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**SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY AND THE LIVED EXPERIENCE OF BACK OF
THE HOUSE WORKERS IN CANADIAN RESTAURANTS**

Ljubljana, February, 2019

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AUTHORSHIP STATEMENT

The undersigned Marie-Pier Pernice, a student at the University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Economics, (hereafter: FELU), author of this written final work of studies with the title Social Sustainability and the lived experience of back of the house workers in Canadian restaurants, prepared under supervision of Ljubica Knežević

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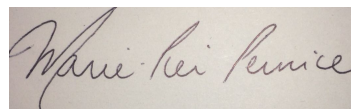
A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Marie-Pier Pernice", written in dark ink on a light-colored rectangular background.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BOH – Back of the house
CEO – Chief Executive Officer
EI – Employment Insurance
FOH – Front of the house
HI – Hospitality Included
IPA – Interpretive phenomenological analysis
NRA – National Restaurant Association
PEI – Prince Edward Island
ROC – Restaurant Opportunities Center
SBN – Sustainable Business Network
SDG – Sustainable Development Goal
US – United States
WSET – Wine & Spirit Education Thrust

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INTRODUCTION

Working in extremely high heat while standing on your feet for more than 10 hours, without many breaks if any, working 60-hour weeks without getting paid any overtime, constant burns and cuts, having to work while sick: these working conditions are unfortunately common “behind the kitchen door” in the North American context (Jayaraman, 2013). Nonetheless, kitchen workers in restaurants in Canada often choose their profession out of passion (McAdams, 2012), go to school for it and work in this industry for a while, often bouncing from one restaurant to another, from one position to another. Oftentimes, they leave the industry between the age of 35 and 44 (Go2HR, 2016: iv). Indeed, according to a labour market report from 2016:

The majority of Cooks (52%) are under 35 and most Chefs (63%) are under 45. There are very few Cooks (14%) or Chefs (12%) over the age of 55. Cooks and Chefs tend to exit their occupations at an early age – of those who had left the industry, the largest grouping (40%) did so between the ages of 35 and 44. (ibid.)

This report’s data was collected in British Columbia, so these numbers do not represent the entirety of Canada’s cook labour market. However, this extensive report pointed out some issues that resonated with the answers provided by the cooks interviewed during this research and with previous Canadian research.

Previous research and surveys have been focused on tipping and the potential for a career in the Canadian restaurant industry (Lauder, 2016), tipping and its impact on restaurant operations (McAdams & von Massow, 2017), tipping behavior in Canada (Angus Reid Institute Public Interest Research, 2016; Maynard & Mupandawana, 2009), the cooking industry’s labour market in British Columbia (Go2HR, 2016), among others. No previous research was found concerning back of the house (BOH) workers’ working conditions in restaurants in Canada. Saru Jayaraman’s best-selling book “Behind the Kitchen Door” was an inspiration and helped to create guidelines for this research, even though the US context has its own particularities in comparison to its northern neighbour (2013).

The main problematic identified are the inequalities faced by BOH employees in the restaurant industry in Canada and the lack of social sustainability within the industry in general: wage theft, underpayment, working when sick or injured, discrimination or sexual harassment (Jayaraman, 2013).

The goal of this research paper is to open up the field of research concerning the BOH’s working conditions in both tipping and non-tipping environments within the framework of

social sustainability. The research is focused on Canadian casual fine dining independent establishments. The aim is to deepen the understanding of the BOH's experience across various restaurants in Canada and to observe the differences of experiences within tipping and non-tipping working environment. The qualitative nature of this research does not allow for generalization but rather it aims to better understand the respondents' lived experience through the lens of interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA). The initial research question was: How do BOH employees in tipping and non-tipping restaurants across Canada perceive social sustainability in their workplace? Due to a lack of availability from non-tipping restaurants BOH workers, the research question was then modified. This research will thus attempt to provide some answers to the following question: How do BOH employees in restaurants across Canada perceive social sustainability in their workplace? Six workers from restaurants where tips are still a part of the equation were interviewed, as well as a chef/owner from a seasonal restaurant that has made the switch to a non-tipping policy called Hospitality Included (HI). Many interwoven issues came up through the interviews and were then regrouped by themes: the need for recognition, wage equality, health & safety in kitchens, the 'bro' culture in the BOH and balancing work and life. Some topics are covered within more than one section of the analysis, while social sustainability remains as the overarching theme of this research. The first part of this thesis touches upon the concept of sustainability and its social dimension. Then, an overview of Canadian and American restaurant workers research is presented followed by an introduction to phenomenology and the IPA. The analysis is organized by theme and touches upon a number of topics that together help represent the issues related to the Canadian BOH workers' working environment. The list of themes is not exhaustive and further research could help shine a light on the extent in which these issues are affecting the Canadian BOH workforce.

1 LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1 Sustainability in a Nutshell

The concept of Sustainability was first mentioned in 1987 in the Brundtland Report (*Our Common Future*), which was published by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED, 1987) at the request of the General Assembly of the United Nations (Rasouli & Kumarasuriyar, 2016). Its goal was to "formulate a global agenda for change based on strategies for sustainable development" (ibid.). The main idea of the report that is regularly quoted to this day is that sustainability translates into "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (ibid.). Moreover, the WCED, also known as the Brundtland Commission, "explored the causes of environmental degradation, attempted to understand the interconnections between social equity, economic growth, and environmental

problems, and developed policy solutions that integrated all three areas” (Jarvie, 2018) through this infamous report.

According to Rasouli and Kumarasuriyar, the elaboration of the concept of sustainability in 1987 happened following “a gradual awakening and awareness of the significance of environmental degradation and the impact of humans on the environment” (2016: 23). Previous research papers mentioned the “weakness in the balance between ecology, economic stability and natural security of planet” (Blewitt, 2008 in Rasouli and Kumarasuriyar, 2016: 23) due to the rapid economic growth and the industrialization of the world during the decades preceding the elaboration of the Brundtland Report.

A few years after the publication of *Our Common Future*, “a number of agreements were reached” between nations through the United Nations’ Conference on Human Environment in Rio in 1992 (Rasouli and Kumarasuriyar, 2016: 23). This conference, also known as the first Earth Summit, was the turning point where “the framework Convention on Climate Change, the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, and Agenda 21” (ibid.) were ratified. More recently, in 2012, The United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development happened in Rio as well and is thus known as Rio+20 (UN, 2018). Many themes were discussed in Rio, such as “energy, food security, oceans, cities” (ibid.). An overarching “10-year framework of programs on sustainable consumption and production patterns” was elaborated reinstating the global need of attention to sustainability:

The Rio +20 Conference also galvanized the attention of thousands of representatives of the UN system and major groups. It resulted in over 700 voluntary commitments and witnessed the formation of new partnerships to advance sustainable development. (UN, 2018)

Moreover, one cannot talk about sustainability without mentioning the Sustainable Development Goals, also known as the SDGs, a second take on the more economically and socially focused Millennium Development Goals (UNODC, 2018). The SDGs, defined in 2015 by the Member States of the United Nations, are meant to encompass “a broad agenda that is universal in its coverage” hence the focus on sustainability within this Agenda. The 17 SDGs are a part of the ‘Transforming our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development’ which “is intended as a plan of action for people, planet and prosperity that seeks to strengthen universal peace in larger freedom” (ibid.). This research will be focused on SDG 8: Decent work and economic growth, which “[promotes] sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all” (ibid.). SDGs also include good health and well-being (3), gender equality (5), reduced inequality (10), life below water (14), life on land (15), among others (ibid).

On the other hand, according to a few authors ‘sustainability’ is a term that has become relevant only as a consequence of humanity's systematic contributions to un-sustainability” (Missimer, Robert, Broman, & Sverdrup, 2010). Although it has already been more than 30 years since the elaboration of the Brundtland Report, sustainability as a multifold concept remains relevant to this day.

1.2 The Social Pillar of Sustainability

Oftentimes, when one mentions sustainability, the first aspect to come to mind would be “notions of environmental awareness and protection” (Brown, 2008: 70). It also brings up the idea of “being green” (ibid.) or taking actions to reduce our ecological footprint, etc. However, sustainability as a concept is built on three complementing aspects: the economical pillar, the environmental pillar and the social pillar (Gaviglio, Bertocchi, Marescotti, Demartini, & Pirani, 2016). Sustainability can’t be achieved by focusing on one of these pillars exclusively. According to Eizenberg & Jabareen “the ‘social’ was integrated late into debates on developing sustainability” (2017: 1) and many authors agree (Missimer, Robèrt, & Broman, 2017; Vallance, Perkins & Dixon, 2011; Rasouli & Kumarasuriyar, 2016). Gaviglio et al., who have written a paper on social sustainability with a focus on rural areas, mention: “Contrary to what is available for the environmental and economic pillars, there is a considerable lack of exhaustive approaches able to evaluate the social dimension of sustainability [...]” (2016: 1). Indeed, leaving behind the social component can affect both environmental and economical sustainable development policies as all three components complement each other (Bazilier, 2014). Rasouli & Kumarasuriyar also support this fact in their research paper called *The Social Dimension of Sustainability: Towards Some Definitions and Analysis* from 2016. But what is social sustainability? According to the United Nations Global Compact, “social sustainability is about identifying and managing business impacts, both positive and negative, on people” or to “do business in ways that benefit society and protect people” (2018). Many people are involved in this process according to this definition:

The quality of a company’s relationships and engagement with its stakeholders is critical. Directly or indirectly, companies affect what happens to employees, workers in the value chain, customers and local communities, and it is important to manage impacts proactively. (UN Global Compact, 2018)

It is suggested that social sustainability is a holistic approach that can have various positive impacts on everybody who’s involved in the process:

Actions to achieve social sustainability may unlock new markets, help retain and attract business partners, or be the source for innovation for new product or service lines. Internal morale and employee engagement may rise, while productivity, risk management and company-community conflict improve. (ibid.)

Another way of looking at the social pillar of sustainability would be through the lenses of Rasouli and Kumarasuriyar who define it as a “multifocal agenda in which they identified the key micro and macro elements in order to respond to the lack of a ‘comprehensive definition’ of social sustainability” (2016: 28). In fact, “it has been argued that it is unclear whether social sustainability refers to a need to sustain particular structures in societies and communities, or, is considered a precondition for sustainable development” (Sachs, 1999 in Rasouli & Kumarasuriyar, 2016: 28). Moreover, according to Rasouli and Kumarasuriyar, “some scholars believe that the notion of sustainable development is primarily based on the social aspect” (2016: 28). The authors put together every aspect mentioned in previous social sustainability research in a chart:

Table 1: Key Themes of Social Sustainability

Authors	Key Themes
McKenzie (2004)	Equity, diversity, quality of life, interconnectedness, democracy government
Spangenberg (2004)	Macro level: distribution of income and assets Micro level: Education, training, income, social contacts, communication and participation, social security
Littig & Griebler (2005)	Social quality
Colantonio (2008)	Basic needs: physical aspects of society and human life such as health, housing and food Equity: social disparities
Cuthill (2010)	Social capital, social infrastructure, social justice, equity and engaged governance
Vallance et al. (2011)	Equity
Caistor-Arendar (2011)	Social and cultural life, social amenities, systems for citizen engagement, space for people and places to evolve
Ahman et al. (2013)	Equity: education, quality of life, social capital, social cohesion, integration and diversity, sense of place
Weingaertner & Moberg (2014)	Human capital, social capital, well-being

Source : Adapted from Rasouli & Kumarasuriyar (2016 : 31)

To conclude their research, Rasouli & Kumarasuriyar suggest that:

Social sustainability can be interpreted as a condition and process within the community that fulfills the basic human needs in addition to the principles of social justice and equity, homogeneity and cohesion, integration, diversity, sense of place, social amenity, and social security for the present generation, while guaranteeing them for the future generations. Natural resources should be preserved, and environmental sustainability should be supported by this process. (2016: 31)

Moreover, others call it socio-cultural sustainability, but use a very similar definition. According to the University of Gävle in Sweden:

Social and cultural sustainability concerns issues regarding people's opportunities to fulfil their potential. Depending on where in the world we live and at what stage in our lives we are, our needs look different. It may concern freedom of religion or finding balance in life in a developed society. It may concern the possibility to educate ourselves, or to provide for ourselves or to live in peace. (2019)

Their definition of social and cultural sustainability is a reminder of the Brundtland report's general sustainability definition, but with some added details regarding life balance and other social aspects:

The social and economic life today and in the future fulfil basic human needs like for example self-provision, social justice, health, education, culture, religion, peace, human rights, balance in life and motivation as long-term processes, shaping social conditions for future generations. (ibid.)

In conclusion, the holistic aspect of the term of social sustainability appears to be encompassing the topics that are discussed above, even though other researchers may prefer using the term socio-cultural sustainability in a different context.

1.3 Working Conditions Within Social Sustainability

Rémi Bazilier, professor at Sorbonne University in France, recently wrote a book on work as a part of the social pillar of sustainable development called *Le travail, grand oublié du développement durable* [Work, the forgotten aspect of sustainable development]. The author also argues that out of the three dimensions of sustainable development, the social dimension is often left out, supporting Gaviglio et al. (2016) and Eizenberg & Jabareen

(2017), while focusing his research on work and working conditions as an essential part of the social pillar (Bazilier, 2014), a topic that was not researched thoroughly by the previously mentioned authors.

Indeed, work and working conditions play a key role within the social component (ibid.). Having access to a decent job and social protection as well as good working conditions should be at the center of public policy and sustainable development according to Bazilier (ibid.). Rachel Brown, Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the Sustainable Business Network (SBN) in New Zealand, proposes that social sustainability in the workplace can translate into “engaged workers, low staff turnover, sustainable policies: it's the secret for a better business environment” (2008: 70). Brown mentions various initiatives taken by businesses within the SBN to ensure a work-life balance for their employees, not only to please their customers e.g. subsidies for staff who use the public transit, a bicycle or their own two feet to get to work, or “collective goal-setting and weekly, monthly and six-monthly reviews of goals” within a small team (ibid.). The idea of “valuing your staff and suppliers as much as your consumers” is key to social sustainability in the workplace (ibid.).

1.4 Social Sustainability (or Lack Thereof) Within the Food Industry

Saru Jayaraman, president of the Restaurant Opportunities Centers (ROC), law graduate and advocate for the food industry workers, has dedicated her life's work to the betterment of the working conditions in this industry in the United States (ROC, 2018). She co-founded ROC after the tragic events of September 2001 in an attempt to help out the workers who lost their job thereafter (ibid.). Moreover, ROC was founded to give a “national voice comparable to the NRA (National Restaurant Association)” to restaurant workers whose rights have been continuously baffled (Jayaraman, 2013: 42). ROC is a great example of strength in numbers having “grown from a small, determined group of low-wage restaurant workers in New York City to a national organization with more than 10,000 members in around 20 states nationwide” (ibid.: 24) as of 2013.

In her best-selling book published in 2013, *Behind the Kitchen Door*, the author looks at restaurant workers rights or lack thereof, in the US context. Since no such in-depth research has been conducted in Canada and since no organization similar to ROC exists above the border, Jayaraman's main points will help define the guidelines to this Canada-focused research, keeping in mind that the Canadian restaurant industry has its differences from its neighbor's. In fact, according to Murray, Elliot, Simmonds, Madeley & Taller, Canadian academics and hospitality workers who recently published an article on *Human resources challenges in Canada's hospitality and tourism industry*, the Canadian restaurant

industry could benefit greatly from “regional and national advocacy efforts”, such as ROC, as a part of a “multiple-fronts” strategy in a time of “labor shortage” (2017: 1 & 2). Indeed, this team of researchers and workers have identified many challenges in the Canadian hospitality and tourism industry, within which the main one was identified as “attracting and retaining good employees” in a time of “labor shortage” especially since this industry is “heavily reliant on younger workers and a flexible pool of employees that can respond to seasonal fluctuations” (ibid.: 2). Moreover, “the labor challenges facing Canada’s tourism industry can seem daunting, particularly when demographic shifts are shrinking the pool of young workers” (ibid.: 9). This challenge calls for “a sustainable workforce to meet current and future growth demand” (ibid.: 1).

According to Jayaraman, when looking at sustainability within the food industry from the customers’ point of view, it appears that they often tend to forget about the people who prepare their food:

To most foodies, sustainable food means food grown locally without the use of harmful pesticides, livestock raised more humanely without hormones, and other farming practices that support the health and diversity of our food system. However, sustainable food has to mean more than that, because food isn’t really healthy if it’s served in restaurants where abuse, exploitation, and discriminatory labor practices are commonplace. (2013: 17)

Jayaraman believes that “consumers also have to consider the health and well-being of the people who actually touch their food before they put it in their mouths” (2013: 16). Indeed, the author goes on asking the reader: “What if we based our dining choices on which restaurants promote diversity and good working conditions along with grass-fed beef and organic strawberries? What if we insisted that a clean kitchen include workers who can afford to take a day off when sick” (ibid.). The author believes that on top of caring about the food itself and its health properties, restaurant consumers should take into consideration the way people who prepare their food are treated, “how they work, live, and struggle” (ibid.: 18).

In the preface of *Behind the Kitchen Door*, Erik Schlosser mentions the lack of sustainability within the restaurant industry:

The abuses endured by American farmworkers, meatpacking workers, and restaurant employees violate even the most watered-down, corporate flavored definition of “sustainability.” Our food system now treats millions of workers like disposable commodities, paying them poverty wages, denying them medical

benefits and sick pay, and tolerating racism and sexism on the job. (Jayaraman, 2013: 11, preface)

In other words, Schlosser summarized Jayaraman's main points such as wage theft and wage inequality, lack of paid sick days, lack of health benefits, racism and sexism in the workplace. Jayaraman and Schlosser make a point that these abuses are not exclusive to fast-food chains but also happen in high-end restaurants (2013).

1.4.1 Lack of Access to Paid Sick Days and Health Care

ROC has found out that two thirds of restaurant employees end up working while sick, because they are not given any paid sick days or because they simply can't afford to take a day off due to their abysmally low wage. (ibid.: 51) So on top of having to work while sick and all that it implies, this also puts their coworkers and the customers' health at risk (ibid.). Moreover, an important number of work accident are reported every year, and Jayaraman points out that "every kitchen worker [she has] asked about burns and cuts simply rolls up his or her sleeves and shows [her] the scars" (ibid.:51). Jayaraman mentions the feeling of helplessness faced by the workers in such situations (ibid.). She also finds it ironic that the same people who "would least like to see workers working while sick are the same ones leading the charge against any kind of paid sick-day legislation" (ibid.: 59). Indeed, due to years of lobbying by the NRA, restaurant workers in the US have continuously been denied access to paid sick days (ibid.). Kitchen workers and servers, both front of the house (FOH) and BOH employees are working while sick, not only in "a few bad apple restaurants" but all over the US and in all kinds of establishments, from fast food chains to high-end restaurants (ibid.).

Moreover, based on ROC's national survey, "almost 90 percent of workers reported that they did not receive paid sick days or health insurance from their employer" (ibid.: 64). Since health care is private in the US, the situation is quite different for low paid workers in Canada in this regard. Access to health care is universal in the great white north but paid sick days remain a huge problem for kitchen workers who can't afford to take the day off or whose employers don't allow them to.

1.4.2 Racial Discrimination

Jayaraman also focused her research on racial discrimination in the industry and found out that most "people stuck in the restaurant industry's lowest-paying jobs were predominantly people of color" (ibid.: 104). The author was constantly reminded of this pattern of discrimination based on skin color while dining out: "white servers and bartenders in the

industry's highest-paying, FOH positions, and workers of color employed as bussers, runners, and dishwashers" (ibid.: 106). Many examples of such injustice are mentioned throughout *Behind the Kitchen Door*:

Even when a white man applied for a lower-level position, such as a dishwasher or busser, restaurant managers would often quickly encourage him to move to a waitstaff position; these managers believed that their white employees' potential to sell was wasted in lower level positions. (ibid.: 107)

Jayaraman also mentions a skin-tone hierarchy noticed at a restaurant in Florida:

At this restaurant, as at so many other restaurants we surveyed in Miami, the workers got darker—literally!—as you walked from the front door to the kitchen, and the darker the workers' skin, the less money they were likely to earn. Thus, whites and light-skinned Latinos were found serving and bartending, olive-skinned Latinos were found bussing and running food to tables, darker-skinned Latinos and African Americans were in the kitchen preparing and cooking food, and Haitians—the darkest-skinned, poorest, and most vulnerable population in Miami— were almost always dishwashers, the lowest-paid employees at restaurants. (Ibid.: 113)

But why are such discriminatory hiring methods still practiced across the United States? According to Jayaraman, "the lack of transparency with regard to job openings and what it takes to get a promotion" (ibid.: 126) might have led to such discrepancies. It appears that "workers of color rarely know when there are opportunities to advance, enabling managers to hire white workers surreptitiously, from the outside" (ibid.). Jayaraman also mentions "the absence of any formalized promotion and hiring systems, [making] employers able to use whatever criteria they please when hiring and promoting workers" (ibid.). Within Jayaraman's research, workers confirmed the blatant racial discrimination they have been confronted to:

Almost one-third report that they have been passed over for a promotion because of their race. Others report that they've never even tried to seek a promotion because they've never seen anyone in a higher position who "looked like them." These workers tend to move from restaurant to restaurant, constantly seeking better wages and opportunities to advance, but usually never making it to the best-paying jobs. (ibid.: 14)

The author advocates for whoever might be the best person for the job rather than automatically dismissing people of color from better-paid positions:

Let me be clear: I'm talking about extending opportunities to workers of color who know the menu, know the cuisine, and really care about the work they're doing to bring food to the table. In the same way, opportunities should be extended to white workers who have the skills, loyalty, and dedication to do the job—not just “the right look.” (ibid.: 128)

1.4.3 Sexism at Work

Jayaraman also brings up the topic of sexism in the restaurant industry, where women are sometimes asked “what [they'd] be willing to do for a promotion” (ibid.: 129). Many more examples of blatant sexist behavior keep coming up through ROC's research:

Several woman servers reported being forced to flash their managers before they punched in to work. Others described how aggressive men, mostly executive chefs, threw dishes, screamed racial epithets, and encouraged fights among workers. Since most of the men executive chefs ran hostile, testosterone-driven kitchens, women in the kitchen were constantly being ghettoized, pushed into pastry positions where they earned less money and had no opportunity for advancement in the restaurant. Few women could survive in “a man's kitchen.” (ibid.: 129)

Indeed, Murray et al. also mention “leftover practices of kitchen bullying and glass ceilings [that] must end” (2017: 8) in their Canada-focused article. Moreover, women get paid less than men in this industry in the US, even though there are way more women working in restaurants overall (ibid.). Indeed, “the majority of restaurant managers, chefs, and owners are men, and when women do make it into management positions, they earn less than their men counterparts” (ibid.: 132) for no logical reason. Similarly, in the great white north:

Women constitute a majority of the overall Canadian tourism labor force and in some cases, outright dominate the employee demographic, such as in the foodservice industry where over 80 per cent of servers are female. Yet, in the tourism industry, women continue to earn an annual salary of just 67 per cent of the annual salary of men (CTHRC, 2012 as cited in Murray et al., 2017: 8).

Women of color certainly don't face equal opportunities as their white male counterparts in this industry in the US. According to ROC's research:

Approximately 20 percent of the restaurant industry's jobs provide a livable wage, and almost all of those jobs are found in fine-dining restaurants. Women restaurant

workers, especially women of color, are more likely to find employment in casual, family-style restaurants, diners, or fast-food chains. (ibid.: 141)

Moreover, most women working in higher end restaurants often get stuck in positions without possibilities of advancement such as “pastry or salad position” (ibid.). Jayaraman’s general idea can apply to any American or Canadian restaurant worker and customer:

When workers are paid and treated well, they stay in one restaurant longer, and we eat better! The food is better, the service is certainly better, and we can feel better knowing our server doesn’t have H1N1 or pink eye, isn’t living in the attic, and has the chance to enjoy a healthy, prosperous life. (ibid.: 67)

1.5 Tipping in Restaurants in Canada

Tipping is an important part of the restaurant world in North America. Two professors from University of Guelph in Ontario, McAdams and von Massow, introduced this controversial topic as a part of their recent research on tipping:

At first glance, the exchange of a tip between a customer and a server seems relatively innocuous and innocent. Perceived as a token of appreciation for a positive service experience, it seems reasonable. It is, however, not as simple as it first appears. (2016: 1)

Even though it started as a way of encouraging efficient and courteous service back “in coffee houses in 17th century England”, the modern practice of tipping has greatly changed from its humble beginnings in Canada and in the US, to a point where tips represent “a major income source for much of [the restaurant industry’s] workforce (Lauder, 2016: 1). Indeed, “Although customers are obligated to pay for only the food, drink and tax noted on their restaurant bills, leaving a gratuity for a server is a cultural expectation that is embraced by most North Americans” (ibid.). According to Lauder:

The issue is not with the generosity of the tipping public, but with the potential effect that the redistribution of gratuities has on the restaurant industry’s reputation as an employer. The internal handling of tips in Canadian restaurants lacks regulation, and although there are many waiters who are satisfied with both their working conditions and their earnings, this absence of structure precipitates a loss of both transparency and legitimacy that would be tolerated in few other industries. In most restaurants, compulsory tip out percentages are based on a server’s revenue

for a given shift, and research respondents indicated that the tip-out range is generally between 3 and 8 percent of that waiter's sales. (2016: 2)

The author adds that servers sometimes have to "reach into their own pocket to "pay" their coworkers" (ibid.) when guests choose not to leave any tip.

However, servers are still earning way more than cooks on average in restaurants in Canada (McAdams, 2012). Indeed, servers in Canada can earn up to three times the amount that a cook can earn on average per hour due to tips (McAdams, 2012), even though they get paid a lower hourly wage than cooks by their employer. Tips attract transient workers, servers, looking for a way to make quick cash while oftentimes, cooks choose their profession out of passion (McAdams, 2012). Cooks typically end up working longer hours and earning less than servers over a shift. The majority of servers in Canada are in the business temporarily as the career advancement possibilities are almost non-existent (McAdams & von Massow, 2016). For instance, the possibility of becoming a manager can be unappealing to a server as it could translate into longer hours and a smaller pay (ibid.). On the other hand, oftentimes, cooks are in the restaurant industry for the long run even though their working conditions are worst than servers. The lack of income security can also be unappealing to both FOH and BOH employees.

Different solutions are currently being explored around the country (and in the US) in order to mitigate issues related to tipping, as "research on tipping continues, the complexity of the tipping practice has increased over time" (McAdams & von Massow, 2016: 4). Some restaurants are taking the plunge to a non-tipping policy, "preferring to use the European approach of a flat service charge" (ibid.). Does going to a non-tipping policy translate into a smaller income for servers and a raise for cooks? Are customers happy with the change? A recent study has shown that Canadians are not ready to move to a non-tipping policy as they feel like tipping gives them power over the quality of the service they receive (ARIPR, 2016). However, many researchers have proved that most Canadians generally give the same percentage of tip no matter the quality of the service (ibid.; McAdams, 2012). In the end, no matter how much servers, bussers, runners and bartenders are earning through tips, cooks remain hidden in the shadow without receiving much of the tips on top of working long hours, oftentimes in difficult conditions e.g. no breaks, long hours, high heat, having to work when sick, no paid sick days, no benefits, etc. (Jayaraman, 2013):

Fair and equal compensation continues to be a real issue that progressive organizations are addressing through creative wage structures and labor costing models. Employees will envision the hospitality and tourism industry more as a

career if they are receiving career-style wages and see the potential for future, fair compensation for their hard work. (Murray et al., 2017: 9)

Susan Lauder, Hospitality Management Instructor at the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology, recently focused her master's thesis on issues related to tipping and the possibilities of career development for restaurant workers in Canada, more specifically, her research aimed to “deconstruct the practice of mandatory tip sharing and to link this practice to the validity of a career in the restaurant industry” (Lauder, 2016: 3). In recent years, various tip sharing practices have been used across Canada, “which see gratuities collected and distributed among [FOH] staff, and in recent years, to kitchen workers as well” (ibid.: 1). Lauder mentions how in the past, servers would keep most of their tips, while today tipping out has turned “to an overwhelming obligation to spread the customers’ largesse amongst service, production and occasionally, management staff” (ibid.). Moreover, looking at the tipping in the US:

In a restaurant that complies with the law, the only workers taking a share of the tips are the nonmanagerial employees, who interact directly with customers. Ideally, a waiter collects tips from his or her tables and distributes them among the employees described above. In a “pooled house,” the waiter puts all of his or her tips into a pool, and at the end of the night, all of the tips in the house are distributed among service employees using a point system—five points for captains, four points for waiters, and three points for runners, for example. In a “nonpooled house,” the waiter collects his or her tips and then, using a percentage system, “tips out” the runner, bussers, bartender, and others at the end of the night. (Jayaraman, 2013: 68)

Meanwhile, in Canada:

A tip pool is a collection of employees’ tips that is redistributed by the employer among some or all employees. Tip outs are payments from one employee to another employee, generally by way of contributions to a tip pool and usually according to a formula established by the employer. Examples would be an employer requiring a server to “tip out” a busser or kitchen staff, one per cent of tips the server received or requiring a server to contribute the equivalent of two per cent of sales to a tip pool. That money is then distributed among several staff members. (Government of Ontario, 2018)

In Canada, tips are allowed to be distributed to BOH workers as well (CNEESST, 2018; Ontario Government, 2018). Moreover, employers are not allowed to keep the workers’

tips neither in Quebec, nor in Ontario (CNEESST, 2018; Ontario Government, 2018). In Ontario, according to the Employment Standards Act, since June 10th 2016, an employer may only keep the tips that are directly given to him/her and cannot require staff to ‘tip the house’ “for such things as spillage, breakage, losses or damage” (Ontario Government, 2018).

1.6 Phenomenology and the Lived Experience

According to Pernecky and Jamal, “phenomenology is concerned with the study of lived experience” (2010: 1056). The authors mention the relevance of “the use of phenomenological approaches in tourism” as the “tourism marketers were quick to pick up on this, and few would disagree that experience is an integral component of the tourism product” (ibid.: 1055). Moreover, “phenomenology has become increasingly popular as a research perspective to study experience in the humanistic and social science disciplines” (ibid.: 1056).

Looking at the roots of this research method, “the term phenomenology is derived from two Greek words *phainomen* (an appearance) and *logos* (reason or word) which translate into reasoned appearance where appearance stands for anything one is conscious of” (Stewart & Mickunas, 1974 in Pernecky and Jamal, 2010: 1056).

Phenomenology in tourism has been used “as a theoretical avenue towards describing or understanding the experiential, and lived existence of tourists/guests, locals/hosts, service providers and any other stakeholders that take part in the tourism phenomenon” (Pernecky and Jamal, 2010: 1056):

It does not merely call for an account of things we see in the world (e.g., book, bus, airplane) but shifts the focus to our ‘seeing’ of objects and the world (Cerbone, 2006), and the meanings they hold (e.g., the experience of reading a book on travel writing, driving to a holiday destination, travelling to it by bus, or flying there). (Pernecky and Jamal, 2010: 1056)

The authors go on to explain that there are various options “within the phenomenological tradition” (ibid.). They have looked at “hermeneutic phenomenology, for instance, [which] addresses experience from the perspective of meanings, understandings and interpretations” (Pernecky and Jamal, 2010: 1056). Moreover, hermeneutic phenomenology can be seen as “an inclusive, critical and dialogical endeavour” (Ablett & Dyer, 2009: 226). Pernecky and Jamal argued that “in addition to theoretical considerations, the paradigmatic assumptions underlying various approaches to

phenomenological research are important to understand, if rigorous research is to result” (2010: 1056). The authors have analyzed many research papers where the authors have used phenomenology. They mention how:

Adherents of hermeneutic approaches seek to understand the meanings objects hold for the perceiver(s), but they also seek to understand the relationships between them (including tradition, culture, heritage, history, and social settings). The existence of the external world and objects in it was taken as given (Heidegger was a realist in this sense), but experience of, and relationships to, the world and objects, were matters for phenomenological investigation. (Pernecky and Jamal, 2010: 1059)

Extra attention will be brought upon relationships between the perceivers (in this case, restaurant industry workers that will be interviewed) and the world and objects. The authors also mention the concept of authenticity and its importance within hermeneutic phenomenology as a part of the “richness and complexity of experience” (ibid.).

Pernecky and Jamal have noted “an emphasis on and proliferation of more qualitative approaches in tourism studies, a field that has generally favored the use of positivistic and quantitative, scientific methods (Jennings, 2001; Walle, 1997 in Pernecky and Jamal, 2010: 1060).

The authors have identified various paradigms put forward by different researchers depending on their methodology and methods:

Accordingly, one can situate his/her phenomenological study in different research paradigms ranging from positivist (e.g., Husserl), post-positivist (e.g., Merleau-Ponty), to interpretivist (e.g., Heidegger and Gadamer), constructivist (e.g., Richard Rorty, Gadamer, Schutz), and deconstructivist (e.g., Jacques Derrida). (Pernecky and Jamal, 2010: 1061)

According to Guba, “relativist realities exist in the form of multiple mental constructions, socially and experientially based, local and specific, dependent for their form and content on the persons who hold them” (1990: 23-27). The author also explains subjectivism where “inquirer and inquired into are fused into a single (monistic) entity. Findings are literally the creation of the process of interaction between the two” (ibid.). Finally, in terms of inter-subjectivity and dialectic, Guba describes how “individual constructions are elicited, compared and contrasted dialectically, with the aim of generating one (or a few) constructions on which there is substantial consensus” (ibid.).

1.6.1 Descriptive or Interpretive Phenomenology

As a part of this research, familiarizing ourselves with “Edmund Husserl and Martin Heidegger’s contribution to phenomenology as a philosophical area of study [that] has flourished to produce diverse theoretical perspectives, and has been used more recently to inform the study of the lived experience” seemed essential (Penercky and Jamal, 2010: 1070).

Reiners added a brief history of the great names of phenomenology as a part of her research: “Edmund Husserl (1859-1938), a German mathematician, founded the philosophical movement of phenomenology. Husserl believed that phenomenology suspended all suppositions, was related to consciousness, and was based on the meaning of the individual’s experience” (2012: 1). Moreover, the author mentioned that:

The experience of perception, thought, memory, imagination, and emotion, involve what Husserl called “intentionality”, which is one’s directed awareness or consciousness of an object or event. Thus, the critical question for Husserl was: What do we know as persons? Consequently, Husserl developed descriptive phenomenology, where every day conscious experiences were described while preconceived opinions were set aside or bracketed. (ibid.)

On the other hand, “Martin Heidegger (1889-1976), Husserl’s student, rejected the theory of knowledge known as epistemology, and adopted ontology, the science of being. Heidegger developed interpretive phenomenology by extending hermeneutics, the philosophy of interpretation” (ibid.). Moreover, Reiners looked at how Heidegger got to his critical question:

He broadened hermeneutics by studying the concept of being in the world rather than knowing the world. Hermeneutics moves beyond the description or core concepts of the experience and seeks meanings that are embedded in everyday occurrences. Thus, the critical question for Heidegger was: What is being? Heidegger, who was interested in interpreting and describing human experience, believed that bracketing was not warranted because hermeneutics presumed prior understanding. (ibid.: 1-2)

Some authors have explored the main differences between Husserlian or descriptive phenomenology and Heideggerian or interpretive phenomenology (Miller and Mair, 2015; Pernecky and Jamal, 2010; Reiners, 2012). Miller and Mair also mention the wide range of approaches within phenomenological research, from “positivistic and descriptive to those drawing on hermeneutic philosophies” (2015: 71). Reiners looked at the differences

between Husserlian and Heideggerian phenomenological approaches through a comparative study of two papers in the field of nursing, where she stresses the importance of making the right choice of phenomenology:

Choice of an appropriate phenomenological research method that is congruent with the underlying philosophical tenets of either Husserl's descriptive or Heidegger's interpretive phenomenology is vital to the credibility of the proposed research. Are you, the researcher, asking for description or interpretation?

The main aspects of both descriptive and interpretive phenomenology are listed in Penercky and Jamal's research (2010: 1065), adapted from previous research by Koch (1995: 832) and Lavery (2003: 26). According to these authors, Husserlian phenomenology is:

Transcendental phenomenology; epistemological (focus on knowledge through human consciousness); epistemological questions of knowing; how do we know what we know; cartesian duality: mind body split; a mechanistic view of the person; mind-body person live in a world of objects; ahistorical; unit of analysis is meaning-giving subject; what is shared is the essence of the conscious mind; starts with reflection of mental states; meaning is unsullied by the interpreter's own normative goals or view of the world; participants' meanings can be reconstituted in interpretive work by insisting data speaks for themselves; claim that adequate techniques and procedures guarantee validity of interpretation; bracketing defends the validity or objectivity of the interpretation against self-interest. (Koch, 1995 & Lavery, 2003 adapted by Penercky and Jamal, 2010: 1065)

On the other hand, the main aspects of Heideggerian phenomenology go as follow:

Philosophical hermeneutics; hermeneutic phenomenology; existential-ontological (focus on existential relations and experience); questions of experiencing, understanding and meaning; what does it mean to be a person (e.g. a backpacker); Da-sein (being there, being-in-the-world); person as self-interpreting being; a person exists as a 'being' in and of the world, 'subjective' and 'objective' categories are dualistic and inappropriate; historicity; unit of analysis is relationship between situation and the person, that is, situatedness of the individual in the world; what is shared in culture, history, practice, language; we are already in the world in our pre-reflective states; interpreters participate in making data; within the fore-structure of understanding interpretation can only make explicit what is already understood; establish own criteria for trustworthiness of research; the hermeneutic circle (background, co-constitution, pre-understanding). (ibid.)

Since there is no such thing as a “methodological guide to studying experience”, the “processual role of interpretation in hermeneutic phenomenology” was one of the most important aspects proposed by Heidegger (Penercky and Jamal, 2010: 1067). The authors also mention how “thoughtful discussion of reflexivity” is key within interpretive phenomenology (ibid.: 1069). Moreover, “co-construction” involves both the researcher and the participant(s) in the data whereas Husserlian phenomenology would focus on isolating the “perception of phenomena from the researcher and participant” (ibid.: 1069). To make the difference even clearer in the case of a backpackers’ study where the first researcher would use Husserlian phenomenology while the second would follow Heidegger’s:

Both researchers will engage in interpretation, but the former would focus on identifying the essential structures of consciousness in the backpacking experience and employ the scientific method of striving for objectivity and emotional distance. The latter, following Heidegger’s approach, would look to understand what it means to be a backpacker and how that experience emerges. The latter is a dialogic process, and the researcher’s reflexivity is strongly present in interpreting the backpacker’s experience as a dialogue between the researcher and the backpacker. Interpretive understanding therefore plays a key role in hermeneutic approaches to research. (ibid.)

Another interesting concept that was listed above within the field of hermeneutic phenomenology is the ‘bracket’: “the researcher is an intrinsic part of the interpretation that emerges and he/she cannot be ‘bracketed’ out of the process” (ibid.). As a matter of fact, “the matter of pre-understandings, prejudices or pre-judgements, which both Heidegger and Gadamer show are intricately part of one’s being and cannot be isolated scientifically” (ibid.: 1070). The idea of ‘bracket’ is also used in Husserlian phenomenology:

The task of the hermeneutic phenomenology researcher is to put together the pieces in someone’s understanding of an experience, to interpret and communicate the diverse relationships, meanings and prejudices. Post-positivistic researchers try to declare their biases and “‘bracket” them, while interpretive researchers attempt to situate themselves and their biases in the study such that the reader and reviewer can interpret for themselves what these mean in the given context. (ibid.)

One more concept that is mentioned by Penercky and Jamal is “Heidegger’s Da-sein” which “is a historical being, enmeshed in temporal and cultural relationships, and a pre-reflective stance towards the world” (ibid.). Overall, Penercky and Jamal show the value of making a proper distinction between both areas of phenomenology.

1.6.2 Gadamer's Hermeneutic Phenomenology and Tourism Research

Miller and Mair, from the University of Waterloo in Ontario, recently published a paper on *Volunteer experiences on organic farms* through the lens of hermeneutic phenomenology (2015). Although not as theoretically-focused as the aforementioned papers (Penercky and Jamal, 2010; Reiners, 2012), their research shone a light on the “experiences of volunteers on organic farms in Argentina” (Miller and Mair, 2015: 69). Their “use of phenomenology provided an opportunity to develop deeper understandings of these lived experiences and what they meant to volunteers” (ibid.). As an example: “the focus on volunteers’ historicity and preunderstandings aided the identification of the underlying horizons, which shaped the organic volunteering experiences” (ibid.). Their phenomenological lens was influenced by Gadamer’s more recent philosophy:

Many of Gadamer’s (2004) foundational teachings build on Heidegger’s notion of Da-sein and revolve around the ontological notion of “historicity,” the concept of preunderstandings. For Gadamer, consciousness is grounded in our history (our prejudices and preunderstandings) and he argued that we cannot step out of this history (i.e., bracket our prejudices) as early phenomenological thinkers such as Husserl (1970) suggested. (2015: 71)

As Miller and Mair explain: “our understanding is determined by the fusion of our present horizon (e.g., what is taking place) with the prejudices of our historical horizon (Gadamer, 2004 in Miller and Mair, 2015: 71). The two researchers interpret Gadamer’s words: “Prejudices in this context should not be thought of as false judgments, but conditions of truth, expectations, or projections about the whole that are continually revised as more parts of the picture or story come into view” (2015: 71).

An example of this situation was pointed out by Penercky and Jamal:

What in a touristic situation may be for [person] X an encounter with “strangeness,” can be meaningfully interpreted by [person] Y due to her socio- cultural-historical background. Here “strangeness” cannot be the essence of that experience, but rather something that “travels” with the interpreting individual. (2010: 1063)

Moreover, just as “Gadamer’s (2004) concept of historicity was pertinent to [Miller and Mair’s] exploration of volunteers’ lived experiences and contributed to entering into the hermeneutic circle” (2015: 71-72), this concept will be included in our research when collecting data from restaurant workers and interpreting it. Miller and Mair also mention Gadamer’s explanation:

The hermeneutic circle refers to the interpretive process, or circle of understanding in which one looks to the whole (e.g., the entire phenomenon) then to the parts (e.g., individual participants' understandings and interpretations), and back to the whole again. This is a continuous and cyclical process whereby early projections and understandings of the experience are replaced with present, evolving understandings. (2015: 72)

This process was a part of Miller and Mair's research, all the way from their literature review when they identified "their own understandings and interpretations of volunteering on organic farms" (ibid.). An example of question they asked themselves were: "how have I experienced volunteering roles in the past?" (ibid.). Indeed, doing so allowed the researchers to acknowledge their prejudices and historicity. I will thus include a short section on prejudices and historicity in my analysis. The researchers followed the hermeneutic circle, going back to their interviews, adding notes, re-reading as "efforts were made to remain open to the data" (ibid.).

Based on Gadamer's work (2004), Miller and Mair "engaged in six cyclical phases including: (1) revisiting preunderstandings, (2) immersion into transcripts, (3) creating preliminary understandings, (4) opening to new understandings, (5) fusing of horizons, and (6) illuminating findings" (2015: 72).

Their methodology involved various ways of collecting data: "Data collection and analysis of active interviews and participant observation with volunteers revealed a central understanding of opening to living in interconnectedness" (ibid.). Indeed, in their conclusion they mention how:

Organic volunteering as experiences of opening to living in interconnectedness are illuminated through and supported by horizons of reconnecting, exchanging knowledge, experiencing harmony, bonding with others, consciousness raising, and transforming, and these elements may indeed make it unique within the broader array of volunteer or alternative tourism offerings. (ibid.: 79)

The researchers also noted the limits of hermeneutic phenomenological research, how their work was context specific to one WOOFing location in Argentina and how there is a "need for further research [on the] emergence of the notion of opening to living in interconnectedness, a key essence of the organic volunteering experience" (ibid.). They also reflected on how they possibly "[portrayed] experiences of organic volunteering in an entirely positive and romanticized light" (ibid.) through their own experience. In our case, the experiences of restaurant workers in Canada will be interpreted, without generalizing, in the hopes of gaining a deeper understanding of their realities (not bracketed).

2 METHODOLOGY

2.1 Presentation of the Studied Population

According to Antoine and Smith, who attempted to sum up all previous IPA research in a recent paper, IPA-based research has included a small range of interview numbers, “from one participant to 14, with an average of 9” (2017: 379). Moreover, the authors mention previous phenomenological research from 2002, where 20 people were interviewed but not all the data produced from the interviews were included in the analysis (Collins & Nicolson, 2012 in Antoine & Smith, 2017: 379).

For this phenomenological study, a total of six cooks were interviewed, all coming from restaurants where tips are still a part of the equation. They were a sous-chef, a cook/pastry chef, a line cook/prep cook, a line cook, and two chefs de cuisine. All of them have been working in the restaurant industry for more than seven years, the one with the most experience having worked as a cook for 25 years. Their age ranged from 26 to 39 years old. The snowball effect method was used in order to find potential interviewees, as one interviewee would suggest another one, and the next one would suggest another one, etc. In the end, one man and five women were interviewed. Moreover, one chef/owner from a non-tipping establishment accepted to be interviewed, following an e-mailed interview request that was sent to all four non-tipping restaurants across the country. The questionnaire was thus modified in order to adapt to a new context. This last interview was meant to help better understand the decision to go tip-free in the north American context. It also added a different perspective on social sustainability in the workplace in Canadian restaurants.

2.2 The Interpretive Paradigm

Penercky and Jamal “situate hermeneutic phenomenology within an interpretive paradigm that is grounded in a realist ontology plus an epistemology that involves hermeneutic interpretation” (2010: 1071). Miller and Mair also used hermeneutic phenomenology for their research framework, “situated in an interpretivist paradigm” (2015: 71). Miller and Mair’s research is “informed by philosophical understandings of hermeneutic phenomenology, specifically building from Gadamer’s (2004) concepts of historicity or preunderstandings, Bildung, and fusion of horizons” which were explored in the last section of the literature review.

As this research looks at the participants’ experiences within the world of the restaurant industry and their being (Heddeiger’s Da-sein, as mentioned previously), the interpretive paradigm is the most appropriate. The interpretive paradigm in IPA is a creative and flexible way to do research according to Antoine and Smith, where methodology shouldn’t

limit the research's potentials (2017: 382). Thus, the interviewees' answers have been regrouped by themes, which have in turn been summarised as a table (see table 4). Historicity and prejudice from both the researcher and the interviewees have been identified in order to deepen the understanding of each participant's perception. The researcher's past has not been bracketed, as her background is in the restaurant industry and her interest for the chosen topic was sparked through her past employment. The summary table is followed by a short discussion and insights for further research.

2.3 Research Methods

Antoine and Smith put forward semi-structured interviews as the “classical form to gather data” within IPA (2017: 377). In their opinion, the researcher's work should stimulate rather than inhibit the sharing of information and reflection from the participants, who would be doing so in their own words as much as possible (Smith et al., 1997 in Antoine & Smith, 2017: 377). Antoine and Smith suggest that the researcher should not talk much during the interview, but rather should intervene in a way that will push the participant to share more or to re-focus the conversation (2017: 378).

In this case, six semi-structured interviews were conducted. The questionnaire is shown on Appendix 1 and interviews were transcribed in their integrality on Appendix 2 to 7. Interviews were conducted in person or via Skype. Interviews in person were conducted in various locations around the city of Ottawa, where the participants could feel safe, as this research respects their anonymity due to the topics mentioned. The first participant agreed to testing the questionnaire, as suggested by Antoine and Smith (2017: 377). The first participant left some comments on the overall interview and suggested to add three more questions regarding stress at work, income differences between FOH and BOH as well as access to benefits. After discussing the interview with participant 1, an open-ended question was added at the very end of the interview, where the interviewees were encouraged to share their views about working conditions for the BOH in the restaurant industry and anything that comes to their mind related with the questionnaire. Some more topics came up through this open-ended question, such as extreme heat in the kitchen. Testing the questionnaire was also useful in order to prepare the researcher for the following interviews, as recommended by Antoine and Smith (*ibid.*).

Some questions were quite short and could be answered by a ‘yes’ or a ‘no’, but in that case, a follow-up question would encourage the participants to explain their answer or the reasons behind their answer. The only time the researcher talked a bit longer was to explain the concept of social sustainability to the participants, in order for the participants to be able to respond to the following questions with an understanding of the concept. The participants were then asked about their perception of their work and working conditions,

if they perceived their work as sustainable, if they had a balanced work-life, etc. Overall, this interview process aligns with Antoine and Smith's research (2017).

Moreover, an additional questionnaire was created in order to interview a chef/owner of a non-tipping restaurant. A different questionnaire was necessary due to the nature of the interviewees' position within a restaurant, the first six being employees and the latter being a chef/owner. This last interview was conducted via Skype and is not anonymous.

For the analysis, each respondent's answers were annotated and analyzed, and once all of them were analyzed individually, overarching themes were identified way (ibid.). The main themes were then subdivided or regrouped, leading to a final table of themes (see table 4) where differences and similitudes between the respondent's lived experiences were organized. (ibid.). Antoine and Smith call it a "cycle of analysis" (ibid.). Two different researchers could interpret the results in different ways, which means that having a second researcher look over the research can have a positive impact on this research (ibid.).

Moreover, according to Smith, for an IPA with four to eight participants, quotes from at least three participants have to be presented for each theme, a guideline that was followed within this research (2017: 380).

2.4 Limitations

Cooks, chefs and owners from non-tipping establishment were contacted via e-mail, and only one person answered. Chef Michael Smith, owner of the Inn at Bay Fortune and its restaurant FireWorks accepted to share his views on working conditions and tipping versus non-tipping. Another limitation was the extremely low number of non-tipping restaurants in Canada (see table 2). Indeed, only four establishments remain open out of the 12 that have made the switch or opened with a non-tipping policy in recent years across the country.

Interviews were conducted in December 2018, a month that can be an extremely busy time in some restaurants. Some potential interviewees declined to help as they were too busy with work, preparing for the holiday season. Cooks in general work on a very busy schedule and their work can be draining, so trying to take time out of their day to answer a questionnaire was not a given. Coffee was provided during in-person interviews and interview location was decided based on what was the easiest for the interviewees to go along with their busy schedule e.g. right before work and close to their work, via Skype on their day off, etc.

In the end, the sample for this research is quite small. A total of 10 potential interviewees were contacted and six were interviewed. However, phenomenological research is not about having a lot of interviewees, it's about interpreting the data and trying to gain a deeper understanding of the lived experience of the participants.

Also, out of the six interviewees, five were female. There is nothing wrong in itself with this number, but it could have been interesting to hear more responses from male participants for certain questions e.g. sexism at work.

Finally, as Michael's Smith is a chef/owner, his perspective might be different from his staff's. Since the Inn at Bay Fortune and its restaurant FireWorks are closed for the winter, it wasn't possible to set up interviews with past members of the Fire Brigade team. It would have been enriching to have the perspective of more than one person from the non-tipping side.

3 ANALYSIS

3.1 Historicity and Preunderstandings

Having worked in many restaurants as a hostess, busser and server (always FOH), the researcher has experienced working conditions within this industry. The researcher noticed the discrepancies between the working conditions of the FOH versus the BOH. Even though this could be perceived as a bias for some, within phenomenological research, it adds to the depth of interpretation. In fact, having been a part of this industry is the main motivation behind this research and as explained by Antoine & Smith, "the simple fact of working on a research shows the researcher's interest" (2017: 379). According to these two authors, the analysis within phenomenological research is inductive, as the researcher does not exclude his own knowledge or representation for his or her research (ibid.). Thus, the researcher's past was not "bracketed" from this research. Antoine and Smith also add that this type of research involves a constant reflection from both the participant and the researcher, as soon as an interview begins, as every opportunity to deepen an understanding should put forward (2017: 378).

The researcher made sure the participants knew about her past experience as a FOH worker in various restaurants around the capital of Canada. This disclosure from the researcher is essential in IPA according to Antoine and Smith (2017: 379).

Chef Michael Smith, who agreed to be interviewed as he owns and runs one of the only non-tipping restaurants in Canada, has been working in the restaurant industry for a very long time. He mentioned how he has seen changes within the industry throughout his career:

I came up the ranks working six days a week, happy to do it, 80 hours a week. I didn't count how many hours I worked. It didn't matter to me. It's different now and I'm ok with that. Honestly, I had to play a little catch up. My first couple years I didn't understand how much the work culture had shifted and there's a lot of chatter out there around millennials changing the work culture. This generation doesn't understand work, and this and that. Well honestly the previous generation didn't get it either. We worked people too hard, too long, we took advantage of them. And so, we're in the middle of a cultural shift. And honestly, I had to play a little catch up. And I did. And I figured it out pretty quickly I'm an open guy I'm an ethical guy. It didn't long to figure it out. And I'm glad that we figured it out. And I'm extremely disappointed in much of my industry colleagues out there in this business. I think they still continue to take advantage.

Moreover, the six interviewees have been working in the industry for many years, and these years of experience can potentially impact how they feel about their current workplace.

3.2 Restaurants That Have Chosen a Non-Tipping Policy

After consulting professor McAdams from the University of Guelph in Ontario and Susan Lauder, hospitality instructor at NAIT in Alberta, here is a list of 12 Canadian restaurants that have made the switch to a non-tipping policy in recent years. They are put in order of status: the ones that are still open and tip-free, the ones that are still open but that have switched back to tipping and the ones that are closed.

Table 2: Canadian Restaurants That Tried a Non-Tipping Policy & Current Status

Restaurant	Location	Details	Status
Bistro Rosie	Montreal	September 2017-now. Fixed salaries.	Remains open and tip-free
Grain of Rice	Edmonton	2016-now. Commission based sales approach.	Remains open and tip-free
FireWorks	Prince Edward Island	2015-now. Non-tipping since summer 2017. Seasonal restaurant.	Remains open and tip-free
Sidecar Bar & Grill	Toronto	November 2015-now. No tips since May 2016. They increased menu prices by 15 to 20%.	Remains open and tip-free
Café Linnea	Edmonton	September 2016-now. When they opened, they had a no-tip policy (tip included in the prices) and they paid	Remains open but went back to tipping

		their servers a higher wage. They went back to tipping and lower prices in September 2017.	
Earls	Calgary	1982-now. Had a 16% automatic charge added for 6 months as an experiment at their downtown Calgary location, then went back to tipping.	Remains open but went back to tipping
Indian Street Food Co.	Toronto	November 2015-now. 12% administration fee added to each bill, combined with an additional 10% of revenue divided amongst employees evenly.	Remains open but went back to tipping
Smoke'n'water	Vancouver Island	June 2014-now. Tried a no tipping policy for 3 months in 2014, then went back to tipping.	Remains open but went back to tipping
Alder Room	Edmonton	May 2017-2018. Fixed price tickets that include service fee. Tasting menus. Only 12 seats!	Closed
Alta	Edmonton	February 2017-September 2017. Alder Room sister restaurant.	Closed
Ritual	Vancouver	May 2016-January 2018. Had a non-tipping policy, paid staff 21\$+ and benefits.	Closed
Zéro8	Montreal	September 2017-December 2018. Service charge automatically added to the bill.	Closed

Source: Various restaurant websites and newspaper articles available online

Out of the four restaurants that remain open and that have kept a non-tipping policy, one establishment stands out, and its owner agreed to share his views on hospitality and working conditions within the industry. FireWorks, chef Michael Smith's seasonal restaurant, located within the Inn at Bay Fortune on Prince Edward Island, has switched to a non-tipping policy two years ago, after two years of tip-pooling that was a "nightmare" to administer. Since then, not a single guest has complained about this Hospitality Included (HI) policy (Smith, 2019). When asked about this change, chef Smith explains the particular context of his restaurant:

We're a seasonal business, with a finite time line, we're only open 5 months out of the year. We can relentlessly forecast exactly what we're going to do for business. Because we're striving to set such a high bar for our product, we're a hell of a restaurant, not a normal restaurant. Because of those things, I can't have ambiguity in my staffing. So, we forecast our business based on a year's worth of revenue (...) For example, trying to open a restaurant with just a few people because we're slow in May, and then adding a few people in June and then a few more... This doesn't work for us because we're very different. We have to be ready to go. So, the whole team has to be able to start at the same time, in May when we open the doors. So that leads to budgeting and forecasting based on the full season.

Chef Smith also mentions the uncertainty faced by FOH staff as they usually rely heavily tips:

And then when I start looking at that full season and I start looking at my service staff and what they're being paid and how much they rely on the tips...it all of a sudden, it just doesn't make sense. And I'm a progressive guy in the first place (...) and it just makes sense for us. Because it allowed me to take ambiguity out of the equation. And it allowed me to just say to our guests: "Listen, this is the price, take it or leave it. This is what it costs for us to deliver this product." And I refuse to treat my service staff like second class citizens because of this ambiguous dance that we have embedded in our hospitality culture in North America, that I think is ridiculous. So, I changed it!

Moreover, everybody works together at FireWorks. Instead of using the concepts of BOH and FOH, chef Smith describes his team as the Heart of the House. In fact, before going to a non-tipping policy, cooks were always included in the tip-pool:

It's all one team, it's everybody working together to do one thing, take care of our guests. We do it every day. We think of ourselves as one team and that was one of the things that led to the policy in the first place because I did, in the first 2 years, what so many restaurants in North America are doing and that is I administered a tip pool on behalf of the kitchen staff because the kitchen staff in our establishment is so tightly interwoven with the service product. They serve the food. They greet the guests. They are in front of the guests. They take food to the guests. They contribute on the service side. So, there was no way they weren't going to be able to participate to the tip pool.

However, chef Smith made it clear that the ideal context surrounding his business in PEI made it easier for him and his team to turn to a non-tipping policy. He acknowledges that the flexibility to do so is not available to every restaurateurs around the country:

We are not a good example in the sense that we're not an à-la-carte restaurant, we're more of a food performance, we're more of a theater than anything. Our guests all come at the same time and they all do the same exact thing and eat the same exact thing, all at the same time, so it's more of a banquet house in that sense. And because I'm part of it, and I'm 'famous', people come and we're busy and sold out all the time. There's extreme demand for our product! All of those things are not typical, obviously: high price, celebrity chef, and one hell of a product. We are freaking world class; this thing is badass! So, all of that is not normal and because of all of that, I have options as a business owner, that most other business owners simply don't have. So many of those options that we choose are centered around how we take care of our team and what we do with this revenue.

This non-tipping policy has a cost, as well as giving paid sick days and offering a family medical benefits plan after one year of working at FireWorks, but according to chef Smith: "it's the right thing to do."

3.3 Getting Hired, Working, Quitting, Starting Over: The Learning Circle

Looking at the six interviewees' years of experience in relationship to how many times they have had to change positions or restaurant in this time, it becomes clear that all of them have had to take job opportunities at various restaurants over the years. Why the constant change?

Table 3: Interviewees' Years in the Restaurant industry and Number of Job Changes

Interviewee	Years in the industry	Change of positions or restaurants	Average number of years per job
George	15	More than 10	1.5
Mary	10	4	2.5
Chloe	8	5	1.6
Melissa	7	5	1.4
Jenna	10	7 (4 BOH +3 FOH)	1.4
Leah	25	More than 10	2.5

Source: Interviews

According to Michael Smith, chef/owner of the Inn at Bay Fortune and its restaurant FireWorks on Prince Edward Island, kitchen workers should not hesitate to quit and look for a better job when facing unfair conditions:

For years I've said the same thing, and I continue to say it. The best advice, early in your career, is that it's not about the paycheck. It's not about the money. If that's all you're seeing and thinking, forget it, you're in the wrong industry, your mistake. If you find yourself in a job early on and you're not learning, and you've been misled by the boss who told you, I'm going to do this and that and nothing's happening, leave! Quit! Go somewhere else! Be brutal!

The chef who is well-known across Canada also mentions the necessity to invest in yourself if you're working in kitchens as a career:

It is about investing in yourself, and the best thing you can invest in yourself is time. Time well spent. And if you're in one of those kitchens, where you're not being respected or there's misogyny or harassment around you, or a culture that allows that sort of thing to happen, then get the hell out. Don't waste your time, go somewhere else! They don't deserve you. That's my advice. A career is very short and early on in that career it's all about learning. The most you can possibly learn. Work in places where you're respected and where you're learning things, good choice.

3.3.1 The Workers' Need for Recognition, Better Conditions and Higher Pay

Recognition, better conditions, better pay, are some of the reasons that came up when they were asked why they had changed positions/restaurants over the year: "Most times, [I changed jobs] for recognition" mentioned Chloe. She added that "The amount of responsibilities would go up, but not the pay" so she had to look elsewhere. To put it differently, George said he changed positions or restaurants: "to push [his] career forward." He then added: "Sometimes I have left restaurants willingly, I've also been fired from restaurants where I didn't fit in or didn't get along with the staff." Leah's response was similar, she said: "because it was better elsewhere. I got fired a few times, other times, there were better conditions offered in other restaurants, better salary and/or conditions."

Mary, on the other hand, mentioned the lack of leadership at one of her previous jobs:

One of the reasons was that I didn't really agree with how the person in a higher position was leading the team. And with my sports background as a basketball

player and coach, I have seen really good leadership. I was fortunate enough to play on a team, so I know what it's like to work on a team. I don't have patience for poor leadership, when there's so many different ways to go about it, but poor leadership is poor leadership. Especially when the higher up management isn't dealing with that leadership. We're human, we're all learning, but at least, address it. Instead they would always ignore the issues. And that doesn't make sense to me. I think there is always a way to grow.

Melissa perceives these choices (leaving a job for another, or a restaurant for another) as a part of the lifestyle in this industry. Indeed, when asked about the reasons why she had left some of her previous jobs she said:

One of them I quit because I was really unhappy. Other than that, it was just the flow of life!

Later on, she mentioned the lack of recognition as well:

It can be really hard if you've had a long hard weekend at work and if you don't feel appreciated, you go home and feel like you've worked super hard for not much more of a benefit otherwise.

Jenna went back to cooking after working as a server/bartender when she moved to Montreal:

When I moved to Quebec I couldn't speak French, so kitchen work was easier to find than FOH positions.

Once in Montreal, she also left her first cooking job as she felt stuck:

I left my last restaurant job because I felt like I wasn't going anywhere there, and I stayed there for a year and a half, I was trying to make it work but it just wasn't the best place to work at.

Sometimes change is necessary for both personal and professional growth.

3.3.2 Opportunities for Growth

When asked about opportunities for professional growth in their workplace, there seems to be limited possibilities due to the small size of the teams. One person's growth could

require another employee to leave, for instance, when Chloe was asked about if she had opportunities for growth at her work, she answered:

I think so. It would require other people to leave. There is a sous-chef for now, but now that the owner is coming back progressively, it's not clear if she wants to take back her responsibilities or if she wants to leave them to other people. Whoever is doing pastry is also going to leave soon, so I could take over that position full time if I wanted.

Melissa explains the downside of working in a small independent restaurant that uses fresh produce:

It's such a small group, there's not a huge ladder (...). In a lot of restaurants there's a lot more opportunities to try more things. But we're all cross trained for everything where we are now.

She is trained to prepare all the current dishes, from appetizer to desert and to work the line during service. Jenna's answer was similar:

We'll see what the new chef brings, with the new menu. But as it stands now, we haven't changed the menu in 8 months. I can literally make the dishes with my eyes closed.

George, who is the sous-chef at a fine dining restaurant with a growing reputation, is thinking of quitting in order to progress in his career. When asked if he has opportunities for growth at work, he said:

Within my job I don't. But I think that I have lots of opportunities for growth within this industry as a result of my job.

Leah talked more about creative opportunities rather than "climbing-the-ladder" opportunities:

There's a new project at my work that could bring us more work, and more opportunities for me to create. A different opportunity. I would say creative development rather than professional development.

One of the interviewees, Mary, has been putting an effort into having a better work-life balance. She isn't looking for professional growth at her current work, rather, she wants to spend less time at work in order to have more time for other projects:

I'm doing the opposite, for my well-being. I need to get re-inspired, travel and look after myself. If you're unhappy, how do you expect to lead a team? You have to be in a certain mindset, you have to be strong.

Mary has been putting forward her work-life balance lately. She is the only interviewee who expressed how overwhelmed her work was making her feel and how she responded to that by taking a step down at work, but a step forward for her personal well-being. Work-life balance is an overarching theme within this research.

3.3.3 Income Satisfaction

When asked if they were satisfied of their income, four out of the six interviewees answered a clear "No!". Leah, who is a chef de cuisine at a seasonal restaurant, thus in a leadership role, said:

I'm asking for a raise for next year, nothing too extreme, so I would say yes, I am satisfied.

On the other hand, Mary was hesitant:

Yes...and no. because I currently, depending how much I get paid, it's how much effort I'm going to put into my work. Maybe that sounds a little jaded and cynical, but I would push myself to be better but if you're only going to give me a certain amount, you have to expect that I want more support. If you pay all of us the same, then we will all help each other out, which is kind of where we are at. We're all paid around the same (BOH workers at her work).

Chef Michael Smith, whom, as mentioned previously, does things a little bit differently at his farm-to-table restaurant in PEI, shares similar thoughts but from a managerial point of view:

We're the kind of business where [if] you pay people the minimum wage, what do you expect that you're going to get from them? You're going to get the minimum.

Indeed, Chef Smith mentions the importance of the certainty that comes with having a competitive weekly salary for his cooks. He continues:

We don't want the minimum. So, we don't hire people like that at all. But the certainty of a salary allows people to build a life here (...). I said salary, but it's an hourly wage for our service team. For our cooks' team, they're paid a salary, they're paid a weekly salary, it's a good weekly salary. It's competitive and in most cases better than what they would get paid in a big city, and they're living in the country. So, that allows them that certainty.

What Mary is experiencing at her work is relatable to many kitchen workers across the country. As Chloe said previously, if your responsibilities and tasks list grow, you might expect a higher paycheck. Many cooks have had to quit their job in order to get paid better, work in better conditions, receive benefits or work in a higher position.

At FireWorks, Chef Smith is able to pay his staff a living wage, well above the average in this industry, especially on PEI. He mentions the exceptionally high average check at his restaurant, meaning the average amount that one person spends for an evening experience at FireWorks:

They know they're paid better than anybody else on the island. They just are. We're able to pay really really well. Partially because of that tip being included (HI), but also because we have an extraordinarily high check average. Our check average is 190 dollars a head. That's crazy money in any city! That allows us to pay, set a very high bar for our staff, and pay well as a result.

3.4 Wage Equality

3.4.1 Hours at Work Versus Hours Paid

Out of the six interviewees, four get paid per hour while two receive a weekly salary. The two who get paid a weekly salary, George and Leah, are in higher up positions, sous-chef and chef de cuisine respectively, and they are also the ones who work the most hours a week, although it varies with the time of the year. Mary, who is also a chef de cuisine, but who is taking a step down in order to take care of herself, refused to be paid a salary, as she was aware of the risk of working many unpaid hours, like so many others in this industry. Leah says her hours balance themselves out at the end of the season as she works 70-75 hours a week during peak season, but on the other hand works 20-25 hours a week during low-season.

George says his work hours vary a lot, but he believes that he works an average of 50 hours a week. Unfortunately, as he is paid a fixed weekly salary, his overtime hours go unpaid. There was an instance where he had worked a 19-hour day during a very busy week, and later asked for a day off to work on a side-project and was required to use one of his vacation days (he gets two weeks off a year, the legal minimum in Canada). He had worked so much overtime that week that he had assumed they would just give him the day off, but it wasn't the case. He feels a bit frustrated:

Personally, it's painful when you feel yourself 60 hours but only being paid for 40. I think choosing this industry as a cook, you kind of are aware that you are going to work a lot of hours so you kind of accept that. But I feel like it's not fair that you're expected to work extra hours without getting paid when there are people in the business who will end up with larger pay than you and who have less responsibilities and less training and less hours and a less stressful work environment.

None of the respondents get paid overtime, except for Melissa, who thinks she would get paid overtime, but never passed the 40-hour line:

I believe that we do pay overtime, but [the owners] are really careful about never letting us go into overtime.

Mary now works more regular hours, 35 to 40 hours a week, as she took a step down, but she knows that her hours are not common for other BOH workers:

Most people are there about 45 to 60 hours a week. But I know that I will get sick. My body just shuts down if I work that much. I want to work a lot and be there for 50 hours, but I will not be functional. I don't know how people do it, honestly.

At FireWorks, the kitchen team doesn't get paid per hour. But Chef Smith insists that if they volunteer to take on an extra shift (a 6th day of work in a week), that they will then get paid accordingly:

Hourly, no, they don't work overtime. And the cooks, because of the way a day works, we pay a weekly salary. Now if you break it down and start doing the math, they're still very well paid. It just doesn't make sense to pay the cooks hourly. We start our days at 10 in the morning. They only work 5 days a week though. No one ever works more than 5 days a week. And if somebody for whatever reason, somebody's sick and I ask, can anybody help cover? And they work a 6th day, we

pay them for the 6th day. And it has to be a volunteer to work that 6th day. We learnt that. You can't do that anymore.

3.4.2 The Common Practice of 'Banked' Hours

Many restaurant owners make their staff 'bank up' their overtime hours instead of paying them at time and a half right away. Overtime starts after 44 hours a week in Ontario and after 40 hours a week in Quebec (Ontario Ministry of Labor, 2018; CNESST, 2018) and varies across the rest of Canada. In Ontario, banked hours, also known as 'time off in lieu' are legal as long as it is done according to the following conditions: since overtime hours are paid at time and half, (if someone gets paid regularly at \$12 an hour, then they will receive \$18 an hour for their hours of work after 44 hours in a week) it means that their banked hours must be given to them as time and a half as well (Ontario Ministry of Labour, 2018). So the employee should be given "1½ hours of paid time off work for each hour of overtime worked" (ibid.). Agreements can be made "electronically or in writing that the employee will receive time off work instead of overtime pay" (ibid.). Moreover, according to the Ontario Ministry of Labour:

Paid time off must be taken within three months of the week in which the overtime was earned or, if the employee agrees electronically or in writing, it can be taken within 12 months. If an employee's job ends before he or she has taken the paid time off, the employee must be paid for all unused banked time. This must be paid no later than seven days after the date the employment ended or on what would have been the employee's next pay day.

Meanwhile, across the border on the Quebec side, the time and a half rule applies as well, but after 40 hours of work in a week (CNESST, 2018b). Banked hours are also supposed to be given at time and a half so if someone worked 2 hours of overtime then they should get 3 hours off in the near future. The rules around banked hours are not as detailed on the Quebec website.

So, in the case of this research, it appears that banked hours are often paid out at the same rate as their regular hours, like in Jenna's case:

Banked hours aren't paid out at time and a half. When I went on a trip, I think I had some hours banked up because my last paycheck was more than I thought it would be.

Unfortunately, she didn't have precise numbers to back up this statement. She usually works around 40 hours a week, so she doesn't usually get to bank up her hours:

Sometimes it goes a bit over and sometimes it's a bit less.

She also mentions her colleagues who receive a fixed salary and how they sometimes get extra days off as a way to compensate for their extra hours of work:

Some people can take days off. In our kitchen, some people that are on salary just keep track of how long they've worked. If they go over a lot one week, and it's slower and we're caught up, they might not have to come in, but they're still technically paid.

At Chloe's work, similarly to Jenna's comments, overtime hours are banked and then given to them later on as unpaid days off. Chloe works an average of 45 to 50 hours a week, which means that many of her hours (five to 10 per week) should be given to her as days off according to the law.

Not enough details were available from the interviews to know if banked hours were paid out properly and according to the Quebec or Ontario law. Overall, respondents agreed that unpaid overtime, overtime not paid at time and half, and unpaid days off instead of paid days off for banked hours were common among BOH workers.

3.4.3 Working Within a Different Tipping/Non-Tipping System

The idea of a restaurant with hospitality included in the prices where staff is paid more evenly than in the current north American system of tipping seemed appealing to some of the respondents.

Mary liked the idea of switching to a non-tipping policy, but she wouldn't want to be the first employees to test it out:

I think that would be a really drastic change, not saying that it can't be done but, I find the FOH has to change with it too. They can't just be servers, they'd have to be more. It has to be more equal all around. I would need to see someone doing it first, like if a restaurant tried it and it was working well for them, then I would be down to try it. I don't know if I would want to be the test bunny!

Leah mentions how it could potentially even out the pay gap between FOH and BOH:

If we evened out the servers' wages to the kitchen wages, why not? Maybe it would encourage team work and people would work more evenly. Maybe some people would stop complaining.

Melissa doesn't really care about which tipping system is being used, but rather focuses on the amount of money she can make as a BOH worker:

I'd be open to anything that made me more money! Whatever system that gives me more money, I'd be into that!

Chloe believes that working in a non-tipping environment could have benefits for the kitchen workers:

I think non-tipping would make it more fair, or even a better splitting of the tips.

Jenna mentions how at the moment in restaurants in Canada and the US, the owners aren't in charge of paying their employees a living wage:

When I was serving and bartending, you can make a killing with your tips but the longer I work in the industry I find it more peculiar that, especially in the kitchens, staff is so underpaid, and the conditions are quite hard. And the *ownest* isn't really on the owner to provide a living wage. I feel like everybody should be able to make more. If an owner is going to have a business like this then they should have the responsibility to pay their staff a living wage instead of having the clientele basically supporting the income of the workers.

George believes in the value that each person brings to the business and how they should get paid accordingly:

I think that whether it's a result of tipping or not, all the employees who work in a restaurant should be paid in a fair and comparable amount to the other employees. Also, I think that if you bring more value to a restaurant, as in, you have more experience, you have more leadership role, there's more tasks that you have to take care of than somebody else, that you should be paid more than them.

In this same line of thoughts, Chef Michael Smith, uses a pay scale for his staff, based on each employee's experience. Rather than FOH getting paid more per hour due to tips and

BOH getting paid less, he encourages his staff to work their way up and values his employees who have chosen the restaurant industry as their career path:

Even within a service team, there's a hierarchy. We have our service leads, we have our general manager, we have one of the best sommelier and these people deserve to get paid more. They're professionals, they've invested in themselves. They've gone to school, they've got a career. It's not just a summer job for them. And at the other end of the spectrum, we have runners and servers' assistants. They're in university. They might have much more limited experience. But they're smart and they're bright and we like them! But because of that range of responsibilities and experience, we're able to do what any normal business would do and pay, there's a nice pay scale, a range, so you can see yourself working your way up.

This discourse shows that it is possible for an owner to ensure his staff receives a decent living wage even though Jenna's cooking experience in restaurants has showed her the opposite, so far.

3.4.4 Tips: The FOH and BOH Pay Gap

George, who has chosen cooking as a long-term career, and has invested in his career by going to school and working many unpaid stages, like many in the BOH, doesn't understand how servers earn a lot more money at the end of the day, no matter how invested they are in their job:

I feel that it's not fair and I don't really understand how it got to the point where the FOH are able to work less hours and make a decent living wage. There's a lot of people who take it seriously as their career but a lot of them are students that are trying to pay their way through college with a job that has less hours where they can get a good amount of money or people who are in between careers while a lot of people in the kitchen are dedicated to their jobs and want this to be their future. I think that those are the kind of people that the business should invest in rather than people who are just passing through the industry.

George also pointed out the fake hierarchy that is caused by the BOH/FOH pay gap:

Because servers get paid more than cooks it makes them feel superior. They'll disrespect the rules created, they'll look down on us (the kitchen staff) and say: "oh, just do your job" but the problem is that there will be rules that are created to make sure that the cook's job works well, and they'll ignore them to, in their mind, please

the customer and get a better tip and continue making more money. For example, if a chef creates a dish and says they don't want this dish to be modified, a customer will ask that server to modify the dish and the server will make the order and punch it in before asking the chef and then come back and apologize after. In my opinion, it's a form of manipulation because they know that they've said yes to the customer and the chef doesn't want to ruin the customer's experience.

Mary mentions the FOH's lower minimum wage but also supports George's point in the sense that she believes restaurant workers' pay should be based on their skills level rather than on the current FOH/BOH divide:

I know they get paid less than minimum wage and that has to change, we're all born equal, but your skills have to be equal. but I find that for a lot of servers, it is just a job to get by.

Indeed, McAdams mentioned in his research that a lot of servers in Canada are actually transient workers often looking for a way to make money quickly (2012).

Chloe also finds the current pay gap unsustainable:

It's uneven. [The servers] work less hours overall and if you calculate everything, they get paid more by the end of the week.

On the other hand, Melissa agrees that servers deserve the tips they make, but that kitchen workers should also earn more if it stays this way:

There's definitely a huge pay gap. It can be frustrating at times because a lot of the times kitchen are a lot more high-pressure, there's a lot more opportunity to hurt yourself (burning yourself, cutting yourself), I didn't go to school, but I work with people who have gone to school to be there (in the kitchen), and it kind of sucks to see other people make more money with less education. I think the servers deserve their tips, but I think the kitchens deserve a more equal share.

Jenna, as a past FOH staff, knows exactly how big of a difference there is between FOH and BOH earnings. She points out the divide created by this pay gap, similarly to George's answer:

They FOH staff make a ton more money than I do. It's not really a fair system and I don't think it's good in the long run for staff morale because it creates this division

between FOH and BOH. Which is a really big issue at my work. I don't think I've ever been thanked by some of the managers there. Let alone the owners.

Leah, who is in a higher up position as a head chef and who is in a position to hire/fire staff, feels some servers deserve their income and others don't:

I am in a good position, it's not the same as a line cook who gets paid 13\$/hour. I think some servers deserve to get paid this much (with their tips) and some don't. Some work way harder than others. But at my job, since it is seasonal, we won't call back the servers that didn't work as hard for the next season. We want a fair team, that's going in the same direction.

Chef Michael Smith also mentioned the uncertainty faced by FOH workers and how tips don't help the situation in most restaurants:

Service staff, they don't know when they're going to work, they don't necessarily know how many hours they're going to get, they don't know how much they're going to get paid when they go to work that day. Maybe it'll be busy, maybe it won't be busy. They're looking sideways at the other staff because they have conflicting interests sometimes because of this tip system (...). There are all these things that just don't work in our business.

He then added that due to the HI policy at Fireworks and other factors, the FOH staff doesn't face this uncertainty at his restaurant. On top of that, he is able to pay his staff really well:

And all of that [uncertainty] is eliminated. I pay dishwashers 20\$ an hour and I'm happy to!

3.5 Health & Safety in Kitchens

3.5.1 Calling in Sick, Working While Sick and Paid Sick Days

When asked if they were allowed to call in sick at work, some of the respondents laughed. George said he absolutely cannot. He is allowed to switch shift with another employee though, but that often means working a double (two shifts in a row in a one day). When asked if he had been to work sick, he answered:

Every time that I'm sick. Because I don't want someone else to lose their small amount of free time to cover for me, when they already have an overworked schedule.

He also mentioned how people who call in sick or ask for a day off often get shamed for it:

In kitchens, if cooks ask for a day off or if they're told they have to work extra hours and they complain about it, the other cooks will make fun of them behind their back or the chef will even look down on them. It can cause extra stress when you're on your days off even. They'll make you feel bad for it, no matter what the circumstances are.

Mary has lived the same situation at her work, and is currently going to work while being sick, without much time to rest as this interview was conducted in December, during the extremely busy Christmas season. She would not call in sick:

You can call in sick but then you would be kind of judged for it, and considered weak, depending on the place, but unfortunately, where I currently am, it is like that. And no, you do not get paid.

Chloe is simply not allowed to call in sick at her current workplace, as the kitchen team is too small, and as George mentioned, calling in sick would put too much work on someone else's shoulders.

I've showed up to work sick many days, but I have had one good employer that would send me home, but I would never not go in. The teams are so small that you know that you're screwing everyone else over if you don't go in.

Jenna has also been sent home in the past after going to work sick:

What is a sick day?! Normally if I'm sick I'll let the chef know and then show up to work, and if I am too sick, then I get sent home, but I don't think it's really common. Paid sick days, that would be the dream!

Unfortunately, the option to leave and go home is not always available for her, like many other restaurant workers:

I closed three nights ago but I had eaten something during the days that hadn't settled well with me, so I was vomiting for the last four hours of my shift and just had to finish it. It sucked. And we didn't even have a dishwasher that night.

Jayaraman, who studied the US restaurant industry, explained how working while sick is not only bad for the workers and their colleagues, but also for the customers:

ROC has found in industry-wide surveys that the vast majority of restaurants across the country pressure their employees to work while sick or injured—giving us, the diners, an extra helping of germs with our meals and putting us at risk for foodborne illness. (2013: 43)

Leah said she was allowed to call in sick, but then shared about a work day where she went in sick and then got sent home later on:

Recently, I showed up to work feeling like I might be sick, after two hours and going to the bathroom four times, my boss sent me home for everyone's sake.

Chef Michael Smith, on the other hand, accepts the fact that his kitchen staff sometimes gets sick:

If you're sick, you're sick, I'm not going to make you work. And I'm not going to dock your pay either.

Although paid days sound like a dream for many kitchen workers, they are a possibility in some rare instances. On top of paid sick days, chef Smith is able to offer bereavement pay:

We've had a few instances where family members have died, and people have had to go for a week. I'd pay them anyways. It's just the right thing to do.

The chef/owner of Fireworks then made sure to explain that paid sick days and bereavement pay are not a result of the hospitality included policy alone:

Honestly, when I created the policy, I didn't fully think it through (...). I never let a lack of planning get in the way of my gut. My gut told me that this is the right thing to do. Just because I don't fully understand all the intricacies of it is not a good reason not to do it. We charge in, we get in, we're halfway through our first year and there's a couple of family deaths and all of a sudden, I realize, you know what? We're in a position to pay bereavement here (...). And again, I want to be

clear, I can't say to you that the HI policy [covers for it all], it helps me, but it's not the full trigger or cause. The real trigger is just knowing that we do business the right way. We do it ethically. We take care of our team. At this 5-star level, if my team is not enveloped with love, they're not going to do the same thing for my guests. They're just not going to do it. So, we work collaboratively and we're part of a very strong business and it allows the business to be a part of this equation as well.

3.5.2 High Heat, Burns and Cuts, Drinking and Drugs: A Difficult Environment

Three interviewees mentioned the extremely high heat they have to work in sometimes and all of the interviewees talked about the high level of stress that comes with working in a kitchen. Skin rashes due to stress or high heat (or both), were encountered by three interviewees. George felt it wasn't safe at many of the restaurants he has worked at due to the extremely high heat:

A lot of kitchens are not ventilated properly, or their hood vent equipment is really old and not working properly and the heat will get so high that it's dangerous to work in those conditions. I've been in kitchens that are so hot that it feels like your brain is cooking, it's at a temperature that you would cook meat at, just the air that you're standing in. This causes an incredible amount of sweat and chaffing that can lead to rashes and discomfort and not being able to perform or think straight and it can lead to dangerous situations.

Jenna concurs, as she even passed out once at work due to the extremely high heat. She used the word "safety", as George did. She feels it is inhumane to work in such conditions:

I feel like, within the industry, sometimes it's not always the safest job. For instance, this summer I would get heat stroke at work because, there's no proper cooling system in the kitchen and it was close to 55 degrees over the grill station. That's pretty inhumane! I actually passed out at work. It would be cool to see better regulations for how the ventilation works in these places. I know it's not in every restaurant, but a lot that I've worked at. This whole summer I had a heat rash that started at my wrist and went all the way up my arm. I still have it. I think my skin is just messed up now. Because that's the hand I'm grilling with.

Leah also talked about how her skin is still affected by her work from this past season (she works in a seasonal restaurant). She believes her rash was caused by a very high level of

stress during the busy summer season:

When we have two to four tournaments in a week during the summer, and you have to prep everything, receive orders, make new orders, manage the BOH and FOH staff, it's a lot. I've been getting eczema since the summer, on my legs, caused by stress. Now it's slowly healing up as the slow season is coming to an end. The fact that the head of the restaurant and I weren't getting along, before she got fired, also caused me a lot of stress.

George also feels a high level of stress in relations to his job and he struggles with separating his work problems from his personal life:

I have many times had issues with my stress and even panic attacks and you carry it home with you from work and it can affect your social life. You can't take time off work to deal with any kind of personal issues and the average cook job won't pay you well enough to deal with any mental issues that you might be struggling with. You won't be able to afford medication or proper counselling. If you do pay for them, it'll take all of your disposable income.

Mary used the word trigger to describe her high stress work situations:

I get triggered every time I see the executive chef. I start having anxiety attacks. I think I'm going to get in shit. I make things up in my head. It triggers me. I think I'm going to get in trouble, I think that what I'm doing is wrong. I lose my confidence. I start just freaking out, and it sucks because, he's not a bad guy and it's not his intention but to see him gives me bad emotions. Even though it's the same thing every day, the first chit (the first order that comes up at the restaurant) triggers me. Then you get in the groove and it's fun and I remember why I like cooking. But you never want to disappoint someone, I am a people pleaser.

Melissa didn't use the word 'trigger' but she also feels like service, when you get the first orders in especially, can cause her anxiety:

Sometimes just service itself can be overwhelming. There's been nights where I thought: I don't know how I'm going to get through the night, but it always works out in the end. It's my own anxieties for sure.

Jenna also feels overwhelmed at work sometimes especially in situations where she is sick at work but can't go home:

I've cried at work a lot of times. Once because I didn't have any yogurt for a recipe, really silly reasons sometimes. The other night when I was sick at work, I got a rush at 1:30 am and I was pretty stressed out, I guess I was just done with being there at that point. I was literally putting on food and then running to bathroom to vomit. It was nasty!

Another common issue in kitchen is the risks of burning/cutting yourself. As Jayaraman explained, "every kitchen worker [she has] asked about burns and cuts simply rolls up his or her sleeves and shows [her] the scars" (2013: 51). George thought it was important to mention burns and cuts at work at the end of his interview:

It's common and expected that you're going to be burnt and cut [while working in kitchens] but sometimes it can be really severe and you're not able to leave your work station or seek medical help. There's many times I've seen people who get burns or cuts and should be going to the hospital right away, but they have to stay and they're kind of pressured into staying by their chef or bosses.

This quote confirms the feeling of "helplessness faced by the workers in such situations" mentioned by Jayaraman (ibid.). Every kitchen worker that was interviewed for this research had scars or rashes linked to their profession.

Moreover, Mary talked about alcohol and drugs being a common issue for kitchen/restaurant staff. She even quit one of her previous job due to its toxic environment:

There was too much drinking and drugs involved and I didn't want to be around that, because I'm easily influenced. I know how to have a good time but when you're surrounded by it you drink more. We've all been through it. It made me realize, you are who you are surrounded with. So, I decided I didn't want to be that person anymore.

Jenna also mentioned having a "staff drink" after work, a common practice among BOH and FOH staff to relax after working long and high stress shifts. She also described her previous chef as someone who would consume an important amount of alcohol while at work:

At my previous job the chef drank a lot to the point where he was obnoxiously

drunk.

This unfortunate situation led to even more problems at her previous workplace. Even though only two interviewees mentioned drinking and drugs as an issue in kitchens, it is a part of the restaurant industry's reality, based on the researcher's past experience and discussions with many restaurant workers.

3.6 The "Bro" Culture in Kitchens

3.6.1 Sexism

Unfortunately, sexist comments towards women are still a common thing "behind the kitchen door" as confirmed by the interviewees. According to Leah, who started working in kitchens 25 years ago, cooking professionally as a woman was not a common thing:

As a woman in the restaurant industry, maybe 15-20 years back when I started working in the kitchen, there were only men in the kitchen. To them, a woman could cook at home, not in a restaurant. So yes, I faced a lot of sexism at work.

Mary explains that she feels judged when she's trying to lead and speak up while if a man does the same, everyone respects him:

I'm a woman in the kitchen. I'm spoken to differently, I'm looked at differently. I have to work harder to gain the same respect (as a guy) and some men understand but in general men start at a certain level while we (women) have to prove ourselves first before we can even be at that same level. "Can she hang with the boys?" would be a way to put it. I'm fortunate, I grew up with all brothers, I have always looked fairly tomboyish, but I am still sensitive. Guys in the kitchen consider crying or being a little bit more emotional as weak. When I speak up or speak my mind I'm considered a bitch while a guy is just being authoritative. That is a double standard that is still around.

Chloe agrees that sexism in kitchens is still a problem, but she doesn't let it affect her:

Some minimal sexist comments have been directed at me but I'm pretty good at brushing them off.

She did notice a sexual divide at one of her previous jobs, where tasks were divided by sex rather than by skill:

I've also worked in a golf club where only the guys were allowed to touch the hot food while anything from salads and cold side to deserts was all girls.

George also noted that there are less women in higher positions in kitchen than men. Mary would like to see more women working in kitchens, when asked what changes she would like to see in the industry, her answer was:

To have more women in the kitchen. I don't see a lot of them at the moment. It goes in wave. Recently I've seen a big drop. I've walked around to different restaurants and right now I find it's a 'bro culture.'

Moreover, in line with Chloe's past experience and the sexual divide in the kitchen, he noticed "that guys can work the hot line faster than girls (hot side versus cold side and deserts)." He has also heard sexist comments many times:

I've heard more than one male cook saying, for instance there would be a female cook who was struggling or maybe giving them attitude and he would behind their back say: That's why women shouldn't be allowed in the kitchen.

3.6.2 Sexual Harassment

As explained by Jayaraman, the problem with sexual harassment is persisting within the restaurant industry in the US context (2013). Without generalizing to the Canadian context, two of our six interviewees had some harsh stories to share when the topic of sexual harassment was introduced. Leah confronted management after being sexually harassed by one of her male colleagues:

In terms of sexual harassment, about two years back, at one of my previous jobs, there was a cook that was about 50-55 years old, and one time I was looking for something in the walk-in fridge, my hands were up in the air and he walked in, put his hand between mine while slightly touching my breast and talking to me. Then I told him right away: "It's too bad for you, but you just lost your job." Then I went right away to management, told them that if they weren't firing him, that I would file in an official complaint and bring them to court. They fired him two days after.

Jenna faced a similar situation, but the person who harassed her was also the person in charge, the head chef. There was no reaction from management when she reported this

inappropriate event. She eventually left that job as she wanted to work for someone she can respect:

At my previous job the chef drank a lot to the point where he was obnoxiously drunk. After I closed one night, I was sitting at the bar taking my staff drink and he tried to kiss me. This is like after I'm telling him: "no, I'm just having my beer, just unwinding after a busy shift", and then he tried to kiss me again and he stuck his tongue in my ear and it was one of the most disgusting feelings in the world. I brought it up to management, nothing really happened. The chef apologized to me though. But I don't think he understood how gross I found it, his behavior. I want to be able to respect my chef and that kind of destroyed that. He gave me a bottle of scotch as an apology.

In this case, the chef got out of it without any consequences, as opposed to Leah's situation. Buying a bottle of scotch to someone does not make up for such inappropriate behavior.

On the other hand, Mary didn't go into details but insisted that she has seen sexual harassment happen many times throughout her career in kitchens. It is upsetting that the people doing the harm are often the people in charge in restaurants, e.g. Jenna's story above, as Mary explains:

Sexual harassment, yes. I've seen it. I have seen a friend get harassed by a manager, literally. I've seen it in more than one restaurant. Three locations that I've worked at I've seen it, always by a higher up, by people in charge of the restaurant. I've simplified it. But yes, I have seen it. We're women, we're told to toughen up, but who do we trust when it's our leaders doing it to us.

Jenna also noted how common it is for the FOH staff to get sexually harassed by customers:

In terms of sexual harassment, I feel like it's pretty rampant in restaurants and in the industry. I know a lot of servers, women, who will just get grabbed by clients, or touched inappropriately.

3.6.3 Racial Discrimination & Transphobia

Most interviewees noticed racist comments, sexist comments and a generally inappropriate joking culture as being a part of the BOH. For instance, George remembers two specific comments coming from his colleagues:

I've heard countless jokes made by certain cooks when people of a certain racial descent would come into the restaurant, for instance if a black person walked into the restaurant they would generalize and say, "better have the fried chicken ready!". One time, someone who looked of middle-eastern descent came in to the restaurant and a cook told one of the server to check under their chair for a bomb.

Mary's comment goes into the same direction, as she talks about "racial slurs" in the BOH:

A lot from it is coming from the "bro culture" in the kitchens. Guys joking around together, they don't even realize! I would get wrapped into it. You make jokes and we all let it happen, because, it's a joke. But if you want to be considered a professional that is respected, I think that that needs to stop...

Melissa adds that "lines have definitely been crossed before" during her past as a kitchen worker, and just as Mary said, she also participated in such conversations:

I've definitely worked with cooks who have said things that I've been like, wow, not necessarily to anyone's face, but like the banter. There was a place where I was working in Vancouver where I worked with a transgender dude and there were a lot of people that were shitty to him about it. There's also sort of joke atmosphere surrounding things like that which I have definitely participated in. I've never felt unsafe or anything.

As for Jenna, she hasn't heard any racist comments at her work, but she did notice a lack of diversity within the staff:

As for racism, yes it exists, but I haven't seen any explicit instances. When I started working here, pretty much the entire staff was white, but now there's a bit more diversity within it, but at first it was very bizarre.

On the other hand, Leah knows of restaurant manager whose hiring practices are tainted with racism, where skin tone matters more than actual skills:

I've seen many restaurants where they simply didn't want to hire Pakistani people, black people or Arabic people.

Overall, the interviewees' answers didn't compare to Saru Jayaraman's analysis of racial

discrimination in American restaurants (2013), but the respondents did agree that racism was still an issue, even if racist comments often stay in the kitchen as jokes. The ‘bro culture’ isn’t harmless as it normalizes sexist, transphobic or racist comments and jokes between staff. Where’s the limit?

3.7 Balancing Work and Life

Every worker who was interviewed for the purpose of this research admitted not feeling satisfied with their work-life balance. Mary, who recently took a step to improve her work-life balance, but then realized that her decision wasn’t well perceived by management. She even doubted her decision after a year of working more reasonable hours and feeling generally better:

I thought it was good, but apparently it was a wrong decision on my part.

Mary felt that if she felt happier and had a more balanced life, it would show at work. Maybe she would be there for less hours, but she would be happy, and it could have a positive effect on the team in her opinion:

I thought I was doing the right thing, because a happier me means a happier team.

Unfortunately, it wasn’t perceived that way by her bosses:

When [management] spoke about it, they said: “It’s not that you did a bad job, but as a leader you need to be around more.” Even though I would go in during the day after practice, they wouldn’t know, all they would notice is how I wasn’t there at night.

Overall, Mary feels like taking a step back professionally was the right thing to do for her well-being, her work-life balance:

I think I found out what I want more this year. I’ve been able to look after myself more. And self-reflect a little more, and realize that ok, I am not as happy as I thought at work, so I need to make a change.

Chloe also feels like her work-life balance is greater than in the past, although it’s not perfect yet. She mentions the importance to make efforts to have a more balanced life:

It's better than it's been at other places, but I work both weekend days, so it makes it harder to have a social life. It's better than it used to be. It's part of personal learning and not just as an employee, you have to force yourself to do it or put limits to make it happen.

Melissa and Jenna don't feel so good about their work-life balance. Melissa has a hard time focusing on her personal life while putting all of her energy towards her job:

I feel like I work more than I have a life. It's not very balanced for sure. But that's also partly my personality type, where if I'm putting that much time towards something, I have a hard time putting efforts towards other areas.

Jenna, who is an artist as well as a kitchen worker, finds the restaurant industry unsustainable for its workers:

It's probably not very good but after doing four days in a row, on my day off I don't even want to move. I feel like a lot of people talk about needing to work on their work-life balance. This industry kind of drives you to destroy yourself in some ways.

Leah feels her life is balanced during the low-season at her work, but not at all during the busy summer months when she works 75-hour weeks. When asked about her work life balance, she explains the particularity of working at a seasonal restaurant and the consequences that she has chosen to live with for now:

I would like to say yes. At the moment, I can say yes (slower season). But during the summer, when all the festivals are happening in Montreal, I am stuck here at the golf course, working non-stop five, six or seven days a week. So, I could maybe say that I would like to have a better life in the summer, but at the same time, I've made a choice, and I understand my position. I don't have anyone in my life, no kids, so it's not like I had to make a choice. My choice for now is my career, if I meet someone, then we will see what happens!

3.7.1 Seasonality

Seasonality can greatly affect the workers in the restaurant industry, as George explains how it affects him and his stress levels at his current workplace:

Summer is a busier time in the restaurant, there will be a lot more customers and the services will be very intense and stressful. But I don't think it affects the hours that we work, more the stress within those hours. There's always work to do, it's never ending.

Mary finds seasonality affects her perception of holidays, Christmas for instance, when most people are celebrating, but she is busier than ever at work:

Everyone loves Christmas, I used to love it before I started cooking. But now I actually hate it. I'm so miserable. I work so hard, just to put out stupid menus for these people who have copious amounts of money, who don't even care about the food I'll be putting out. Sorry, I really don't like this time of year, I'm exhausted and I get bitter. I'm tired.

Chloe feels similarly to Mary and explains how taking days off in the summer is not an option at her current workplace:

Christmas is always a lot more work, a lot more stress. And whenever the low season (March and January) is, is also whenever you are encouraged to use up your banked-up hours and take days off but it's not necessarily when you want to take days off. The summer gets really busy for us because of tourists so it's harder to take time off then, but that's obviously when you would want to take the time off, when you are working that hard, you'd want to take the time off, when you can appreciate it.

Seasonality also affects Melissa's work-life balance:

There the general flow of things, sometimes it's really busy, other times it sort of drops off, it's definitely easier to be more involved in my personal life when we're in a slow period because going to work isn't so draining.

Jenna feels like seasonality does not have an impact at the restaurant where she is working at:

We're pretty busy all year round but I wish that I could say that it does in terms of the food that we offer but unfortunately that's not really a thing. No, not so much. It's a really hip spot. It's really well situated so it's always busy, although it has been a bit slower lately because people are saving up for Christmas.

Chef Michael Smith's inn and restaurant are only open for five months out of the year, but some of his employees work through the year. The restaurant staff works steady through the five-month season:

We employ 55 people, 10 of those people year-round. My chef is year-round, our farmer is obviously year-round. The whole office staff is year-round, and we have multiple revenue streams of our company, some that has zero to do with the restaurant so, it's a little blurry on who does what, when, where, when. The restaurant revenue is in a five-month chunk and it's the portion to that team during that time.

The switch to a non-tipping policy, although it has a cost for the business, was the right decision to make in terms of his staff's well-being. Chef Smith mentioned the importance of having insurable income in the Maritimes (Eastern provinces of Canada), especially for his seasonal staff in order to receive employment insurance (EI) during the off-season:

And because we pay this [fixed wages, no tips] and [the staff] is not taking so much of their income in the form of a tip or gratuity that then they have to administer, self-report, and all of the pitfalls that go along with that, we take all that off the table and do it for them. And as a benefit there, all of that income is insured, it's all subject to EI. And in the Maritimes, the EI system props up the tourism industry. There's no other way for it to work. They need some kind of back stop during the winter months. It's very simple, we're 150 thousand people on Prince Edward Island, but we welcome 1.5 million tourists a year and all of those tourists come in a quick short three to four months period. So, our economy would not work if that EI system wasn't there, and when people work in restaurants where they're tipped, their tips are not insured and are not eligible for EI ...And of course, it costs our business, it costs seven percent right off the top. It costs the business for us to do this for our staff. Having said that, so what! I don't care! It's the right thing to do! And when we do things the right way in our business, it just creates this great big giant karmic well that we draw from in so many other ways and I firmly believe that.

Chef Smith insists on how the HI policy was the right decision to make for the social sustainability of his project in the long run, especially in PEI's seasonal tourism context:

You used the term social sustainability, I like that term (...). It aptly describes our overall approach to our business. I said to my wife when we started the project four years ago, 10 years into this thing if we don't have at the heart of it, a solid middle-

class family, a farmer's family and a chef's family at the heart of our business, the new did something very wrong. I'm not trying to put it on a pedestal. But we pay really well and are happy to pay really well and that's what it takes! Even though we're only open five months out of the year, I need that year-round commitment and we've got to pay for that. And all of that we're able to do, partially because of this hospitality included. We've had zero problem in our business because of this, not a single problem.

3.7.2 Access to Benefits

Only one out of the six interviewees, Mary, has access to medical benefits at her work:

After one year of employment with the company, I was allowed to opt-in on the benefits plan.

However, Chloe mentioned how "most people get benefits through their partners' work." George, who does not have access to benefits at his work nor through his partner, feels it is unfair and unsustainable. On the other hand, Melissa said that the owners of the restaurant she works for are thinking about adding a benefits plan for their employees:

From what I understand, we're looking at opening a second location and if we do expand, we'll have more of an opportunity for stuff like that. It's really hard for a small team. You end up buying in a lot.

"Buying in a lot" simply means that a benefits plan is not free for employees, it usually cost a fixed amount that is directly taken off their paycheck.

At FireWorks, similarly to Mary's case, benefits are offered after the first year of employment, as explained by Chef Smith:

In the second year that you work for us, you get the exact same family medical benefits plan that I have for my own family.

3.7.3 Work Perks and Opportunities for Personal Growth

Chef Smith mentioned how they like to invest in their employees and make them feel valued and appreciated at the Inn at Bay Fortune and its restaurant FireWorks. He values all of his staff, and by doing so, encourages people to work for him as a career, or as a long-term commitment. From staff parties to plane tickets to Europe to go 'stage' at a world

class restaurant during the inn's off season, chef Smith makes sure his employees know how valued they are:

We're able to throw grand parties at the end of the year for everybody and give bonuses and make sure that our key management staff for instance they all have an educational component in their contract, where, at their discretion, I fly them all over the world for conferences, and stages. I'm flying one of my sous-chefs to Copenhagen this winter to work, etc. I need to be careful, that's not revenue that comes directly from the HI, from the tips so to speak, what that is, is a sign of a very healthy restaurant with good smart budgeting with a long-range view of how things are going to work and with the option and the ability and the desire to invest in our team. We've got a sommelier now on team who's going for her WSET (Wine & Spirit Education Thrust) level three and level four. We're paying for the whole thing. Well, we should! And we're able to do that because we're a solid business without the ambiguity that would come with tips and gratuities and all of it.

When asked if his employees were happy at work, chef Smith did not hesitate and said "Yes!" Answers varied among the six interviewees when asked if they felt happy at work. None of them mentioned such work perks at their current workplace.

3.8 Social Sustainability in the Workplace: The Workers' Lived Experience

3.8.1 The Interviewees' Perception

George does not consider his current job and workplace as socially sustainable for many reasons such as the lack of access to benefits and the very low wages compared to the amount of work and work hours that he puts in:

I don't see it as a sustainable work environment because I feel the pay that we're given is not enough to take care of our basic human needs outside of work. We're paid very little and we're offered no benefits so if any kind of real health problem or sudden crisis where you're going to need benefits or money (ex. dental work), you're either going to use the very small savings that you have saved up for or you're not going to have enough money to take care of that problem, so it will linger and continue to grow.

Mary believes her work environment is not as unsustainable as many others within the restaurant industry:

That's why I have stayed there for so long. But it's not there yet, no. That's why I wanted to step down, because there isn't that balance. (...) I was struggling because I was at work so much that I decided to take on a coaching job, and instead of [the owners of the restaurant] coming to me to tell me that they don't think it's a good idea, they let me suffer for a year and treated me differently for a year. They would say: "maybe she can do it" but then they would talk behind my back. So, nothing was really going wrong, the food cost was fine, etc. but I wasn't at the restaurant as much and as a lead, you should be at the restaurant more.

Mary realized that it was her who had to make changes to live a more sustainable lifestyle, to have a better work-life balance, as her bosses would always push her to work more hours, no matter if she wasn't happy at work:

But then, I started to realize. "I'm not your girl, I get it, if you want someone that is there for six days, seven days a week, then I'm not your person". And it took a lot from me to even realize. It's something that a lot of people don't get. You just got to let it go and it was hard. But if you want that balance then you should make sacrifices. You can't be a head chef and have that balance it seems. It has to be your whole life, which I find really unhealthy.

Chloe, who works at a small-scale, progressive restaurant, with mostly female workers, feels like her boss is definitely making efforts to improve the social sustainability of her business, but that there is still more to be done:

I think the owner tries, but I think with the reality of what people are willing to pay [for the food at the restaurant] and finding enough people to work, it's hard to actually do.

The restaurant where she works has undergone major changes in the past year. It has expanded and thus changed category, within the Québec government restaurant scale:

Before the restaurant got bigger, we were categorized under "casse-croûte", which means everyone was paid a normal wage, there were no salary wage, and the owner would divide the tips and give more to the kitchen. That's how she used to do it. But now that it is table service, people are tipping on machines at the tables, and someone has to declare it. As the servers are down to the minimum server wage, and since they are declaring it, they're giving less to the kitchen than before. The owner was trying before, but now she doesn't have a choice. Someone has to

declare the tips and that's the easiest way to manage it. She did give us a raise when the expansion happened, but it doesn't equal what the kitchen tips were before.

Chloe also mentions the current labor shortage within the restaurant industry:

The owner's been trying to hire someone to try take off her load and we can't hire. There's no one. There's such a shortage. Everyone's hiring, both in Gatineau and Ottawa and no one can find staff. If you're looking for a job, most people come to look on the Ottawa side, because of the higher minimum wage.

The minimum wage in Ontario is \$14 per hour while across the bridge on the Québec side where Chloe works, the minimum wage is currently at \$12 per hour. This minimum wage applies to BOH workers but FOH workers receive a lower minimum wage due to tips and having to pay taxes on their tips.

Melissa reiterates how small the restaurant she works at is, and how that impacts her perception of social sustainability at her work. Moreover, the need for appreciation comes out as an important factor as well:

It's a really small place so management relies really heavily on the few staff members that we have. There have been times where I've been extremely frustrated with that sort of aspect of it. I get no say in what days I get to have off (...). I understand management's perspective on that, when you can't afford to have all these people trained and ready to work when you have less than 30 seats. But, definitely sometimes I feel like I put a lot in and I don't really get a lot of appreciation.

Jenna also does not consider her current workplace as socially sustainable:

I see a lot of people, especially in the kitchen, who burn out. It's really long hours and it takes a really heavy toll on your body.

Leah, who is now in a higher-up position at her work, and who has been cooking for 25 years professionally, feels her employees are treated a lot better than she did in her past:

I got badly treated when I was younger while working in this industry, so I can't imagine treating my employees that way. So, my staff is very well treated. They get regular breaks on very hot days, as long as we all get the job done when we have busy events. Sometimes, when it's 50 degrees, we take fridge breaks where we go

stand in the walk-in fridge to cool off for a minute. They get good wages, from \$16 and up. The servers get their uniform paid for. The only thing that is missing would be access to benefits. For instance, in my case, if I take a sick day during the lower season, I still get paid because I have worked so many extra hours in the summer that it evens out. But servers don't get paid when they call in sick. It's not easy to offer a benefits package here as we are closed 3 months a year (from Christmas until end of March). Would it be worth it to keep the restaurant open during these months to get a continuity on our insurance (benefits)? I know that offering benefits to staff can be very expensive for a company and for the staff.

However, she did not say that her workplace was socially sustainable. Working in 50 degrees heat, no matter how many breaks you get, would be difficult for anybody.

On the other hand, chef Smith believes his restaurant is a socially sustainable workplace. His discourse stands out among the six interviewees' experiences in the restaurant industry:

We could talk all week on that one. The choices that we make, the things that we do to be a sustainable member of our communities. There's a lot of communities that we're a part of (...). [Social sustainability] is just the very ethos of our restaurant, at the heart of it all, what we do. The very way that our product is all about bringing people together and sparking a big conversation around the table, that's what we do, that's what we sell.

He then explained the importance of every detail that form a part of the unique experience that is offered at FireWorks:

As I said, it's a once a night food performance and once you get over the fact that we grow everything we serve, everything, we cook it all with live fire, which is all very nice, but the most important thing we do is we bring people together around long feast tables, strangers sitting shoulder to shoulder along with strangers every single night. Social sustainability, I believe is the very heart of what we do.

He mentioned also the experience from the guests' side and how they try to make people connect over food. He reiterates that what they offer isn't only a meal:

We force people to have discourse, to talk and be with each other, leave their freaking devices behind and get their head out of the screen and the digital world and live a real life. The connection between how food is created, how it's the work that goes into food, that's what we're trying to do. You're not coming to us for just

a meal, if you were, you'd take 20 bucks and go down the street to get a meal, but not come spend a 190 with us. It's not about the meal. We are more than a meal. We are a way for you to come and experience and understand and learn: what does it take to produce food? What's the work that goes into it. So, all of that is founded on social sustainability and trying to do something real and authentic with our business. It's right at the heart and the core and then it just ripples in every possible way.

Chef Smith then added that taking good care of his team is at the heart of his business and that it reflects in the quality of the service offered, as opposed to other companies who don't put their staff first:

And we're also a business that firmly believes and understands that our staff comes first. They are more important to us than our guests. Our staff comes first. And I find it so disingenuous all these big companies [that say] the guest comes first. And they do that at the expense of their own staff, the people that matter to them day-in day-out, are marginalized because of these blanket policies (...). In our case, we take care of our team, they take care of our guests, it's really simple.

3.8.2 Key Themes: A Summary and Discussion

Themes mentioned throughout this research were put together in a final table after going back and forth through many phenomenological loops. The links between the themes are not exclusive, as most themes are interwoven in a way or another, through the overarching concept of social sustainability.

Table 4: Key Themes of Social Sustainability in the BOH

Social sustainability in the BOH				
Work-life balance	Need for recognition	Wage equality	Health and safety	'Bro' culture/toxic work environment
Seasonality	Opportunities for professional growth	Tipping vs non-tipping	Sick days	Sexism, Racial discrimination, transphobia: Going too far?

Access to benefits	Quitting for recognition, better pay, better conditions	Paid or unpaid hours	High heat/High stress	Sexual harassment
	Income satisfaction			
Work perks/ Opportunities for personal growth		‘Banked’ hours	Burns and cuts	Drinking and drugs

Source: Interviews and results

As seen above, five main themes were identified: work-life balance, the need for recognition, wage equality, health and safety and the ‘bro’ culture that is also called toxic work environment.

Work-life balance is a very broad theme, but we chose to link it to seasonality, as most interviewees mentioned how much high season was also high stress season for them, e.g. Christmas time or summer. Many of them mentioned how they would like to be able to take their time off during the summer but how that is simply impossible due to how busy they are at work and how small the teams are in independent restaurants. Chloe also said that she was usually encouraged by her boss to take her banked hours as days off in February or March, during the low-season, and how that is not when she wants or needs the time off. Leah and George both mentioned working up to 75 hours a week during peak season, which also happens to be the summer in both cases. As Leah explained, it can be a challenge for cooks to have a balanced work-life during high season at work. In her case, during the summer she always feels like she is missing out on festivals and activities in Montreal, but she also acknowledges that she gets to relax and recharge during the off-season, which works out for her. Jenna, whose focus is given to her cooking career while also having another career on the side sometimes finds it really hard to do anything on her first day off after four days in a row of intense cooking work. Melissa also mentioned the exhaustion after working long and busy weekend shifts at the restaurant.

Access to benefits was also added to the balanced work-life category. Mary was proud to say that she was offered to opt-in to a benefits plan after a year of work and chef Michael Smith was also proud to say that his employees can opt-in to a great family medical benefits plan after a year of working at FireWorks. Benefits can have a great impact on someone’s life balance. Dentist fees and medical fees can be extremely expensive in Canada even though we have access to basic universal health care. Having access to family medical benefits reduces the uncertainty that comes with working in restaurants.

The work perks and personal growth category was added after talking with chef Smith. His willingness to invest in his team has proven to be very fruitful as it encourages his staff to work at the Inn at Bay Fortune and FireWorks as a long-term plan. As mentioned previously, investing in his committed staff is “the right thing to do”. However, none of the BOH workers interviewed mentioned any work perks, except for benefits, in Mary’s case. Work perks can vary greatly, from staff meals to yearly staff parties, from participating in educational conferences to culinary competitions, among others. These perks can enrich a worker’s experience. We also linked this subcategory to the need for recognition of the workers, as such perks show appreciation from the managers/owners of an establishment.

The need for recognition include opportunities for professional growth such as moving up from line cook to sous-chef, or from sous-chef to chef. We mentioned how, oftentimes, cooks have to move on from one restaurant to another in order to progress in their career. Chef Smith also said that his advice to younger chefs is not to linger in a work environment that isn’t positive, but rather to move on for the sake of learning. The need for recognition also includes raises and income satisfaction, which brings us to the following category: wage equality.

This research ended up not focussing so much on the FOH/BOH pay gap, but it did include it, as it is a part of restaurant workers’ experience in Canada. The pay gap exists and is unfair according to all of our interviewees. Many of them suggested that pay should be based on skills and experience rather than the FOH/BOH divide. Chef Smith explained how he pays his staff accordingly based on their experience and so transient staff, university students for instance, get paid less than the sommelier and the general manager who have invested in their career and are in it for the long run, no matter if they work FOH or BOH. His HI policy has evened out the gap and has put forward team work. Some of the interviewees were a little apprehensive towards the possibility of switching to a non-tipping policy, but they also showed an interest for a fairer pay for everyone in a restaurant. Every one of them agreed that servers are earning too much money compared to cooks, especially as many servers choose this path as a way to make quick cash while a lot of cooks chose cooking as their career.

Paid and unpaid hours, ‘banked’ hours, are also a part of the wage equality category. Jayaraman mentions “wage theft” (2013), but in the Canadian context, this theme made more sense. Something that stood out during the interview was the lack of understanding towards unpaid overtime hours and banked hours given to employees as unpaid days off.

The health and safety category was simply shocking. Working while sick appeared to be extremely common and getting shamed for calling in sick as well. The fact that teams are small has a direct impact on this. Indeed, some interviewees mentioned how they simply cannot call in sick as there would be no one to cover for them and would thus put the whole team under extra pressure, in an already knowingly stressful work environment. Moreover, more than one interviewee mentioned having worked under unbearable condition in extremely high heat, that caused them skin rashes, dehydration and even fainting. Burns and cuts are considered normal among BOH workers, as Jayaraman pointed out (2013), and as confirmed by our interviewees.

Finally, the ‘bro’ culture, that we also called toxic work environment, covers the topics of sexism, sexual harassment, racial discrimination and transphobia. Many interviewees mentioned the ‘bro’ culture where jokes tend to go a little too far in the BOH in terms of racial discrimination. Five out of the six interviewees are women, and all of them confirmed that they had been talked down to or talked to differently because of their sex. Leadership coming from a woman is often perceived negatively by their male counterparts, while leadership coming from a man is generally admired. Sexism remains an issue in restaurants to this day. Two out of the six interviewees have been put through difficult sexual harassment situations and all of the interviewees confirmed that they had witnessed or heard about such situations within their time in the restaurant industry.

CONCLUSION

These five final categories (work-life balance, the need for recognition, wage equality, health and safety and the ‘bro’ culture) are meant to give an overview of the current issues that are faced by BOH workers in independent Canadian restaurants through the context of social sustainability.

Some more questions arose after the interviewing process and could be added to the questionnaire for further research. The open-ended question at the very end of the questionnaire (for BOH staff) gave a great opportunity to the respondents to open up about topics that were not directly mentioned during the interview. Their comments and follow-up informal discussions brought up more potential questions that could have added depth to this research. Going through the interviews and identifying themes also brought up more potential topics and questions that could have been touched upon. Some of these questions could have been added to the questionnaire:

Do you get any breaks at work? Please explain.

Do BOH employees who are smokers get breaks at work?

Do you get a lunch break/dinner break/staff meal at work?

Have you worked in a kitchen where the heat was unbearable?

Do you receive any work perks at your current workplace?

Moreover, some answers remained ambiguous as most of the workers interviewed didn’t know what percentage they were being tipped out for or were not keeping track of their banked hours in order to know if the days off/wages received reflected the right amount of overtime hours they had worked. The interviewees didn’t have the official information concerning the owners/managers taking a cut of the FOH tips and if so, how much. In order to claim the right amount of overtime pay or banked hours, the workers need to be informed of their rights and of their work agreements, in terms of tip-out percentage and overtime hours for instance.

Throughout these conversation, the habit of shaming each other in kitchens has come up more than once. There seems to be a culture in the BOH of not telling even when knowing that a situation is not ok. The CNESST (2018) website for Quebec workers and the Ontario Ministry of Labour (2018) websites are clear and reliable sources for workers to know their rights. Since there is no such organisation as ROC in Canada, BOH workers have to come together and support each other in situations where they are not being respected instead of shaming each other. Quitting a job for better opportunities is great, but at the same time, it means that someone else will be stuck in that same situation thereafter. BOH workers have

to learn to fight for their rights. An organisation like ROC could be highly beneficial to Canadian restaurant workers. Strength in numbers could be the answer to many unfair situations that are lived daily by many workers. Changes are necessary at the higher level as well. Restaurant owners can take responsibility for their actions and they can decide to do things differently, as shown by Chef Michael Smith.

Thus, the first recommendation would be for the BOH workers to learn about their rights and to inform themselves on the tipping percentage they are supposed to receive, and in the case where their bosses use banked hours instead of overtime pay, to sign an agreement that stipulates how such banked hours will be handled. Banked hours are overtime hours and should thus be paid later on at a time and a half rate or be given as an hour and a half off (CNESST, 2018b; Ontario Ministry of Labour, 2018).

Another recommendation would be the creation of a national or provincial association for restaurant workers' rights, such as ROC in the US. As mentioned previously, ROC has allowed US restaurant workers to have a "national voice comparable to the NRA" (Jayaraman, 2013: 42). In Canada, the equivalent of the NRA would be Restaurants Canada, an organization that continuously lobbies against raising the minimum wage for instance. ROC has proven to be a great example of strength in numbers having "grown from a small, determined group of low-wage restaurant workers in New York City to a national organization with more than 10,000 members in around 20 states nationwide" (ibid.: 24) as of 2013, and this organization has been helping an ever-growing number of restaurant workers across the US.

A third recommendation would be to stop shaming each other between BOH workers and to promote a more positive and inclusive work environment. This can be done by telling a colleague when he/she is acting inappropriately in terms of sexism, sexual harassment, racial discrimination and transphobia for instance. Sometimes, it's easy to let the jokes go too far in a 'bro' culture, as mentioned by a few of our interviewees, but it's not as easy to step out of it or to call people out for it. Moreover, accepting to work unpaid overtime does not help anyone's work-life balance. Shaming a colleague who does not agree to stay at work longer without getting paid does not help to build a more sustainable future for restaurant workers. As chef Michael Smith suggested, if you are stuck in a toxic work environment where you are not learning anything new, quit and move on to another restaurant.

To conclude, the purpose of this thesis has been achieved as it has allowed the researcher to gain a better understanding of the workers' own perception of social sustainability in their workplace, in other words, shining a light on their lived experience. This thesis has

contributed to expanding the field of restaurant research in the Canadian context as it has brought to light a topic that has not been researched before.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview Questionnaire for BOH Workers

What gender do you identify as? / How old are you?

What is your position at the restaurant?

How long have you been working in the restaurant industry?

How many times have you changed position/restaurants during that time?

What are the reasons why you changed positions/restaurant during your career?

Are you allowed to call in sick and if so, do you get paid sick days?

Have you ever been to work while being sick, if so, why?

Do you get paid per hour or a fixed weekly salary?

Do you get paid overtime? (Time and a half after 40/44 hours of work/week or)

Do you get paid at all for your overtime?

Are your overtime hours "banked up" and then paid to you later on?

What kind of tipping system (if applicable) is used at your work? Pooled tips, tip-outs, etc.

Do you feel satisfied of your income?

Would you like to work within a different tipping/non-tipping system? Please explain.

How do you feel about the servers' tips and income in general versus your own?

Does management take a part of the workers' tips?

Have you ever faced or witnessed racial discrimination at work?

Have you ever faced or witnessed sexism or sexual harassment at work?

If you are comfortable with the topic, would you like to tell me more about the situation?

Sustainability as a concept is based on three pillars: environmental, economic and social. Seeing as the most common way to interpret sustainability is through its environmental aspect (being green, taking steps to reverse climate change, etc.), I have decided to focus my research on the social pillar of sustainability, which, in the workplace can translate into having access to a decent job and social protection as well as fair working conditions. It also can mean a restaurant where staff and suppliers are valued as much as the customers, as well as a balanced work life.

Do you see your workplace as a sustainable work environment?

Any reasons?

What overall changes would you like to see at your work?

Do you see yourself working in the restaurant industry for a long time? Do you see cooking as your career or something temporary?

Are you happy at work?

How many hours a week do you work on average?

How do you feel about your overall work-life balance?

Do you have any opportunities of professional growth in your current workplace?

Does seasonality affect your work? If so, how does it affect it?

Do you find yourself overwhelmed with the high pressure/stress involved with your work?

Anything to add?

Appendix 2: Interview 1 with George

What gender do you identify as? Male

How old are you? 29

What is your position at the restaurant? Sous-chef

How long have you been working in the restaurant industry? 15 years

How many times have you changed position/restaurants during that time? More than 10

What are the reasons why you changed positions/restaurant during your career?

To push my career forward. Sometimes I have left restaurant I've also been fired from restaurants where I didn't fit in or didn't get along with the staff.

Are you allowed to call in sick and if so, do you get paid sick days? Absolutely not.

Have you ever been to work while being sick, if so, why? Yes. Every time that I'm sick. Because I don't want someone else to lose their small amount of free time to cover for me, when they already have an overworked schedule.

Do you get paid per hour or a fixed weekly salary? Fixed salary, (both in the past)

Do you get paid overtime? (Time and a half after 40 hours of work/week) No

Do you get paid at all for your overtime? No. My pay is non-existing after 40 hours.

Are your overtime hours "banked up" and then paid to you later on? No.

What kind of tipping system (if applicable) is used at your work? Pooled tips, tip-outs, etc. I've never worked in a restaurant where the servers tips go to the kitchen. It's always a percentage of food sales that goes from the company to the kitchen. At my current workplace it's about a little less than 1% of the food sales that goes to the cooks' tips.

Do you feel satisfied of your income? No

Would you like to work within a different tipping/non-tipping system? Please explain. Yes. I think that whether it's a result of tipping or not, all the employees who work in a restaurant should be paid in a fair and comparable amount to the other employees. Also, I think that if you bring more value to a restaurant, as in, you have more experience, you have more leadership role, there's more tasks that you have to take care of than somebody else, that you should be paid more than them.

How do you feel about the servers' tips and income in general versus your own?

Does management take a part of the workers' tips? Yes.

Have you ever faced or witnessed racial discrimination at work? Yes.

Have you ever faced or witnessed sexism or sexual harassment at work? Yes.

If you are comfortable with the topic, would you like to tell me more about the situation? I've heard more than one male cook saying, for instance there would be a female cook who was struggling or maybe giving them attitude and he would behind their back say: That's why women shouldn't be allowed in the kitchen. I know that guys can work the hot line faster than girls (hot side versus cold side and deserts).

In terms of racism, I've heard countless jokes made by certain cooks when people of a certain racial descent would come into the restaurant, for instance if a black person walked into the restaurant they would generalize and say, "better have the fried chicken ready!". One time, someone who looked of middle-eastern descent came in to the restaurant and a cook told one of the server to check under their chair for a bomb.

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Do you see your workplace as a sustainable work environment?

I don't see it as a sustainable work environment because I feel the pay that we're given is not enough to take care of our basic human needs outside of work. We're paid very little and we're offered no benefits so if any kind of real health problem or sudden crisis where you're going to need benefits or money (ex. dental work), you're either going to use the very small savings that you have saved up for or you're not going to have enough money to take care of that problem, so it will linger and continue to grow.

What overall changes would you like to see at your work?

Many. I would like for the unpaid hours to go to the kitchen workers to be paid, and for the company to find a way to balance the pay between the BOH and FOH.

Do you see yourself working in the restaurant industry for a long time? Do you see cooking as your career or something temporary?

I would definitely stay in the industry. I'm not opposed to trying other venues in the hospitality industry, because they might have better pay and benefits programs for their workers. I like this industry, but I think that there are changes that some leaders need to step up and make. I think those can happen.

Are you happy at work? Generally, no, I'm not.

How many hours a week do you work on average? Very varied, average of 50.

How do you feel about your overall work-life balance?

Personally, it's painful when you feel yourself 60 hours but only being paid for 40. I think choosing this industry as a cook, you kind of are aware that you are going to work a lot of hours so you kind of accept that. But I feel like it's not fair that you're expected to work extra hours without getting paid when there are people in the business who will end up with larger pay than you and who have less responsibilities and less training and less hours and a less stressful work environment.

Do you have any opportunities of professional growth in your current workplace?

Within my job I don't. But I think that I have lots of opportunities for growth within this industry as a result of my job.

Does seasonality affect your work? If so, how does it affect it? Yes. Summer is a busier time in the restaurant, there will be a lot more customers and the services will be very intense and stressful. But I don't think it affects the hours that we work, more the stress within those hours. There's always work to do, it's never-ending.

Do you find yourself overwhelmed with the high pressure/stress involved with your work?

I have many times had issues with my stress and even panic attacks and you carry it home with you from work and it can affect your social life. You can't take time off work to deal with any kind of personal issues and the average cook job won't pay you well enough to deal with any mental issues that you might be struggling with. You won't be able to afford medication or proper counselling. If you do pay for them it'll take all of your disposable income.

How do you feel about the servers' tips and income versus the kitchen's?

I feel that it's not fair and I don't really understand how it got to the point where the FOH are able to work less hours and make a decent living wage. There's a lot of people who take it seriously as their career but a lot of them are students that are trying to pay their way through college with a job that has less hours where they can get a good amount of money or people who are in between careers while a lot of people in the kitchen are dedicated to their jobs and want this to be their future. I think that those are the kind of people that the business should invest in rather than people who are just passing through the industry.

Because servers get paid more than cooks it makes them feel superior. They'll disrespect the rules created, they'll look down on us (the kitchen staff) and say: "oh, just do your job", but the problem is that there will be rules that are created to make sure that the cook's job works well, and they'll ignore them to (in their mind) please the customer and get a better

tip and continue making more money. For example, if a chef creates a dish and says they don't want this dish to be changed, a customer will ask that server to change the dish and the server will make the order and punch it in before asking the chef and then come back and apologize after. In my opinion, it's a form of manipulation because they know that they've said yes to the customer and the chef doesn't want to ruin the customer's experience.

Do you have access to benefits (dental, etc.) at your work? No

Do you have anything to add?

In kitchens, if cooks ask for a day off or if they're told they have to work extra hours and they complain about it, the other cooks will make fun of them behind their back or the chef will even look down on them. It can cause extra stress when you're on your days off even. They'll make you feel bad for it, no matter what the circumstances are.

Also, it's common and expected that you're going to be burnt and cut but sometimes it can be really severe and you're not able to leave your work station or seek medical help. There's many times I've seen people who get burns or cuts and should be going to the hospital right away, but they have to stay and they're kind of pressured into staying by their chef or bosses.

A lot of kitchens are not ventilated properly, or their hood vent equipment is really old and not working properly and the heat will get so high that it's dangerous to work in those conditions. I've been in kitchens that are so hot that it feels like your brain is cooking, it's at a temperature that you would cook meat at, just the air that you're standing in. This causes an incredible amount of sweat and chaffing that can lead to rashes and discomfort and not being able to perform or think straight and it can lead to dangerous situations.

Appendix 3: Interview 2 with Mary

What gender do you identify as? / How old are you? Female, 27

What is your position at the restaurant? Chef de cuisine

How long have you been working in the restaurant industry? 8-10 years

How many times have you changed position/restaurants during that time? 4 restaurants, but at the same restaurant for the last 5 years.

What are the reasons why you changed positions/restaurant during your career? One of the reasons was that I didn't really agree with how the person in a higher position was leading the team. And with my sports background as a basketball player and coach, I have seen really good leadership. I was fortunate enough to play on a team, so I know what it's like to work on a team. I don't have patience for poor leadership, when there's so many different ways to go about it, but poor leadership is poor leadership. Especially when the higher up management isn't dealing with that leadership. We're human, we're all learning, but at least, address it. Instead they would always ignore the issues. And that doesn't make sense to me. I think there is always a way to grow. Or there was too much drinking and drugs involved and I didn't want to be around that, because I'm easily influenced. I know how to have a good time but when you're surrounded by it you drink more. We've all been through it. It made me realize, you are who you are surrounded with. So, I didn't want to be that person anymore. Those are the 2 main reasons I would say.

Are you allowed to call in sick and if so, do you get paid sick days?

You can call in sick but then you would be kind of judged for it, and considered weak, depending on the place, but unfortunately, where I currently am, it is like that. And no, you do not get paid.

Have you ever been to work while being sick, if so, why? Yes! Currently sick, yes!

Do you get paid per hour or a fixed weekly salary? Per hour, I refuse a salary, in this industry.

Do you get paid overtime? (Time and a half after 40 hours of work/week) No

Do you get paid at all for your overtime? Yes, and I get my vacation pay (4% a year)

Are your overtime hours "banked up" and then paid to you later on?

Yes. We're the only location that does that within this small local business. They opened 14 years ago, and that's what they did back then, banking up hours. But they don't at their other (more recently opened) locations, they get it on their regular paycheck. I like that I can bank it up and take it whenever I need it.

What kind of tipping system (if applicable) is used at your work? Pooled tips, tip-outs, etc. I'm not sure of the percentage but the servers pay a tip-out by total food sales. 1 or 2 %

Do you feel satisfied of your income? (hesitation) Yes...and no. because I currently, depending how much I get paid, it's how much effort I'm going to put into my work. Maybe that sounds a little jaded and cynical, but I would push myself to be better but if you're only going to give me a certain amount, you have to expect that I want more support. If you pay all of us the same, then we will all help each other out, which is kind of where we are at. We're all paid around the same (kitchen workers at her work).

Would you like to work within a different tipping/non-tipping system? Please explain. I think that would be a really drastic change, not saying that it can't be done but, I find the FOH has to change with it too. They can't just be servers, they'd have to be more. It has to be more equal all around.

How do you feel about the servers' tips and income in general versus your own? I know they get paid less than minimum wage and that has to change, we're all born equal, but your skills have to be (equal). but I find that for a lot of servers, it is just a job to get by. But if it's more of your career, (like cooking) then I would consider it! I would need to see someone doing it first, like if a restaurant tried it and it was working well for them, then I would be down to try it. I don't know if I would want to be the test bunny!

Does management take a part of the workers' tips? Probably! There is a percentage that goes to things that get broken, but a lot of things are broken and not getting fixed. I think it's called "tipping the house!". Someone told me that it's illegal.

Have you ever faced or witnessed racial discrimination at work? Yes

Have you ever faced or witnessed sexism or sexual harassment at work? Yes

If you are comfortable with the topic, would you like to tell me more about the situation? Racial slurs. A lot from it is coming from the "bro culture" in the kitchens. Guys joking around together, they don't even realize! I would get wrapped into it. You make jokes and we all let it happen, because it's a joke. But if you want to be considered a professional that is respected, I think that that needs to stop. Sexism, yes. I'm a woman in the kitchen. I'm spoken to differently, I'm looked at differently. I have to work harder to gain the same respect (as a guy) and some men understand but in general men start at a certain level while we (women) have to prove ourselves first before we can even be at that same level. "Can she hang with the boys?" would be a way to put it. I'm fortunate, I grew up with all brothers, I have always looked fairly tomboyish, but I am still sensitive. Guys in the kitchen consider crying or being a little bit more emotional as weak. When I speak up or speak my

mind I'm considered a bitch while a guy is just being authoritative. That is a double standard that is still around. Sexual harassment, yes. I've seen it. I have seen a friend get harassed by a manager, literally. I've seen it in more than one restaurant. 3 locations that I've worked at I've seen it, always by a higher up, by people in charge of the restaurant doing it. I've simplified it. But yes, I have seen it. We're women, we're told to toughen up, but who do we trust when it's our leaders doing it to us.

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Do you see your workplace as a sustainable work environment?

More than others. That's why I have stayed there for so long. But it's not there yet, no. That's why I wanted to step down, because there isn't that balance. I got ** on so much, for good reasons though. I was struggling because I was at work so much that I decided to take on a coaching job (...), and instead of them coming to me to tell me that they don't think it's a good idea, they let me suffer for a year and treated me differently for a year. They would say: "maybe she can do it" but then they would talk behind my back. So, nothing was really going wrong, the food cost was fine, etc. but I wasn't at the restaurant as much and as a lead, you should be at the restaurant more. But then, I started to realize. "I'm not your girl, I get it, if you want someone that is there for six days, seven days a week, then I'm not your person". And it took a lot from me to even realize. It's something that a lot of people don't get. You just got to let it go and it was hard. But if you want that balance then you should make sacrifices. You can't be a head chef and that balance it seems. It has to be your whole life, which I find really unhealthy.

What overall changes would you like to see at your work?

Better and equal pay. To have more women in the kitchen. I don't see a lot of them at the moment. It goes in wave. Recently I've seen a big drop. I've walked around to different restaurants and right now I find it's a 'bro culture'.

Do you see yourself working in the restaurant industry for a long time? Do you see cooking as your career or something temporary?

Some months I think so, some I don't. In restaurants, no I don't see it as my career, but as a cook/chef, yes. There's also so many other things to do, but unfortunately, you have to kind of build up your resumé. You have to work in a restaurant for a little while.

Are you happy at work? Yes, I've been there for that long for a reason. But I could be happier. I don't think this is actual happiness, I think I'm just convincing myself.

How many hours a week do you work on average? 35 to 40 because of basketball. But most people are there about 45 to 60 hours a week. But I know that I will get sick. My body just shuts down if I work that much. I want to work a lot and be there for 50 hours, but I will not be functional. I don't know how people do it, honestly.

How do you feel about your overall work-life balance?

I thought it was good, but apparently it was a wrong decision on my part. But when they spoke about it they said: "It's not that you did a bad job, but as a leader you need to be around more," which I just kind of thought in a critical way "You guys are not even around (the higher management)". But I thought I was doing the right thing, because a happier me means a happier team. Even though I would go in during the day after practice, they would know, all they would notice is how I wasn't there at night. I think I found out what I want more this year. I've been able to look after myself more. And self-reflect a little more, and realize that ok, I am not as happy as I thought at work, so I need to make a change.

Do you have any opportunities of professional growth in your current workplace? I'm doing the opposite, for my well-being. I need to get re-inspired, travel and look after myself. If you're unhappy, how do you expect to lead a team? You have to be in a certain mindset, you have to be strong.

Does seasonality affect your work? If so, how does it affect it? Yes. Everyone loves Christmas, I used to love it before I started cooking. But now I actually hate it. I'm so miserable. I work so hard, just to put out stupid menus for these people who have copious amounts of money, who don't even care about the food I'll be putting out. Sorry, I really don't like this time of year, I'm exhausted and I get bitter. I'm tired.

Do you find yourself overwhelmed with the high pressure/stress involved with your work? Yes. I get triggered every time I see the executive chef. I start having anxiety attacks. I think I'm going to get in shit. I make things up in my head. It triggers me. I think I'm going to get in trouble, I think that what I'm doing is wrong. I lose my confidence. I start just freaking out, and it sucks because, he's not a bad guy and it's not his intention but to see him gives me bad emotions. Even though it's the same thing every day, the first chit (the

first order that comes up at the restaurant) triggers me. Then you get in the groove and it's fun and I remember why I like cooking. But you never want to disappoint someone, I am a people pleaser.

Do you get benefits from your work? Yes, after one year of employment with the company, I was allowed to opt-in on the benefits plan.

Appendix 4: Interview 3 with Chloe

What gender do you identify as? Female

How old are you? 26

What is your position at the restaurant? Cook/Pastry Chef on weekends

How long have you been working in the restaurant industry? 8 years

How many times have you changed position/restaurants during that time? 5 times

What are the reasons why you changed positions/restaurant during your career?

The amount of responsibilities that would go up but not the pay. Or recognition for the most times.

Are you allowed to call in sick and if so, do you get paid sick days? No.

Have you ever been to work while being sick, if so, why? I've showed up to work many days, but I have had one good employer that would send me home, but I would never not go in. The teams are so small that you know that you're screwing everyone else over if you don't go in.

Do you get paid per hour or a fixed weekly salary? Per hour

Do you get paid overtime? (Time and a half after 40 hours of work/week) No

Do you get paid at all for your overtime? No

Are your overtime hours "banked up" and then paid to you later on? Yes, then you get days off where you are paid as if you were at work.

What kind of tipping system (if applicable) is used at your work? Pooled tips, tip-outs, etc. 1% of sales go to the kitchen. (tip-out)

Do you feel satisfied of your income? No

Would you like to work within a different tipping/non-tipping system? Please explain. I think non-tipping would make it fairer, or even a better splitting of the tips.

How do you feel about the servers' tips and income in general versus your own? It's uneven. They work less hours overall and if you calculate everything, they get paid more by the end of the week.

Does management take a part of the workers' tips? No

Have you ever faced or witnessed racial discrimination at work? No

Have you ever faced or witnessed sexism or sexual harassment at work? Yes

If you are comfortable with the topic, would you like to tell me more about the situation?

Some minimal sexist comments have been directed at me but I'm pretty good at brushing them off. But I've also worked in a golf club where only the guys (working in the kitchen) were allowed to touch the hot food and anything from salads, cold side, deserts it was all girls.

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Do you see your workplace as a sustainable work environment?

I think the owner tries, but I think with the reality of what people are willing to pay, and finding enough people to work it's hard to actually do. Before the restaurant got bigger, we were categorized under "case-croute", which means everyone was paid a normal wage there were no salary wage, and the owner would divide the tips and give more to the kitchen. That's how she used to do it. But now that it is table service, people are tipping on machines at the tables, and someone has to declare it. As the servers are down to the minimum server wage, and since they are declaring it, they're giving less to the kitchen than before. The owner was trying before, but now she doesn't have a choice. Someone has to declare the tips and that's the easiest way to manage it. She did give us a raise when the expansion happened, but it doesn't equal what the kitchen tips were before. And she's been trying to hire someone to try take off her load and we can't hire. There's no one. There's such a shortage. Everyone's hiring. Both in Gatineau and Ottawa and no one can find staff. If you're looking for a job, most people come to look on the Ottawa side (higher minimum wage).

What overall changes would you like to see at your work?

We'd like to have a dishwasher (a person). We only have one on the weekend but during the week we do all of our own dishes, which adds a lot of workload and overall frustration because no one wants to do it, no one pitches in equally. Whoever does it gets frustrated. It's affecting everyone's mood.

Do you see yourself working in the restaurant industry for a long time? Do you see cooking as your career or something temporary? Yes, it's my career. Sometimes I wonder why because when you look at it on paper it makes no sense. I want to keep working in restaurants.

Are you happy at work? Yes

How many hours a week do you work on average? 45-50

How do you feel about your overall work-life balance?

Better than it's been at other places, but I work both weekend days so it makes it harder to have a social life. It's better than it used to be. It's part of personal learning and not just as an employee, you have to force yourself to do it or put limits to make it happen.

Do you have any opportunities of professional growth in your current workplace? I think so. It would require other people to leave. There is a sous-chef for now, but now that the owner is coming back progressively, it's not clear if she wants to take back her responsibilities or if she wants to leave them to other people. Whoever is doing pastry is also going to leave soon, so I could take over that position full time if I wanted.

Does seasonality affect your work? If so, how does it affect it? Yes. Christmas is always a lot more work, a lot more stress. And whenever the low season (March and January) is, is also whenever you are encouraged to use up your banked-up hours and take days off but it's not necessarily when you want to take days off. The summer gets really busy for us because of tourists so it's harder to take time off then, but that's obviously when you would want to take the time off, when you are working that hard, you'd want to take the time off, when you can appreciate it.

Do you find yourself overwhelmed with the high pressure/stress involved with your work? Yes. Right now, the owner isn't at work, but with the new system we are using, she sees the sales from home. Right now, during Christmas, we're producing so much, and when the owner sees that it's all going, she wants us to make more, but it's not always possible within the timeframe and also the space that we have. There a limit to what we can do.

Do you get benefits from your work? No. Most people get benefits through their partners' work.

Anything to add?

I wish this would get talked about more. Tips are getting talked about a lot, but not necessarily the overall conditions or the why they should be distributed more evenly. At the pace that this is going, I don't think restaurants are going to last, not all the restaurants that exist at the moment. Let's see what will happen a few years from now because it's just not working. There's something to think about it, to do about it.

Appendix 5: Interview 4 with Melissa

What gender do you identify as? Female

How old are you? 28

What is your position at the restaurant? Line cook/Prep cook + shared responsibilities

How long have you been working in the restaurant industry? 7 years (started as a dishwasher)

How many times have you changed position/restaurants during that time? 4-5 times

What are the reasons why you changed positions/restaurant during your career? One of them I quit because I was really unhappy. Other than that, it was just the flow of life!

Are you allowed to call in sick and if so, do you get paid sick days?

As far as I know, we don't get paid sick days. Calling in sick is, I guess I could call in sick if I was really sick, but it's generally frowned upon, unless I have a doctor's note. It's a really small team. Now we have a couple people that we are cross training, so in the future we will be a little bit more flexible, but for now it's ...

Have you ever been to work while being sick, if so, why? Yes! This month! There's no one to cover for me.

Do you get paid per hour or a fixed weekly salary? Per hour.

Do you get paid overtime? (Time and a half after 40 hours of work/week) I believe that we do pay overtime, but they are really careful about never letting us go into overtime.

Do you get paid at all for your overtime?

Are your overtime hours "banked up" and then paid to you later on? I don't know, I've never made overtime at this place.

What kind of tipping system (if applicable) is used at your work? Pooled tips, tip-outs, etc. I believe that for the FOH it is pooled tips. I'm not entirely sure but I think so. Then for the BOH, they pay out a certain percentage, I think it's 2 or 3% of the sales, full sales including alcohol I believe too. I'm not sure if it comes out of the servers' tips. I think that it comes out of their debit sales and they walked away with their cash and then it gets evened out after the fact.

Do you feel satisfied of your income? No

Would you like to work within a different tipping/non-tipping system? Please explain.

I'd be open to anything that made me more money! Whatever system that gives me more money, I'd be into that!

How do you feel about the servers' tips and income in general versus your own? There's definitely a huge pay gap. It can be frustrating at times because a lot of the times kitchen are a lot more "high pressure", there's a lot more opportunity to hurt yourself (burning yourself, cutting yourself), I didn't go to school but I work with people who have gone to school to be there (in the kitchen), and it kind of sucks to see other people make more money with less education. I think the servers deserve their tips, but I think the kitchens deserve a more equal share.

Does management take a part of the workers' tips?

That is a very good question. I'm not sure how the owner who works at the FOH works with his tips, but I think that the chef/co-owner takes a small percentage of the kitchen tips, but I think it's fair since he's working the services with us. I think it's fairly divided as far as the kitchen goes and management.

Have you ever faced or witnessed racial discrimination at work? Yes

Have you ever faced or witnessed sexism or sexual harassment at work? Yes

If you are comfortable with the topic, would you like to tell me more about the situation? I've definitely worked with cooks who have said things that I've been like wow. Not necessarily to anyone's face but like the banter. There was a place where I was working in Vancouver where I worked with a transgender dude and there were a lot of people that were shitty to him about it. There's also sort of joke atmosphere surrounding things like that which I have definitely participated in. I've never felt unsafe or anything. But lines have definitely been crossed before.

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Do you see your workplace as a sustainable work environment? NO!

Any reasons?

It's a really really small place so management relies really heavily on the few staff members that we have. There have been times where I've been extremely frustrated with that sort of aspect of it. I get no say in what days I get to have off. It's my birthday this week and I had to really fight to get that day off and it's my only day off this week. I understand management's perspective on that, when you can't afford to have all these people trained

and ready to work when you have less than 30 seats. But, definitely sometimes I feel like I put a lot in and I don't really get a lot of appreciation. I don't get to go out with my friends on the weekend and no one seems to care, which I understand but it would be nice if that was acknowledged more.

What overall changes would you like to see at your work?

A little bit more recognition for the sacrifices that some of us have made to be here.

Do you see yourself working in the restaurant industry for a long time? Do you see cooking as your career or something temporary?

I kind of go back and forth on that one. Lately I've been thinking a lot about how it's not physically sustainable for me to spend my whole life working in a kitchen. I have a pretty bad back and I get really bad arthritis. I have been thinking about going to school for some other trade, no fully formed ideas, but I don't see myself staying in the kitchen for the rest of my life. If I do that'll suck. If I found myself in a position where I was working more regular hours and maybe a little less high pressure service sort of work. I do like food, it's not the issue. It's more the environment and the demand for ... It would be nice to have the same schedule as my friends and family! Even meeting up with you for this was hard. I want to sleep all day before my shift.

Are you happy at work? Yes, for the most part. I do like what I do. I like the people I work with. I'm proud of a lot of the end products. I've had jobs where I didn't want to tell people about where I worked, I don't necessarily feel like that now. We have a really good company, a lot of positive, as well as negative aspects.

How many hours a week do you work on average? 5-6 days. 30-40 hours a week.

How do you feel about your overall work-life balance?

I feel like I work more than I have a life. It's not very balanced for sure. But that's also partly my personality type, where if I'm putting that much time towards something, I have a hard time putting efforts towards other areas.

Do you have any opportunities of professional growth in your current workplace? It's such a small group, there's not a huge ladder (...). In a lot of restaurants there's a lot more opportunities to try more things. But we're all cross trained for everything where we are now so (...).

Does seasonality affect your work? If so, how does it affect it? Yes. There the (?) flow of things, sometimes it's really busy, other times it sort of drops off, it's definitely easier to

be more involved in my personal life when we're in a slow period because going to work isn't so draining.

Do you find yourself overwhelmed with the high pressure/stress involved with your work? It can be. It can be really hard if you've had a long hard weekend and if you don't feel appreciated, you go home and feel like you've worked super hard for not much more of a benefit otherwise and sometimes just service itself can be overwhelming. There's been nights where I thought: I don't know how I'm going to get through the night, but it always works out in the end. It's my own anxieties for sure.

Are you offered/do you receive benefits at work? From what I understand, we're looking at opening a second location and if we do expand, we'll have more of an opportunity for stuff like that. It's really hard for a small team. You end up buying in a lot.

Anything to add?

No

Appendix 6: Interview 5 with Jenna

What gender do you identify as? Female

How old are you? 28

What is your position at the restaurant? Line cook

How long have you been working in the restaurant industry? Almost 10 years

How many times have you changed position/restaurants during that time?

I've worked at 4 restaurants as a cook, but before I was cooking I was serving and bartending at another 3 or 4 restaurants.

What are the reasons why you changed positions/restaurant during your career? When I moved to Quebec I couldn't speak French, so kitchen work was easier to find than FOH positions. I left my last restaurant job because I felt like I wasn't going anywhere there, and I stayed there for a year and a half, I was trying to make it work but it just wasn't the best place to work at.

Are you allowed to call in sick and if so, do you get paid sick days?

(Laughs) What is a sick day? Normally if I'm sick I'll let the chef know but then show up to work and if I am too sick, then I get sent home, but I don't think it's really common. Paid sick days, that would be the dream!

Have you ever been to work while being sick, if so, why? Yes, I have. I closed 3 nights ago but I had eaten something during the days that hadn't settled well with me, so I was vomiting for the last 4 hours of my shift and just had to finish it. It sucked. And we didn't even have a dishwasher that night.

Do you get paid per hour or a fixed weekly salary? Per hour.

Do you get paid overtime? (Time and a half after 40 hours of work/week) No!

Do you get paid at all for your overtime?

A lot of places that I've worked at just bank the hours, which is illegal I'm pretty sure.

Are your overtime hours "banked up" and then paid to you later on? Some people can take days off. In our kitchen, some people that are on salary just keep track of how long they've worked. If they go over a lot one week, and it's slower and we're caught up, they might not have to come in, but they're still technically paid. But banked hours aren't paid out at time and a half. When I went on a trip, I think I had some hours banked up because my last paycheck was more than I thought it would be.

What kind of tipping system (if applicable) is used at your work? Pooled tips, tip-outs, etc. I think the kitchen gets tipped out 4% of food sales from the FOH staff. It's not a lot. Maybe 40\$ every 2 weeks. I know that for the FOH, the busboys get a slightly lower tip out rate and I think the servers and bartenders pool their tips.

Do you feel satisfied of your income? No!

Would you like to work within a different tipping/non-tipping system? Please explain.

When I was serving and bartending, you can make a killing with your tips but the longer I work in the industry I find it more peculiar that, especially in the kitchens, staff is so underpaid, and the conditions are quite hard. And it's not really on the owner to provide a living wage. I feel like everybody should be able to make more. If an owner is going to have a business like this then they should have the responsibility to pay their staff a living wage instead of having the clientele basically supporting the income of the workers.

How do you feel about the servers' tips and income in general versus your own? They make a ton more money than I do. It's not really a fair system and I don't think it's good in the long run for staff morale because it creates this division between FOH and BOH. Which is a really big issue at my work. I don't think I've ever been thanked by some of the managers there. Let alone the owners.

Does management take a part of the workers' tips? I believe they do at my workplace.

Have you ever faced or witnessed racial discrimination at work? Yes

Have you ever faced or witnessed sexism or sexual harassment at work? Yes

If you are comfortable with the topic, would you like to tell me more about the situation?

For instance, at my previous job the chef drank a lot to the point where he was obnoxiously drunk. After I closed one night, I was sitting at the bar taking my staff drink and he tried to kiss me and this is like after I'm telling him: "no, I'm just having my beer, just unwinding after a busy shift, and then he tried to kiss me again and he stuck his tongue in my ear and it was one of the most disgusting feelings in the world. I brought it up to management, nothing really happened. The chef apologized to me though. But I don't think he understood how gross I found it, his behavior. I want to be able to respect my chef and that kind of destroyed that. He gave me a bottle of scotch as an apology. In terms of sexual harassment, I feel like it's pretty rampant in restaurants and in the industry. I know a lot of servers, women who will just get grabbed by clients, or touched inappropriately. As for racism, yes it exists, but I haven't seen any explicit instances. When I started working here, pretty much the entire staff was white, but now there's a bit more diversity within it, but at first it was very bizarre.

Sustainability as a concept is based on three pillars: environmental, economic and social. Seeing as the most common way to interpret sustainability is through its environmental aspect (being green, taking steps to reverse climate change, etc.), I have decided to focus my research on the social pillar of sustainability, which, in the workplace can translate into having access to a decent job and social protection as well as fair working conditions. It also can mean a restaurant where staff and suppliers are valued as much as the customers, as well as a balanced work life.

Do you see your workplace as a sustainable work environment?

Not entirely, no. I see a lot of people, especially in the kitchen, who burn out. It's really long hours and it takes a really heavy toll on your body.

What overall changes would you like to see at your work?

I'd like to see wages go up. Scheduling is not too bad, the chef is really good with that. I know that for some of the FOH, I don't know why the managers can't schedule them appropriately. But so many times, a server will say: "I'm doing the close until 4am and then I'm opening at 11am". But you need to have a 12-hour break between shifts or something. But this happens every week!

Do you see yourself working in the restaurant industry for a long time? Do you see cooking as your career or something temporary?

At this point, I'm leaning towards career. It didn't start out that way. I want to keep learning about food. I think I'm good at my job, and there's so much to learn and it's exciting. But it would be great to see some changes within the industry, to mediate that.

Are you happy at work?

I kind of like really hate it. I've basically stuck around this long just because of the staff that I work with. The people are really great but especially like right now, it's crazy. They're pushing the chef out, not firing him but making him leave, so we're going to revamp the entire restaurant. I just met the new chef and he seemed pretty chill. A lot of changes happening. I'm going to hang around and see what the changes are but I'm kind of hating the work.

How many hours a week do you work on average? Usually around 40, sometimes it goes a bit over and sometimes it's a bit less.

How do you feel about your overall work-life balance?

It's probably not very good but after doing 4 days in a row, on my day off I don't even want to move. I feel like a lot of people talk about needing to work on their work-life balance. This industry kind of drives you to destroy yourself in some ways.

Do you have any opportunities of professional growth in your current workplace? We'll see what the new chef brings, with the new menu. But as it stands now, we haven't changed the menu in 8 months. I can literally make the dishes with my eyes closed.

Does seasonality affect your work? If so, how does it affect it?

We're pretty busy all year round but I wish that I could say that it does in terms of the food that we offer but unfortunately that's not really a thing. No, not so much. It's a really hip spot. It's really well situated so it's always busy, although it has been a bit slower lately because people are saving up for Christmas.

Do you find yourself overwhelmed with the high pressure/stress involved with your work? Yes, for sure! I've cried at work a lot of times. Once because I didn't have any yogurt, really silly reasons sometimes. The other night when I was sick at work, I got a rush at 1:30am and I was pretty stressed out, I guess I was just done with being there at that point. I was literally putting on food and then running to bathroom to vomit. It was nasty!

Do you have access to benefits (dental, etc.) at your work? No

Anything to add?

I feel like, within the industry, sometimes it's not always the safest job. For instance, this summer I would get heat stroke at work because, there's not proper cooling in the kitchen and it was close to 55 degrees over the grill station. That's pretty inhumane! I actually passed out at work. It would be cool to see better regulations for how the ventilation works in these places. I know it's not in every restaurant, but a lot that I've worked at. This whole summer I had a heat rash that started at my wrist and went all the way up my arm. I still have it. I think my skin is just messed up now. Because that's the hand I'm grilling with.

Appendix 7: Interview 6 with Leah

What gender do you identify as? Female

How old are you? 39

What is your position at the restaurant? Chef de cuisine

How long have you been working in the restaurant industry? 25 years

How many times have you changed position/restaurants during that time? More than 10 times

What are the reasons why you changed positions/restaurant during your career? Because it was better elsewhere. I got fired a few times, other times, there were better conditions offered in other restaurants (better salary/conditions).

Are you allowed to call in sick and if so, do you get paid sick days? Yes, and yes

Have you ever been to work while being sick, if so, why?

Yes. Recently, I showed up to work feeling like I might be sick, after 2 hours and going to the bathroom 4 times, my boss sent me home for everyone's sake.

Do you get paid per hour or a fixed weekly salary? Fixed salary

Do you get paid overtime? (Time and a half after 40 hours of work/week) No

Do you get paid at all for your overtime? No

Are your overtime hours "banked up" and then paid to you later on? No

What kind of tipping system (if applicable) is used at your work? Pooled tips, tip-outs, etc. It depends on the event and the number of employees. When there's only one person working at the bar, she keeps her tips. When it's busier, tips are pooled between servers and bartenders and then divided evenly per hour worked. No tips going to the kitchen.

Do you feel satisfied of your income?

I'm asking for a raise for next year, nothing too extreme, so I would say yes, I am satisfied.

Would you like to work within a different tipping/non-tipping system? Please explain.

If we evened out the servers' wages to the kitchen wages, why not? Maybe it would encourage team work and people would work more evenly. Maybe some people would stop complaining.

How do you feel about the servers' tips and income in general versus your own? I am in a good position, it's not the same as a line cook who gets paid 13\$/hour. I think some servers deserve to get paid this much (with their tips) and some don't. Some work way harder than

others. But at my job, since it is seasonal, we won't call back the servers that didn't work as hard for the next season. We want a fair team, that's going in the same direction.

Does management take a part of the workers' tips?

Yes. I just found out. Management does not take any tips on a shift where there is only a bartender working, but when we host events (weddings, golf tournaments), then the accountant makes one bill and management keeps a small percentage of the tips. And I think it's illegal according to "Les normes du travail". At another restaurant where I've worked at, management took a percentage of tips that they were supposedly using for the staff Christmas party of the year. I think that's fair, but it has to be accounted for. No one knows if all of those tips actually went to the Christmas party fund. At another restaurant, management was keeping 2% of total sales at all times. One time, at another restaurant, when I was a lot younger, I dropped a tray of glasses and the owners deducted the total value from my paycheck. Back then, it was a normal thing to do, it's not a thing anymore.

Have you ever faced or witnessed racial discrimination at work? Yes

Have you ever faced or witnessed sexism or sexual harassment at work? Yes

If you are comfortable with the topic, would you like to tell me more about the situation?

As a woman in the restaurant industry, maybe 15-20 years back when I started working in the kitchen, there were only men in the kitchen back then. To them, a woman could cook at home, not in a restaurant. So yes, I faced a lot of sexism at work. In terms of sexual harassment, about 2 years back, at one of my previous jobs, there was a cook that was about 50-55 years old and one time I was looking for something in the walk-in fridge and my hands were up in the air and he walked in, put his hand between mine while slightly touching my breast and talking to me. Then I told him right away: "It's too bad for you, but you just lost your job." Then I went right away to management, told them that if they weren't firing him, that I would file in an official complaint and bring them to court. They fired him 2 days after. In terms of racial discrimination, to this day, at the golf course, there is no racial diversity within the FOH or the BOH. I've seen many restaurants where they didn't want to hire Pakistani people, black people or Arabic people. I've worked with a northern African man in the past, and during Ramadan he would stop working to pray many times during a shift, and my boss had to accept that. But sometimes he would pray and stop working during the busy night service. It might be hard for a boss to deal with a situation like that, but I haven't had to since I've become the chef here.

Sustainability as a concept is based on three pillars: environmental, economic and social. Seeing as the most common way to interpret sustainability is through its environmental aspect (being green, taking steps to reverse climate change, etc.), I have decided to focus my research on the social pillar of sustainability, which, in the workplace can translate into

having access to a decent job and social protection as well as fair working conditions. It also can mean a restaurant where staff and suppliers are valued as much as the customers, as well as a balanced work life.

Do you see your workplace as a sustainable work environment?

I got badly treated when I was younger while working in this industry, so I can't imagine treating my employees that way. So, my staff is very well treated. They get regular breaks on very hot days, as long as we all get the job done when we have busy events. Sometimes, when it's 50 degrees, we take fridge breaks where we go stand in the walk-in fridge to cool off for a minute. They get good wages, from 16\$ and up. The servers get their uniform paid for. The only thing that is missing would be access to benefits (Insurance, etc.). For instance, in my case, if I take a sick day during the lower season, I still get paid because I have worked so many extra hours in the summer that it evens out. But servers don't get paid when they call in sick. It's not easy to offer a benefits package here as we are closed 3 months a year (from Christmas until end of March). Would it be worth it to keep the restaurant open during these months to get a continuity on our insurance (benefits)? I know that offering benefits to staff can be very expensive for a company and for the staff.

What overall changes would you like to see at your work?

If I could hire the people I want whenever I want it would be the dream. But that's not how it works. But other than that, I have good bosses, a good staff, if I didn't like it I wouldn't renew my contract, so yes, I am happy here.

Do you see yourself working in the restaurant industry for a long time? Do you see cooking as your career or something temporary? I'll die behind an oven. It's my career, that'll never change.

Are you happy at work? Yes.

How many hours a week do you work on average? Summer 70-75 hours, shoulder season 20-25 hours, so it evens out. (paid a fixed salary)

How do you feel about your overall work-life balance?

I would like to say yes. At the moment, I can say yes (slower season). But during the summer, when all the festivals are happening in Montreal, I am stuck here at the golf course, working non-stop 5-6-7 days a week. So i could maybe say that I would like to have a better life in the summer, but at the same time, I've made a choice, and I understand my position. I don't have anyone in my life, no kids, so it's not like I had to make a choice. My choice for now is my career, if I meet someone, then we will see what happens!

Do you have any opportunities of professional growth in your current workplace? Yes. There's a new project at my work that could bring us more work, and more opportunities for me to create. A different opportunity. I would say creative development rather than professional development.

Does seasonality affect your work? If so, how does it affect it?

Do you find yourself overwhelmed with the high pressure/stress involved with your work? Yes. When we have 2-4 tournaments in a week during the summer, and you have to prep everything, receive orders, make new orders, manage the BOH and FOH staff, it's a lot. I've been getting eczema since the summer, on my legs, caused by stress. Now it's slowly healing up as the slow season is coming to an end. The fact that the head of the restaurant and I weren't getting along, before she got fired, also caused me a lot of stress.

Anything to add?

I love my job and I hope everybody loves their job as much as I do. When your job is your passion, even if you're working 90 hours a week, and your back and your legs hurt, you still get to feel a personal satisfaction.

Appendix 8: Interview Questionnaire for Chef Michael Smith

(This questionnaire was sent to the interviewee beforehand)

Was the idea of non-tipping a part of the original plan for FireWorks?

What made you choose a non-tipping policy?

I have a few questions regarding the restaurants' staff working conditions as I have been interviewing cooks from various restaurants around Ottawa asking them about their working conditions.

Do employees get paid sick days?

Can they call in sick?

Do they get paid for their overtime or are their overtime hours "banked up" and paid to them later on (or as days off)?

Can the employees opt in on a benefits plan? Can you tell me more about it?

Is there a pay gap between the FOH (front of the house) employees and the BOH (back of the house) employees even though there is no tipping?

How does seasonality affect your work? Does the staff work overtime during the busy months?

Do you notice a difference in the work environment of a non-tipping restaurant versus a tipping restaurant?

Do you notice a change in the relationship between FOH and BOH since working in a non-tipping environment?

A lot of the Canadian restaurants that have made the switch to a non-tipping policy have closed down already or went back to tipping (8 out of 12 restaurants). What is the key to your restaurant's success?

Sustainability is often depicted as one sided, e.g. being green or protecting the environment. We tend to forget that this concept also includes social sustainability. That is why I have decided to focus my research on social sustainability, which, in the workplace can mean having access to a safe job with social protection and fair working conditions. It can also

mean a restaurant where staff and suppliers are valued as much as the customers or where the chef and the employees can have a balanced work life.

Do you consider Fireworks a socially sustainable workplace?

Do you believe your employees are happy?

Are your employees serious about a career in the restaurant industry? Or are some of them transitioning or in school, etc.?

Finally, as you are a very successful chef, I was wondering if you had any advice for younger chefs that are at the beginning of their career, in order to maintain a balanced and healthy lifestyle?

Appendix 9: Interview with Chef Michael Smith

Was the idea of non-tipping a part of the original plan for FireWorks?

No

What made you choose a non-tipping policy?

We're a seasonal business, with a finite time line, we're only open 5 months out of the year. We can relentlessly forecast exactly what we're going to do for business. Because we're striving to set such a high bar for our product, we're a hell of a restaurant, not a normal restaurant. Because of those things, I can't have ambiguity in my staffing. So, we forecast our business based on a year's worth of revenue instead of... example, trying to open a restaurant with just a few people because we're slow in May, and then add a few people in June and then a few more...no! this doesn't work for us because we're very different. We have to be ready to go. So, the whole team has to be able to start at the same time, in May when we open the doors. So that leads to budgeting and forecasting based on the full season. And then when I start looking at that full season and I start looking at my service staff and what they're being paid and how much they rely on the tips...it all of a sudden, it just doesn't make sense. And I'm a progressive guy in the first place, I'm well aware of the industry trends and who's doing what and I've watched what Denny Myers did. And in our case, it just makes sense for us. Because it allowed me to take ambiguity out of the equation. And it allowed me to just say to our guests: "Listen, this is the price, take it or leave it. This is what it costs for us to deliver this product." And I refuse to treat my service staff like second class citizens because of this ambiguous dance that we have embedded in our hospitality culture in North America, that I think is ridiculous. So, I changed it!

Can you tell me more about the Heart of the house concept? Does it include FOH+BOH?

It's all one team, it's everybody working together to do one thing, take care of our guests. We do it every day. We think of ourselves as one team and that was one of the things that led to the policy in the first place because I did, in the first 2 years, what so many restaurants in North America are doing and that is I administered a tip pool on behalf of the kitchen staff because the kitchen staff in our establishment is so tightly interwoven with the service product. They serve the food. They greet the guests. They are in front of the guests. They take food to the guests. They contribute on the service side. So, there was no way they weren't going to be able to participate to the tip pool. But that's an onerous thing to do, these tip pools are increasingly difficult to administer. They're very complicated spreadsheets where first you have to figure out how many people are in the pool, you have to figure out how many shares does everybody deserve based on their seniority or what

their job happens to be and then you have to prorate it based on the hours they have been to work and that has to applied again to the day that they have been to work. And all of it is this freaking nightmare and most restaurants are dodging the law on this as you are probably aware. And creating an exposure for themselves and for their staff, and I think this is disingenuous. I'm a savvy guy, I know how to run my business and I'm not going to create off the back of my team, conditions that benefit me and my restaurant and my business but that creates exposure for them. I don't think that's fair. ...bound to create winning conditions for my team, so we did! And that meant that we administered that tip pool. Year one, we administered it properly, we had to take a 3% cut off the top to help pay for the administration. It's a minimal percentage. I mean 3% is enough to pay for the bookkeeping behind it all. And that allowed us to transfer money from the tip back to the cooks in the kitchen. And after doing that for 2 years, it was just this nightmare, and I just finally decided that I've had enough of this. We're not moving this needle. We're not communicating properly with our guests and that's when I just threw it all out and decided, screw it, we're going Hospitality Included (HI). And we've gotten zero complaints, not a single guest in 2 full years have called us on this.

(A lot of the Canadian restaurants that have made the switch to a non-tipping policy have closed down already or went back to tipping (8 out of 12 restaurants). What is the key to your restaurant's success?)

Having said that, we are not a good example in the sense that we're not an à-la-carte restaurant, we're more of a food performance, we're more of a theater than anything. Our guests all come at the same time and they all do the same exact thing and eat the same exact thing, all at the same time, so it's more of a banquet house in that sense. And because I'm part of it, and I'm famous, people come and we're busy and sold out all the time. There's extreme demand for our product! All of those things are not typical, obviously: high price, celebrity chef to draw, and one hell of a product. We are freaking world class; this thing is badass! So, all of that is not normal and because of all of that, I have options as a business owner, that most other business owners simply don't have. So many of those options that we choose are centered around how we take care of our team and what we do with this revenue. And because we are so data intensive, I know in my heart of hearts that my business is not somehow more profitable because I'm charging hospitality included, it's quite the opposite. We know exactly what it was like before, we did every comparison, every way to Sunday, it's just data, we crunched and crunched and crunched and made sure that every dollar that we are now bringing in into the business was fairly going back out to our staff. And that has allowed us to do things like ... a big one is benefits!

Are the employees offered a benefits plan? Can you tell me more about it?

Family medical benefits, in the second year that you work for us you get the exact same family medical benefits plan that I have for my own family. And we have lots of families that do that. You get your own health plan, again, year 2. It allows me to pay really well and take all that ambiguity off the table that service staff deal with. You know, service staff, they don't know when they're going to work, they don't necessarily know how many hours they're going to get, they don't know how much they're going to get paid when they go to work that day. Maybe it'll be busy, maybe it won't be busy. They're looking sideways at the other staff because they have conflicting interests sometimes because of this tip system and I know you understand all this. There's all these things that just don't work in our business. And all of that is eliminated. Our starting wage is 28\$ an hour. I pay dishwashers 20\$ an hour and I'm happy to! We're the kind of business where you pay people minimum wage, what do you expect that you're going to get from them? You're going to get the minimum. And we don't want the minimum. So, we don't hire people like that at all. But the certainty of a salary allows people to build a life here and another very important part of this is that because...I said salary, it's an hourly wage for our service team. For our cooks' team, they're paid a salary, they're paid a weekly salary, it's a good weekly salary. It's competitive and in most cases better than what they would get paid in a big city, and they're living in the country. So, that allows them that certainty. And because we pay this and they're not taking so much of their income in the form of a tip or gratuity that then they have to administer, self-report, and all of the pitfalls that go along with that, we take all that off the table and do it for them. And as a benefit there, all of that income is insured, it's all subject to EI. And in the Maritimes, the EI system props up the tourism industry. There's no other way for it to work. They need some kind of back stop during the winter months. It's very simple, we're a hundred thousand people on Prince Edward Island, 150, but we welcome 1.5 million tourists a year and all of those tourists come in a quick short 3 to 4 months period. So our economy would not work if that EI system wasn't there and when people work in restaurants where they're tipped, their tips are not insured and are not eligible for ... And of course, it costs our business, it costs 7% right off the top. It costs the business for us to do this for our staff. Having said that, so what! I don't care! It's the right thing to do! And when we do things the right way in our business, it just creates this great big giant karmic well that we draw from in so many other ways and I firmly believe that. You used the term social sustainability, I like that term, I based our "quoting" (?) on that term. It aptly describes our overall approach to our business. We pay...I said to my wife when we started the project 4 years ago, 10 years into this thing if we don't have at the heart of it, a solid middle-class family, a farmer's family and a chef's family at the heart of our business, the new did something very wrong. I'm not trying to put it on a pedestal. But we pay really well and are happy to pay really well and that's what it takes! Even though we're only open 5 months out of the year, I need that year-round commitment and we've got to pay for that. And all of that we're able to do, partially because of this

hospitality included. We've had zero problem in our business because of this, not a single problem.

How does seasonality affect your work? Does the staff work overtime during the busy months?

We employ 55 people. 10 of those people year-round. My chef is year-round, our farmer is obviously year-round. The whole office staff is year-round, and we have multiple revenue stream of our company, some that has zero to do with the restaurant so, it's a little blurry on who does what, when, where, when. The restaurant revenue is in a 5-month chunk and it's the portion to that team during that time.

Is there a pay gap between the FOH employees and the BOH employees even though there is no tipping?

(Are your employees serious about a career in the restaurant industry? Or are some of them transitioning or in school, etc?)

I don't think it's fair. And also, even within a service team, there's a hierarchy so we have our service leads, we have our general manager, we have one of the best sommelier and these people deserve to get paid more. They're professionals, they've invested in themselves. They've gone to school, they've got a career. It's not just a summer job for them. And at the other end of the spectrum, we have runners and servers' assistants. They're in university. They might have much more limited experience. But they're smart and they're bright and we like them! But because of that range of responsibilities and experience, we're able to do what any normal business would do and pay, there's a nice pay scale, a range, so you can see yourself working your way up, then we give everybody a raise, and we're able to throw grand parties at the end of the year for everybody and give bonuses and make sure that our key management staff for instance they all have an educational component in their contract, where, at their discretion, I fly them all over the world for conferences, and stages. I'm flying one of my sous-chefs to Copenhagen this winter to work, etc. I need to be careful, that's not revenue that comes directly from the HI, from the tips so to speak, what that is, is a sign of a very healthy restaurant with good smart budgeting with a long-range view of how things are going to work and with the option and the ability and the desire to invest in our team. We've got a sommelier now on team who's going for her WSET level 3 and her WSET level 4. We're paying for the whole thing. Well, we should! And we're able to do that because we're a solid business without the ambiguity that would come with tips and gratuities and all of it.

Do you notice a change in the relationship between FOH and BOH since working in a non-tipping environment?

Yes. Awesome team! Everybody works great together. And they're respected. They know they're paid better than anybody else on the island. They just are. We're able to pay really well. Partially because of that tip being included (HI), but also because we have an extraordinarily high check average. Our check average is 190\$ a head. That's crazy money in any city! That allows us to pay, set a very high bar for our staff, and pay well as a result.

Sustainability is often seen as being green or protecting the environment, but we tend to forget about the social side of it. That is why I have decided to focus my research on social sustainability, which, in the workplace can mean having access to a safe job with social protection and fair working conditions. It can also mean a restaurant where staff and suppliers are valued as much as the customers or where the chef and the employees can have a balanced work life.

Do you consider Fireworks a socially sustainable workplace?

We could talk all week on that one. The choices that we make, the things that we do to be a sustainable member of our communities. There's a lot of communities that we're a part of. Many and macro. Just the very ethos of our restaurant, at the heart of it all, what we do. The very way that our product is all about bringing people together and sparking a big conversation around the table, that's what we do, that's what we sell. As I said, it's a once a night food performance and once you get over the fact that we grow everything we serve, everything. We cook it all with live fire, which is all very nice, but the most important thing we do is we bring people together around long feast tables. Strangers sitting shoulder to shoulder along with strangers every single night so social sustainability, social sustainability I believe is the very heart of what we do. We force people to have discourse, to talk and be with each other, leave their freaking devices behind and get their head out of the screen and the digital world and live a real life. The connection between how food is created, how it's the work that goes into food, that's what we're trying to do. You're not coming to us for just a meal, if you were, you'd take 20 bucks and go down the street to get a meal, but not come spend a 190 with us. It's not about the meal. We are more than a meal. We are a way for you to come and experience and understand and learn: what does it take to produce food? What's the work that goes into it. So, all of that is founded on social responsibility and trying to do something real and authentic with our business. It's right at the heart and the core and then it just ripples in every possible way. And we're also a business that firmly believes and understands that our staff comes first. They are more important to us than our guests. Our staff comes first. And I find it so disingenuous all these big companies, the guest comes first, the guest comes first. And they do that at the expense of their own staff, the people that matter to them day-in day-out, are marginalized because of these blanket policies that are often bullshit frankly. In our case, we take care of our team, they take care of our guests, it's really simple.

Do you believe your employees are happy?

Yes!

As you are a very successful chef, I was wondering if you had any advice for younger chefs that are at the beginning of their career, in order to maintain a balanced and healthy lifestyle?

For years I've said the same thing, and I continue to say it. The best advice, early in your career, is that it's not about the paycheck. It's not about the money. If that's all you're seeing and thinking, forget it, you're in the wrong industry, your mistake. If you find yourself in a job early on and you're not learning, and you've been misled by the boss who told you, I'm going to do this... and nothing's happening, leave! Quit! Go somewhere else! Be brutal! It is about investing in yourself, and the best thing you can invest in yourself is time. Time well spent. And if you're in one of those kitchens, where you're not being respected or there's misogyny or harassment around you, or a culture that allows that sort of thing to happen, then get the hell out. Don't waste your time, go somewhere else! They don't deserve you. That's my advice. A career is very short and early on in that career it's all about learning. The most you can possibly learn. Work in places where you're respected and where you're learning things, good choice.

Do employees get paid sick days?

Can they call in sick?

They are. We just absorb it. If you're sick, you're sick, I'm not going to make you work. And I'm not going to dock your pay either. It allows us to do bereavement pay. We've had a few instances where family members have died, and people have had to go for a week. I'd pay them anyways. It's just the right thing to do. and honestly, when I created the policy, I didn't fully think it all through. I'm not going to pretend that I had this thing all... I never let a lack of planning get in the way of my gut. My gut told me that this is the right thing to do. Just because I don't fully understand all the intricacies of it is not a good reason not to do it. We charge in, we get in, we're halfway through our first year and there's a couple of family deaths and all of a sudden, I realize, you know what? We're in a position to pay bereavement here. Just pay this. It's the right thing to do. And again, I want to be clear, I can't say to you that (HI allows for...a sick day), it helps me, but it's not the full trigger or cause. The real trigger is just knowing that we do business the right way. We do it ethically. We take care of our team. At this 5-star level, if my team is not enveloped with love, they're not going to do the same thing for my guests. They're just not going to do it. So, we work collaboratively and we're part of a very strong business and it allows the business to be a part of this equation as well.

Do they get paid for their overtime or are their overtime hours “banked up” and paid to them later on (or as days off)?

Hourly, no, they don’t work overtime. And the cooks, because of the way a day works, we pay a weekly salary. Now if you break it down and start doing the math, they’re still very well paid. It just doesn’t make sense to pay the cooks hourly. We start our days at 10 in the morning. They only work 5 days a week though. No one ever works more than 5 days a week. And if somebody for whatever reason, somebody’s sick and I ask, can anybody help cover? And they work a 6th day, we pay them for the 6th day. And it has to be a volunteer to work that 6th day. We learnt that. You can’t do that anymore. I came up the ranks working 6 days a week, happy to do it, 80 hours a week. I didn’t count how many hours I worked. It didn’t matter to me.

It’s different now and I’m ok with that. Honestly, I had to play a little catch up. My first couple years I didn’t understand how much the work culture had shifted and there’s a lot of chatter out there around millennials changing the work culture. This generation doesn’t understand work, and this and that. Well honestly the previous generation didn’t get it either. We worked people too hard, too long, we took advantage of them. And so, we’re in the middle of a cultural shift. And honestly, I had to play a little catch up. And I did. And I figured it out pretty quickly I’m an open guy I’m an ethical guy. It didn’t long to figure it out. And I’m glad that we figured it out. And I’m extremely disappointed in much of my industry colleagues out there in this business. I think they still continue to take advantage. This rally against raising the minimum wage at the board level. Restaurants Canada saying: oh no, you’re going to ruin our industry. Fuck you! You should be paying more now anyways. It’s not fair. I just think it’s the right thing to do. We see restaurants all over Canada that are dealing with audits and extreme fines and interests and payments and penalties because they didn’t protect their staff. We’ve got one right here on Prince Edward Island, the Murphy group, biggest restaurant group on the island and the operating officer of the company wants to complain about how unfair it is that they’re being targeted. And I’m thinking that this is bullshit! You didn’t do your job. You should have taken care of your staff. You should have made sure they understood what the ramifications were, and you should be dodging this grey line on whether it’s administered or... I’m very disappointed in what we see. There’s that coral area, we’ve got lots of folks like myself out there that are drawn to hospitality because we’re drawn to people, we’re good people. But there’s another side of the industry where they’re in it to win it. It’s money, it’s business. Not saying that it’s wrong, but I’m saying that it often leads to very myopic thinking, very narrow minded, and a lack of focus on team and staff and social sustainability. We feel very blessed that we get to look at that and make it a part of what we are.