%	6.13%
ROA	-2.09%	1.30%	5.98%
ROE	-2.86%	1.62%	8.52%
EPS	-0.16	0.09	0.42
Current	1.61	1.95	1.02
Quick	0.48	1.05	0.51
Debt/Equity	0.37	0.25	0.42
A/R Turnover	21.44	26.01	--
A/R Turnover (Days)	17.03	14.03	--
A/P Turnover	6.05	5.14	--
A/P Turnover (Days)	60.35	70.96	--
Inventory Turnover	5.02	5.57	--
Inventory Turn (Days)	72.68	65.52	--

Source: Adapted from 2015 & 2014 Annual Reports

EXHIBIT 6: FIVE-YEAR BIG ROCK STOCK PRICE HISTORY
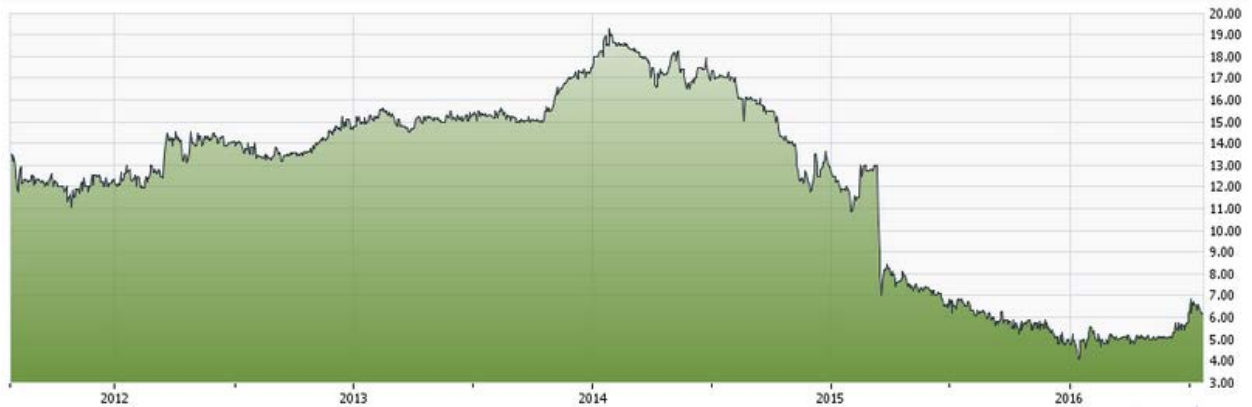
Source: TMX accessed July 22, 2016 from http://web.tmxmoney.com/quote.php?locale=en&qm_symbol=BR

EXHIBIT 7: FIVE-YEAR OIL PRICES

Source: Brent Crude Prices, accessed 23 August 2016 via http://www.bloomberg.com/quote/CO1:COM

EXHIBIT 8: ASSOCIATION RESPONSE TO ALBERTA BEER MARK UP CHANGES

Jul 12, 2016

The Alberta Small Brewers Association (ASBA) appreciates the Government of Alberta's ongoing efforts to make brewing a signature industry for the province. Today's announcement of pending changes to the beer mark up signals an understanding of the unique needs of the small and medium sized businesses that characterize Alberta's growing brewing industry.

At a time when Alberta is looking for good economic news, the number of breweries in Alberta has doubled from 19 to 40 in only two years, with more than a dozen new breweries in planning.
This growth of the brewing industry in the province means good Alberta-based jobs. It means fresher product, made from Alberta barley. And it means new opportunities to attract tourists to the iconic Alberta story, connecting entrepreneurs to our beautiful landscapes and our hard working and passionate farmers.

Because of our unique liquor retail model, Alberta consumers continue to have access to the widest selection of beer from around the world. With these changes, Albertans will have an even stronger local beer selection to choose from, without losing access to the choice they value. We applaud any Federal/Inter-provincial efforts to streamline the flow of beer across the country, and hope Alberta breweries will soon have reciprocal unhindered access to beer markets in other Canadian provinces. "The facts are clear: other provinces have built visible and invisible barriers that restrict Canadian-made beer importation, while privileging their local producers. Only Alberta has an open market. It is time for the rest of Canada to get on board, and we thank the Government of Alberta for their continued support of our industry," said Neil Herbst, Chair of ASBA and owner of Alley Kat Brewing in Edmonton.

ASBA members applaud the consultative approach taken by the Minister and his staff in bringing these changes. We look forward to a continued productive working relationship as details of new programs are ironed out and implemented.

Source: Beer Canada

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