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Pannon Management Review

Pannon Management Review contributes to bridging scholarly management research and management practitioner thinking worldwide. In particular, *Pannon Management Review* broadens the existing links between Hungarian scholars and practitioners, on the one hand, and the wider international academic and business communities, on the other—the journal acts as an overall Central and Eastern European catalyst for the dissemination of international thinking, both scholarly and managerial. To this end, the articles published in *Pannon Management Review* reflect the extensive variety of interests, backgrounds, and levels of experience and expertise of its contributors, both scholars and practitioners—and seek to balance academic rigour with practical relevance in addressing issues of current managerial interest. The journal also encourages the publication of articles outside the often narrow disciplinary constraints of traditional academic journals, and offers young scholars publication opportunities in a supportive, nurturing editorial environment.

Contents

RODERICK MARTIN

Editorial: Management, universal and specific (but not at one and the same time)

Just like the techniques for developing time-based supply chains discussed by Blackburn (2012) in the previous, first issue of this journal, some management activities are technical—and universal. Other management activities, such as the management of human resources, are specific and culturally dependent—they necessarily involve values, both of the players directly involved in these activities and of the researchers who study them. It is important for management researchers—let alone managers—to differentiate between the two. Mistaken assumptions of universality, following internationalisation fashions, may result in irrelevant innovations—being fit with an unfit fitness is often an expensive error, for example in human resource management. Equally, mistaken assumptions of uniqueness may result in stultifying managerial conservatism.

This issue of *Pannon Management Review* contains articles which illustrate both the universal and the specific. The discussion in **Lublóy** and **Vastag**'s interview with Albert-László Barabási focuses on networks, a concept capable of universal application—from medicine to corporate structures and the Internet. The term network refers to relations between entities, regardless of form, not to the entities themselves, and it is possible to identify generic characteristics of networks, such as density and complexity—networks do not have values. In contrast, the discussion of the values of 'Old' and 'New' China by **King-Metters** and **Metters** expressly addresses the issue of cultural specificity—and its implications for the behaviour of both managers and employees, for example over innovation. The article by **Komlósi** on emotional intelligence in the hotel industry is a meeting point for discussing the universality–specificity issue. Emotional intelligence might be naturally expected to be culturally specific, influenced by national and even local cultures—everyone has views on the differences between the Hungarian and English temperaments, for example. However, research on emotional intelligence adopts an analytical approach, seeking to measure personal attributes as accurately as possible by using international comparisons and precisely calibrated measures. The articles by **Cartwright** and **Clarke** are specific, and illustrate the role of culture and values in management research in different ways. Using anthropological and sociological evidence, **Cartwright** examines the implications of rural depopulation for the provision and management

of public services, especially education and social care of the elderly. Should public policy seek to manage rural population decline by easing transition from rural to urban? Or should it seek to enable declining numbers of citizens to remain in rural areas, with disintegrating local institutions and at increasing public cost? **Clarke**'s paper shows differences in values and motivations amongst religious tourists, the differences between pilgrims and tourists, and the need for sensitivity by tourist enterprises. The tourist experience is a co-production between tourist and provider, not the consumption of one produced by the other. The following paragraphs comment on the specific articles in turn.

The article by **Katherine H. King-Metters** and **Richard D. Metters** contrasts the 'Old' and the 'New' China through comparing scores on Hofstede's cultural values scales in the 1980s with the results of the authors' own survey in the 2000s. The comparison shows major changes in values, with the 'New' China displaying increasing masculinity and individualism, as well as increasing short-termism and diminishing power distance. Chinese employees—and, even more, Chinese managers—increasingly resemble their US counterparts. However, the authors recognise that the new values are not universal, new values coexisting with old values, rather than displacing them—China is a diverse society, with differences between young and old, rural and urban, inland and coastal, migrant and indigenous. The article identifies the significance of changing values for recruitment and training, as well as for payment systems. Importantly, there is no overall Asian value system as such. For example, Chinese values differ markedly from Japanese values, which remain more commitment oriented. Japanese multinationals were much less successful than US multinationals in developing organisational commitment amongst their Chinese employees (Wilson 2009). Among others, the difficulties of Japanese multinationals with their Chinese employees stemmed from the cultural differences between Japanese and Chinese, as well as from the increasing cultural similarities between Chinese and US employees.

Rural depopulation raises sociological and political as well as demographic and economic issues. **Andrew Cartwright** shows the comprehensive effects on rural areas of depopulation and the 'greying' of the rural population. For example, the closure of schools results in the loss of teachers (often *the* teacher) and in the disappearance of professionally competent villagers capable of providing local leadership and negotiating with local authorities. Unlike English villages, for example, villages in Central and Eastern Europe do not generally attract affluent retirees, able to provide voluntary labour—and tax revenues—for maintaining rural services. The 'urban peasants' (Czegledy 2002) who maintain contact with their villages of origin through vacations and weekend visits may preserve the physical amenities of the villages, but do not provide the basis for continuing social and

political organisation. Because of fragmented land ownership, the transformation of agriculture through investment in technology is difficult, with ageing owners lacking the energy—and indeed the capital—for restructuring and reorganising agricultural production. Rural development, including tourism, is practical only in areas within reach of major cities, ideally of outstanding natural beauty, such as Lake Balaton in Hungary, for example. Where resources to sustain local provision are lacking, policies may be to transfer remaining residents to urban areas, or to service rural areas by mobile provision of services, for example medical care. However, transfer to urban areas destroys rural social values, whilst the mobile provision of services is difficult to organise—as well as disproportionately expensive.

Alan Clarke develops a typology of religious tourism—ranging from pious pilgrims, seeking spiritual enhancement, to secular tourists, seeking entertainment. He identifies differences among various religious groups—between Roman Catholics and Protestants, for example—in their responses to holy places, and argues that religious tourism is not simply an economic phenomenon. Rather than interpreting tourism through immediate, 'Orthodox' (pun not intended!) perspectives such as service delivery and customer satisfaction, the theoretical interest of the article lies in its interpretation of the tourist experience as the outcome of a process of co-production, involving both tourist and destination management organisation. The religious tourists are co-producers, not simply consumers of tourist experience. As such, the nature of the experience reflects the interests of the traveller as well as those of the destination management organisation as the provider of tourist facilities. Generally, religious tourists seek a wide range of experiences—aesthetic, entertainment, escapist, and educational, as well as devotional. Managers responsible for religious tourist destinations have to reconcile the needs of pilgrims, seeking sanctity, with the needs of other tourists, including the needs of other types of religious tourists, seeking entertainment.

Edit Komlósi, the promising young scholar from the Faculty of Business and Economics at the University of Pannonia, features in this issue of the journal alongside (but independently from!) Alan Clarke, one of her two supervisors. She presents the results of her doctoral research to date, currently halfway through completion. The author defines functional managers and examines their role in organisational performance in the particular case of the hotel industry and the wider hospitality sector. In so doing, she focuses on aspects of human resources which distinguish both sector and industry from other economic sectors and industries—undesirably high levels of employee turnover, for example, which cannot be explained through otherwise natural seasonality. The author distinguishes between task and contextual performance and discusses the role personality plays. She defines emotional intelligence—the capacity to understand, regulate, and use emotions effectively—and she differentiates between trait and

ability emotional intelligence, as well as between their respective methods of measurement. Alongside other psychometric instruments, the Trait Emotional Intelligence Questionnaire (TEIQue) is discussed critically at some length—by piloting it within the Hungarian environment, following translation and adaptation into Hungarian by her and her colleague, the author has carried out pioneering work. Ultimately, the author seeks to demonstrate the impact of trait emotional intelligence on the task and contextual performance of hotel functional managers. In very broad terms, the concept of emotional intelligence refers to the ability to understand one's own personality, as well as those of others, and to the ability to either model personality or, more importantly, make optimal use of personality as it is. Hotel managers need to be especially adept in using their emotional intelligence, because of the high level of interpersonal interaction involved in their work, and the need to appreciate, and respond to, the variety of guest and subordinate expectations. Providing hospitality is a highly personal, highly close performance.

The final article is based on an interview with the network scientist Albert-László Barabási by **Ágnes Lublóy** and **Gyula Vastag**, the editor of this journal. Networks are a concept fundamental to research and development in areas as varied as medicine, information technology, and management. However, as a basic concept in social sciences, networks have limitations, neglecting the capacity of human beings for reflectivity, reflexivity, and (self-)organisation—the nature of the links among genes, and among computers, and the nature of the links among individuals may be exactly the same, but genes, computers, and individuals are entirely different entities. For managers, the specific significance of networks lies in their focus on groups, linkages, and relationships—rather than individuals or, indeed, firms—and on the patterns of influence among the nodes of networks. Building upon the Japanese corporate structures of the 1980s (Fruin 1992), recent changes in business organisation in the US have been characterised by the growth of strong networks, replacing both internal hierarchy within firms and purely market relations among firms (DiMaggio 2001). Building networks assists firms in minimising production costs and securing access to external innovations, while ensuring security of supply.

The five articles in this second issue of *Pannon Management Review* reflect the multi-faceted nature of the management discipline, and the variety of theoretical approaches adopted. The discipline ranges from operations management, with its roots in engineering and mathematics, to human resource management, with its roots in psychology, sociology, anthropology, and history. The small but interesting selection of articles published in this issue reflects this theoretical diversity, and its relevance for understanding and developing management practice.

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KATHRYN H. KING-METTERS AND RICHARD D. METTERS

What they know just ain't so: what multinationals need to know about Chinese workers[1]

Multinationals got a misleading introduction to China. As far as 'the West' is concerned, China was 'closed for business' between the Communist revolution of 1949 and 1980. In 1980, as a test of capitalism, the first Special Economic Zone (SEZ) was established in Shenzhen in the Guangdong Province—just across the border from the then British-controlled Hong Kong and not far from the then Portuguese-ruled Macau. At the time, Shenzhen was a rural fishing village in the Pearl River Delta with 20,000 inhabitants (Harney 2008)—now, it is a metropolis of 15 million (Sasin 2012).[2] The population growth in Shenzhen in particular and the Guangdong Province in general (from 53 to 110 million between 1980 and 2005) is attributable to migrant labour.

Workers in Guangdong work, eat, and sleep at their company—it is typical for companies to run their own dormitories, sometimes loading a dozen workers to a room (for the structure of dormitory labour, see Smith (2003) and Harney (2008), for example). This is not typical only of the manufacturing sector: some hotels in Guangdong also have dormitories for their workers. These workers are hundreds of miles from their ancestral homes and relatives, to whom they want to return and to whom they send excess cash. The dreams of many of these workers are to make enough money in the big city to be able to return home to a better life. However, time and time again, their plight comes back to the attention of the world—in 2010, for example, 18 workers of the Shenzhen-based company Foxconn attempted suicide (Dean 2010).

The SEZs' subsistence on migrant labour became the West's gateway into China, and Western executives formed their opinions of Chinese labour based on their SEZ experiences. Our own research indicates that the collective mindset of

[1] For assistance with gathering and inputting data, conducting interviews, and performing field observations, the authors wish to thank the other members of their research team—Mark Chekanow, Luis DeBayle, Christina Hinds, Samantha Maust, Eric Merrill, and Stephen Tilley, who were all MBA students at Emory University, at the time.

[2] Population estimates in China are just that, and may be unreliable, but the order of magnitude is accurate. Various anecdotal sources have cited the 1980 population of Shenzhen at 16,000, 20,000, and 321,000. The current official population estimate is 12 million, but unofficial estimates place the population at 18 million, including undocumented workers.

Western management is stuck in beliefs based on experiences of SEZ migrant workers over the past 33 years. Such beliefs are backed by research on Chinese worker attitudes undertaken decades ago, repeated in classrooms and by consultants ever since.

However, the corporate flag of Western business is now being planted beyond the migrant worker SEZs. Throughout China, you may dine at Kentucky Fried Chicken, Burger King, and McDonald's, for lunch, and at Ruth's Chris Steak House, for dinner. If you are there temporarily, you may stay at a Sofitel, or a Ritz-Carlton, or maybe a Holiday Inn. If you are there more permanently, you may shop for tools at Home Depot. Our research shows that, in the past few years, powerful social forces in China have changed the attitudes and aspirations of Chinese workers. Consequently, multinational firms trying to attract and retain employees in China based on outdated mindsets make a mistake—utilising the talents of Chinese workers properly may require new thinking, as well as new policies.

Our research was carried out in three stages, between November 2006 and January 2009, and found a dissonance between the attitudes and beliefs of Western managers and those of their Chinese workers. These differences have both policy and management implications. As a general statement that is certainly not all-inclusive, Western managers view Chinese employees as focused on monetary reward, with little company loyalty. Furthermore, Western managers view Chinese employees as unlikely to go beyond minimum job requirements and use personal initiative in problem solving. These views run counter to our interactions with Chinese employees. Courtesy of the management, our research team was able to observe employee–customer and employee–employee interactions at Sofitel Hyland in Shanghai. In addition, valid survey questionnaires were collected from a combined 241 employees in the Portman Ritz-Carlton (headquartered in the United States) and the Sofitel Hyland (headquartered in France), both located in Shanghai, and in Hotel C (a unit of a different hotel chain headquartered in the United States), located in Lhasa. Furthermore, our research team interviewed 31 Chinese employees working for the Sofitel Hyland, as well as a number of Western managers at varying levels of seniority in all three hotels. The Western managements of various businesses in China—including other hotels and restaurants—were also interviewed.

This short introduction is followed by a brief review of the methodology. The article then discusses the views of the Western managements and the results of our field observations and surveys of Chinese employees. It then provides context for the surprising survey results, by discussing the social changes that have taken place in China. Finally, this article concludes with some practical advice for Western managers.

Methodology

Our methodology was three-pronged and comprised surveys, interviews, and field observations.

Hofstede's (2001: 495–6) VSM94 questionnaire was administered to the cumulated 1,242 employees of the three hotels under scrutiny—of these, 263 questionnaires were returned, of which 241 responses were valid. Since this survey questionnaire had already been used by Hofstede and numerous other researchers, issues germane to new surveys, such as reliability, were not of concern here (for a brief explanation of Hofstede's cultural values survey, see Appendix 1, p. 25). The respondents chose whether to complete the surveys in English or Chinese. The five non-Chinese respondents were not included in the data analysis.

By replicating Hofstede's work, we attempted to determine changes in cultural values over time. There are several competing frameworks to Hofstede's, such as Trompenaars (1993) and the GLOBE study (House et al. 2004). We chose Hofstede not because it is necessarily superior to others, or because it is more frequently cited. Rather, our central thesis was that the Chinese culture changed since Western management first experienced it in the early 1980s. Consequently, we needed a measurement of Chinese culture from the past, for comparison, predating the societal changes we were interested in—Hofstede's framework fit our purposes. Other frameworks either did not include mainland China or were too recent with their assessments. Comparing survey answers across time periods between different populations poses theoretical challenges, but we argue that Hofstede's framework is valid and reliable over both time and differing experimental subjects (for an extended explanation, see Appendix 2, pp. 25–6).

At the outset, we had no hypotheses that managers would have such a different view of employees than they had of themselves—we had only intended to survey the employees. However, contact with management was necessary to gain access to employees, and the dissonance became readily apparent. Upon discovering this, we began our more extensive executive interviews.

A team of eight interviewed 31 Chinese employees using an interview protocol (see Appendix 3, pp. 26–7). The interviews were conducted in English. This limited interviewing to customer-facing personnel, but covered all those on duty at the times specified by managements.

In addition, Western managers of other hotels, restaurants, retailers, and manufacturers were interviewed. Due to the nature of their positions as experts, a strict interview protocol was not followed. Instead, open-ended questions were asked to solicit comments.

This team also observed employee–customer and employee–employee interactions in a variety of work areas—restaurants, public areas, concierge

stations, reception desks, and business offices—for 17 man-hours. In each work area, observations were carried out at times of day when it was reasonable to expect employee–customer and employee–employee interactions.

Chinese employees seen through the eyes of Western managers

Interviews with Western managers pointed towards a set of shared beliefs regarding their Chinese employees. One such belief was on the relative value that employees placed on financial incentives compared to non-financial incentives. Paraphrasing Vince Lombardi on football, it would appear that 'money isn't everything, it's the only thing'. 'There is low company loyalty [among Chinese workers]. There's high turnover for a small salary increase,' said the Consul General of a Western nation in Shanghai. For Chinese employees, 'the most important motivator is money,' said the General Manager of a Shanghai hotel. '[The] Chinese have zero loyalty to their employer,' said the Vice-President (Strategic Supply Development) of a Fortune 500 manufacturing firm. Overall, managers believed that increasing the skill levels of Chinese employees would inevitably result in their departure at the first opportunity of a better paid job. This shared belief had direct negative implications for investments in training and retraining—and for efforts to build employee identification with the employer. It also meant that there were lesser expectations of engaging in teamwork.

Another shared belief regarded the Chinese employees' lack of initiative. The history books record that, in 227 BCE, a would-be assassin hid a knife in a scroll and reached within a few feet of the emperor. Although the emperor was surrounded by hundreds of loyal armed guards, no one tried to thwart the criminal. As legend has it, the rule was that no one could approach the emperor unless the emperor expressly entreated them, and he was a little too busy, trying to fend off a knife attack, to do so at the time (Wood 2007). The emperor emerged unhurt, after some struggle with the criminal, but modern Western customers expect employees to use their own judgment—as well as initiative—in problem solving.

Chinese employees' strict adherence to rules was another belief shared by Western managers—Chinese employees lack imagination and refuse to step outside the rules, even when they should; empowerment just does not work. Empowerment is 'not Chinese yet. You are the boss, you have to decide. Staff will not make decisions,' said the General Manager of a Shanghai hotel. There is a 'kingdom mentality' that disables empowerment, said the Human Resources Director of an international hotel chain based in Shanghai. 'I have twice the labour I would have in the US,' because workers do only what their supervisors tell them and do not take initiative, said a Western restaurateur in Shanghai. 'No one asks questions of the General Manager,' said the Human Resources Director of a hotel

in Shanghai. According to the Food and Beverage Manager of a Shanghai hotel, 'I gave five samples of cocktails, and told them to "create your own". I ended up with the same five I gave them. [. . .] Housekeeping is supposed to clean the restaurant area at 2:30. They start vacuuming, even if guests are still dining.' A Western management trainee pointed out a number of telling incidents too. In one example, reception workers would not pick up pillows knocked to the floor in the lobby—they would wait for housekeeping to make their rounds. In another example, a guest arrived, but his room was not ready, so he could not check in—the concierge refused to store his luggage, since luggage is only stored for customers, and he was not a customer yet.

Other research concurred with this view. In a study of the Chinese hotel industry, Hoyton and Sutton (1996: 26) declared that 'empowerment is not yet accepted in China'. In a different economic sector, manufacturing, 'line workers tend to seek answers from bosses rather than solve problems as teams', according to Hexter and Woetzel (2007: 94).

Survey and interview results

We surveyed Chinese employees in three Western hotels—the Sofitel Hyland Hotel, the Portman Ritz-Carlton Hotel, and Hotel C—using Hofstede's (2001) cultural values questionnaire. Of the many cultural researchers in business, Hofstede is arguably the most famous, two of his books alone (Hofstede 1980; Hofstede 2001) having been cited over four thousand times according to the citation index ISI. However, Hofstede's work has both supporters and detractors—despite its possible shortcomings, our current study is interesting, and scholarly valuable, since it highlights the changes in cultural values over time (for an extended discussion, see Appendix 2, pp. 25–6).

Using Hofstede's survey has a number of advantages. First, the initial survey was carried out the world over, allowing for direct comparisons among countries. Second, considerable time has passed since the initial survey was carried out. Replication studies allow therefore for longitudinal comparisons, a central point of this article. Third, as Kirkman, Lowe, and Gibson (2006) showed, replication studies are not uncommon, and Hofstede's general framework and conclusions have held up over a number of different industries.

Using Hofstede's survey has a number of disadvantages too. Hofstede analysed national cultures through the study of non-executive service workers in one multinational corporation—IBM—with operations worldwide. Workers on the manufacturing floor were not studied, and firm differences may be significant too. In addition, studying workers in a Western-based multinational corporation may

have introduced undue bias, and the results may not be representative of the general population.

Similarly to Hofstede's initial survey, this survey too is of non-executive service workers in Western-based multinational firms. Tables 1–4 (pp. 17, 18, 20, and 21, respectively) present this survey's scores for 'New China' compared with Hofstede's scores for 'Old China'—and other countries—along four of Hofstede's five cultural dimensions—masculinity / femininity, power distance, long-term orientation, and individualism / collectivism (for the fifth dimension, uncertainty avoidance, see Appendix 4, p. 27). Hofstede's initial survey of 53 national cultures included Taiwan and Hong Kong, but not China—the Old China scores were collected later, mainly in the mid-1980s. As Tables 1–4 show, New China and Old China look like very different places.

Masculinity / femininity

According to Hofstede (1998: 6), 'Masculinity refers to a society where men are supposed to be assertive, tough, and focused on material success; women are supposed to be more modest, tender, and concerned with quality of life. The opposite pole, Femininity, stands for a society in which both men and women are supposed to be modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life.' Hofstede (1998: 13) admitted that masculinity / femininity has unintended social connotations, and suggested 'ego / social' and 'assertive / nurturant' as possible alternatives. In the light of this new terminology, a masculine society is one that places more value on individual achievement ('ego' or 'assertive'), whilst a feminine society is one that places more value on relationships ('social' or 'nurturant').

Of the four sets of scores examined in detail in this article, the masculinity / femininity scores are the most striking. The 53 nations of Hofstede's study ranged from 5 to 95, with higher scores indicating higher masculinity (see Table 1, p. 17). Hofstede's Old China scored 66, but New China scores a *negative* 22 in our study. Although perfectly possible, negative scores are highly unusual, not least because Hofstede's scores were scaled to be positive. A replication study surveying societal elites (such as chief executive officers, judges, and professors) resulted in some negative masculinity / femininity scores, especially among Nordic countries (Hoppe 1998: Chapter 2). However, at 0.93, the correlation of the results was quite high, meaning that countries with high masculinity scores in Hofstede's original study still had high—albeit slightly lower—masculinity scores in the replication study. Hoppe's replication study showed no changes in the masculinity / femininity dimension of the magnitude shown by our replication study.

Moreover, the data in our replication study was consistent throughout the survey, irrespective of hotel and regardless of employee gender and age. However,

the oldest respondent was only 54 years old, and only 15 per cent of the surveyed employees were 40 years of age or older—the hospitality sector in China is young.

Scores	Countries	Rankings (out of 53)
95	Japan	1
79	Austria	2
66	**Old China***	n/a
62	US	15
57	Hong Kong	18
45	Taiwan	32
43	France	35
5	Sweden	53
-22	**New China***	n/a

* The difference is statistically significant at the 0.0001 level.

Table 1: Masculinity / femininity scores for Old China, New China, and selected countries

What significance does the masculinity / femininity score have for the management of Chinese workers? In the trade-off between (more) money and (more) time off, high masculinity scores are associated with a preference for high salaries and low masculinity scores with a preference for short working hours (Hoppe 1998: Chapter 2). Beyond that trade-off, low masculinity scores indicate societies that value good relationships and high masculinity scores indicate societies that value personal achievement and where recognition of such personal achievement is important. Consequently, a good reward and recognition system is a system that reflects adequately the masculinity / femininity score. An employee-of-the-month plaque may resonate well with a masculine society, but would be an embarrassing accolade in a feminine society that strives for harmonious relationships among peers as well as between managers and employees. In the China of today, taking a star employee out to dinner may be a more appropriate form of reward and recognition than either a bonus or a plaque on the wall.

Power distance

Power distance measures the extent to which the less powerful people accept and expect inequality—the unequal distribution of power. A high power distance score suggests that the society's level of inequality is endorsed by followers as much as leaders. In organisations, a high power distance culture translates into managers being always in the right by the sheer importance attached to the position

they occupy in the organisational hierarchy. In a low power distance society like Denmark, employees may say to their manager 'Boss, that's another stupid idea you're having.' In a moderate power distance society like the US, employees may say to their manager 'Interesting idea, boss, but maybe there's a better way.' In a high power distance society like Venezuela, employees are expected to say to their manager 'Yes, sir.'

Hofstede's Old China scored 80, nearly as much as (old) Venezuela, but New China scores 41 in our study, close to the (old) US (see Table 2). What significance does the power distance score have for the management of Chinese workers? In high power distance organisations, employees feel that it is the managers' job to tell them what to do, and that it would be inappropriate of employees to suggest changes to processes—managers design processes, and suggesting changes to processes entails telling managers that they are wrong. Consequently, empowerment is a difficult management tool to use in high power distance cultures (Hui and Fock 2004).

Scores	**Countries**	**Rankings (out of 53)**
104	Malaysia	1
95	Guatemala	2
81	Venezuela	5
80	**Old China***	n/a
68	France	15
68	Hong Kong	15
58	Taiwan	29
41	**New China***	n/a
40	US	38
31	Sweden	47
11	Austria	53

* The difference is statistically significant at the 0.0001 level.

Table 2: Power distance scores for Old China, New China, and selected countries

However, a relatively high power distance score does not necessarily imply that Chinese employees cannot take the initiative. In general, the Chinese employees we interviewed claimed that they had plenty of suggestions for improvement, but that they were being very cautious about it—a Chinese banquet manager stated that he 'tried to make it seem like [the manager's] idea'. Employee empowerment was especially important at the Portman Ritz-Carlton, where the corporate culture and

operations are based on employee initiative. It is legend that does not need lengthy repetition here that Portman Ritz-Carlton employees are empowered to use hotel money to solve problems on the spot and make the customer experience an excellent one. Portman Ritz-Carlton management stated that the Chinese were slower at embracing employee empowerment than other cultures, but that consistent reward for relevant behaviour enhanced employee empowerment and reduced cultural discrepancies among their employees worldwide.

Our own observations were mixed, with several instances of rote, rule-based behaviour: hotel employees just walking by an executive dining room toaster sending smoke to the ceiling; a hotel maid gesturing guests off the bed so that she could place the complimentary mint in the designated spot on the bed; and a hotel employee placing the morning newspaper in the designated spot by the door despite the guest's opened door and extended hand. However, we also observed creative problem solutions to difficult customer requests by many staff members. In one example, the hotel rules stated that waiving fees required managerial approval. However, business office workers mollified customers angry at very slow Internet speeds by simply charging them for less computer time than they were actually using, without managerial approval, thereby converting a USD 1,000 stay from a frustrating one into a satisfying one—just by waiving a USD 5 fee. Customers would have been long gone, by the time a manager could have been summoned to make a decision. In another example, a customer wanted a second bottle of wine for his table, but the restaurant had run out of that particular vintage. Seeing the customer was perturbed, the waiter got a bellhop to go across the street and buy a bottle at a local store.

Asked about some of the incidents management had mentioned earlier, the Chinese employees had different views. When asked about the guest who had arrived before his room was ready, and whose luggage was refused storage by the concierge, the interviewee could not believe such a situation was possible—to management, this was an iconic event; to employees, this was fiction.

Our surveys, interviews, and observations all point towards Chinese employees being in transition. There are strong vestiges of behaviour associated with a high power distance culture, but also a willingness to embrace behaviour associated with a low power distance culture, requiring persistent attention from management.

Long-term orientation

Long-term orientation was not one of the original four dimensions Hofstede considered in his surveys of the 1970s. This dimension was revealed in 1985 in a study among students in 23 countries around the world using a questionnaire called the 'Chinese Value Survey'. Values associated with long-term orientation are thrift and perseverance. High long-term orientation cultures tend to value money—and

have high savings rates—and consider leisure time unimportant. Tolerance and respect for others are not associated with long-term orientation cultures. 'High Long-Term Orientation families tend to keep to themselves' (Hofstede 2001: 359), with a negative correlation for the need for affiliation with others. 'Respect for tradition' is highly negatively correlated with long-term orientation.

At 118, the Old China score for long-term orientation was the highest in the world and well off the charts (see Table 3). The New China in our study is 40, almost on par with (old) France.

Scores	Countries	Rankings (out of 34)
118	**Old China***	n/a
96	Hong Kong	1
87	Taiwan	2
40	**New China***	n/a
39	France	17
33	Sweden	20
31	Austria	22

* The difference is statistically significant at the 0.0001 level.

Table 3: Long-term orientation scores for Old China, New China, and selected countries

Many of the Western managers we interviewed claimed that salary was the key—sole, even—criterion for attracting and retaining Chinese employees. If China is truly shifting from a very high long-term orientation to a lower long-term orientation, then socio-professional inclusion and leisure time are increasingly more important than strict monetary considerations. Interviews with Western managements at hotels other than those surveyed indicated that employees were drawn in to a large extent by the status of the brand—by being proudly part of a prestigious team, rather than strictly by take-home pay. This view was echoed in many of our interviews with Chinese employees, extremely concerned with relevant training, rather than with salary.

Individualism / collectivism

Individualism / collectivism was defined by Hofstede (1980) as the extent to which individuals are integrated into groups. In individualist societies, the ties among individuals are loose: individuals are expected to look after themselves and their immediate family. In collectivist societies, individuals are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups from birth, often in the shape of extended families

including uncles, aunts, and grandparents who continue protecting them throughout their lives in exchange for unquestioning loyalty. The word 'collectivism' has no political meaning in this context—it refers to groups, not to states.

Scores	Countries	Rankings (out of 53)
91	US	1
90	Austria	2
71	**New China***	n/a
71	France	10
71	Sweden	10
25	Hong Kong	37
20	**Old China***	n/a
17	Taiwan	44
6	Guatemala	53

* The difference is statistically significant at the 0.0001 level.

Table 4: Individualism / collectivism scores for Old China, New China, and selected countries

Here again, there are strong differences between Old China—highly collectivist, at 20—and New China—strongly individualist, at 71 (see Table 4). As noted by Jackson and Bak (1998: 286) '[c]ollectivism is high in Chinese cultures, with the main group of reference being the family.' If family relationships lie at the core of collectivist cultures, then the reasons behind the shift from collectivism to individualism are straightforward—family relationships no longer form the same size and quality of social network they once did. A Chinese woman used to have 5.5 children on average in 1970 (Li and Liang 1993). The well-known one-child policy was introduced in 1979—most city-dwelling Chinese under the age of 30 typically have only one first cousin and no brothers or sisters. These relatively small families live in small square footage apartments in high-rise apartment buildings in modern Chinese cities—no longer together as an extended family, the Chinese family no longer fulfils the role it used to fulfil.

Discussion of findings

Our survey questionnaires and interviews indicate that Chinese employees in the hospitality sector seek more fulfilling employment experiences than it has been historically the case. There are many potential reasons for these findings, including the unlikely explanation that the three hotels under scrutiny may be different from

any other Western hotels in China. However, other explanations are much more plausible. A number of changes have taken place in the Chinese society over the past few decades, for example, changes that can shift the fundamental relationship between employers and employees (for a more detailed analysis, see Child and Tse (2001), for example).

There are many avenues to becoming part of a group, part of something larger than oneself—religion, family, government, local neighbourhoods, and the workplace all offer immediate avenues for group inclusion. In modern China, however, the opportunities for inclusion have become more limited in recent times, with the deconstruction of the extended family due to the one-child rule discussed earlier, but also because of several other reasons.

With the Communist ascendancy in 1949, religious group inclusion was effectively curtailed. Instead, the government provided a cause for action and a relationship with people. The populace participated in group study of Mao's works and a large number of government-sponsored activities for the 'continuous revolution' of Communist ideology. The workplace was run by the government, with the explicit pact of the 'iron rice bowl'—guaranteed employment—with the populace. Work units in China 'took care of housing, children's education, marriages, and often the timing of employees' child bearing' (Jackson and Back 1998: 285). Large-scale group study of Mao's 'little red book' is no longer commonplace, nowadays, and state-owned companies are being increasingly privatised, with the 'iron rice bowl' an artefact of the past. Although the government is still a strong force, it is no longer the galvanising daily life influence that it once was.

Neighbourhood relationships have changed significantly too. Living in Beijing and Shanghai used to be shaped by single-level 'hutongs'—semi-communal environments where several families would have shared a small courtyard. For most, external movement and leisure travel outside China would have been unheard of, whilst internal movement and leisure travel inside China would have been restricted—living in a single home for an extended period of time and getting to know the neighbours well would have been the norm. Nowadays, by contrast, very few hutongs still exist. Large swaths of the major cities have been reconstructed, and the typical metropolitan residence is now an apartment in a 20-story apartment building. People are far freer to move within China, and urban centres have become far more densely populated. This change has been attended to with the typical isolation of high-rise apartment life—neighbours no longer know one other.

In addition, China's extreme femininity score may be a widespread social phenomenon with bases in the one-child rule. Due to socioeconomic pressures, one practical effect of the one-child rule is an imbalance between young men and women in China. The average worldwide birth rate is 1.05 boys for every girl.

Due to a historical desire to have sons, the Chinese practice gender selection—1,130 boys are born for every 1,000 girls, as a result (CIA 2013). The young men born in the 1980s are now of wife-seeking age. Given the relative scarcity of women, men have been changing their behaviour to attract a wife. This has given rise to what is known colloquially as 'the Shanghai husband' (Farrer 2002). In a shift from previous gender roles, the Shanghai husband takes on duties normally associated with women in China—assisting with housework and child rearing, as well as being more emotionally supportive.

Subtracting family, government, religion, and neighbours from the potential pool of engaging social networks accentuates the role of the workplace, particularly as it provides a sense of belongingness.

Some concluding advice for Western managers

Managements across many industries believe that Chinese workers are only motivated by money and lack company loyalty. This belief leads to a dead end for managerial action. If it is true that the only way to retain workers is to remunerate them better than anyone else, then there is little to no incentive to provide workers with relevant, skill enhancing training[3], and little reason to promote pride in either company or work.

However, such an attitude reflects two possible misconceptions about China's workforce. The first possible misconception is that the Chinese workforce is homogenous, when, on the contrary, there are two vastly different workforces in China, migrant workers and indigenous workers. Whilst financial gain is paramount for migrant labour, migrant labour is not representative of most of China.

The second possible misconception is at the crux of the survey results presented in this article and confirmed by interviews with Chinese employees. Given the wide differences between Hofstede's results measured in the mid-1980s and our results, it is possible that there is a New China in regard to employee attitudes. Seismic shifts have taken place in China over the past 50 years—religion was abolished, replaced by paternalistic and collectivist Communist dogma, now largely faded to individualistic capitalism. In addition, families have gone from

[3] For example, foreign languages as learned by Chinese employees as part of their general education are insufficient for work in an international hotel environment. Therefore, the more languages a hotel employee acquires through subsequent training at work, the more valuable the employee becomes. In addition, since expertise across all hotel functional areas is deemed necessary for promotion to managerial positions, functional area-specific training also enhances employability.

large numbers of children, living in extended family relationships in single-story dwellings, to one-child nuclear families, living in small apartments in high-rise apartment complexes. Due to the social loss of religion, government paternalism, neighbourhoods, and family ties, perhaps Chinese employees are looking to their employers for affiliation.

If this is true, a different strategy for employee retention is called for. One of the more obvious changes would be increased investments in training. Less obviously, the results on the masculinity / femininity scale indicate that more valued employee rewards may be time off or a closer relationship with the boss, rather than a one-time bonus or public recognition. Furthermore, if identification with the employer is sought, a better recruitment and retention tool would be making the workplace a better place to be—instead of just trying to provide higher salaries, the changes in the long-term orientation scales indicate that employers could build nicer employee breakrooms, organise social events, or promote group activities away from work. The marked differences in the power distance index may also portend changes in what can be expected from employees. Empowering employees to take the initiative may now be more likely to succeed than in the past—for example, quality management programmes that require employee input may now find broader participation. (As to individualism / collectivism, Western firms operating in China already focus on individual achievement more than on group achievement.) Moreover, as the scores for uncertainty avoidance seem to indicate (see Appendix 4, p. 27), Chinese employees are increasingly comfortable with what once may have seemed 'unorthodox behaviour and ideas', as well as with 'a more relaxed attitude in which practice counts more than principles' (The Hofstede Centre 2013). However, as the experience of the Portman Ritz-Carlton underscores, these new attitudes may still be in transition, and sustained managerial effort in the face of many failed experiments may be needed to succeed.

Above all, however, Western employers could build the all too necessary bonds by promoting and deepening understanding of corporate values among their Chinese employees—as well as by enhancing their own understanding of the newly developing Chinese culture. 'Trainer training', rather than employee training, is perhaps the most significant and adequate change that Western firms could undertake. Ensuring that expatriate managements have a robust understanding of—as well as an adequate appreciation for—how China has developed over the years can only lead to a broadening of managerial techniques. Received wisdom from the early and spectacular successes of Hong Kong- and Taiwan-based businesses manufacturing in China's SEZs led to a view as to the capabilities of Chinese workers and how best to manage them, through limiting employee discretion and focusing on pay for retention.

Appendix 1: Hofstede's cultural values survey

The employees of the Sofitel Hyland Hotel, the Portman Ritz-Carlton Hotel, and Hotel C were surveyed using Hofstede's (1980) cultural values survey. Of the many cultural researchers in business, Hofstede is arguably the most famous. According to Google Scholar (2013), Hofstede (1980) had been cited by 27,215. The Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI 2008) reported 6,846 citations. For a work 33 years old, Hofstede (1980) has staying power: SSCI (2013) reported the five years with the most citations are the five most recent years as of this writing, 2008–12. To provide some perspective, the article of Kirkman, Lowe, and Gibson (2006) was solely dedicated to reviewing 'Hofstede-inspired research'.

Hofstede's basic framework was developed in two stages, 1967–9 and 1971–3, using 116,000 surveys from employees of IBM in 72 countries, and resulted in the dimensions of individualism, masculinity, uncertainty avoidance, and power distance. He later expanded the database—to incorporate China and other countries in the late 1970s and early 1980s—and included the dimension long-term orientation at that time (Hofstede 2001: 41). At 79 questions, Hofstede's (2001: 467–74) original survey was quite lengthy. Analysis indicated that many of the questions were not useful in constructing the dimensions. Consequently, the questionnaire was pared to 20 questions, in 1994, and titled Values Survey Module 1994, or VSM94 (Hofstede 2001: 495–6) (for instructions for converting survey answers to dimensions, see Hofstede 2001: 494).

Appendix 2: Arguments for (and against) Hofstede's framework

The entire concept of reducing culture to a number is rejected by anthropologists—Sahlins (1976: 206) stated that 'culture is not a dependent variable'. Business scholars also differ with Hofstede—in the (not so) subtly titled article, 'Hofstede Never Studied Culture', Baskerville (2003) argued that Hofstede's unit of analysis was nationality, rather than culture, and that there are many distinct cultures within a nation—she backed her arguments with a study of the culturally diverse country of India (Chanchani 1998). However, this view is truer for some nations than others. With 91.5 per cent of the nation of the same Han racial lineage, and with the 8.5 per cent minority population largely geographically isolated in the far Western regions of the country (CIA 2013), China is not a 'melting pot' of races. Furthermore, and unlike more dispersed power in other nations, the extremely strong central government has led geographically distant Chinese to share similar experiences.

Hofstede's results are some of the most replicated in business research, and strong evidence exists of Hofstede's values being reliable and valid over both time

and survey population. In a review of Hofstede-based work, Sondergaard (1994) found 61 replication studies—and Hofstede practically 'confirmed' (Sondergaard 1994: 451). However, many of the replication studies of Hofstede were small samples of only a few countries. Nevertheless, some insight can be gathered by analysing three large-scale Hofstede replication studies. More than twenty years after Hofstede, Merritt (2000) surveyed 9,400 airline pilots in 19 countries. The average correlation between Merritt's findings and Hofstede sorted by cultural construct was 0.82, while the average within-country correlation across constructs was 0.85. Among others, Hoppe (1990) studied 'social elites' with a sample of 1,544 'CEOs of prestigious [. . .] companies, top-level administrators of [. . .] governments, diplomats, chancellors and deans of universities or colleges, supreme court justices, and artists' from 19 countries (Hoppe 1990: 23). The between-construct correlation averaged 0.59 and the within-country correlation with Hofstede averaged 0.53. Mouritzen and Svara (2002) surveyed over 3,000 politicians and government administrators in 14 countries on power distance and uncertainty avoidance, noting a correlation with Hofstede's numbers of 0.71 and 0.87, respectively. Collectively, the major and minor replications of Hofstede have studied vastly different populations and time periods. The general conclusion is that Hofstede's measures, while they may not measure everything about culture, or may not be applicable to every category of people, certainly measure something that is intransient. Indeed, if Hofstede's results were not replicable over time and survey population, then the hundreds of published articles relying on Hofstede's values as intransient measures of culture would be rendered moot.

Comparing Hofstede's initial sample to ours, Hofstede studied one firm, IBM, so firm differences may be significant. When queried by the authors, Hofstede himself stated that studying IBM employees now would not link a contemporary study to his earlier work, due to the changes in IBM over the past decades. It should be noted, though, that Hofstede studied non-executive service workers of IBM, rather than workers on the manufacturing floor. Also, since the workers were employed by IBM, there may have been a bias from the general population of the country, as those surveyed were working for a Western-based multinational firm. Our survey is also of non-executive service workers working for Western-based multinational firms.

Appendix 3: The interview protocol

Interviews were semi-structured and interviewees were assured that no individual responses would be reported to management. A list of base questions were asked, then the interviewers were free to follow up questions as they saw fit. The first six of the seven base questions below were constructed by the research

team after interviews with management. After approximately one-third of the interviews were completed, the research team reassessed the base questions and added a seventh question.

1. Why did you choose Sofitel as an employer? (Potential follow-up: Why choose Sofitel over other hotels. Work history.)

2. What is your favourite part of the job? What is your most challenging part of the job?

3. Do you have enough training to meet customers' expectations? (Potential follow-up: Do you have enough training to meet your supervisor's expectations? Are there sufficient development opportunities?)

4. Do you have problems handling customer requests? (Potential follow-up: Are the requests beyond your responsibility or role? How do you handle customer requests beyond your role?)

5. Do you have suggestions about the way work is done? How would you change things?

6. How are employees rewarded? What rewards would you value?

7. Are there situations where the customer requests conflict with hotel rules? How do you respond to such requests?

Appendix 4: Uncertainty avoidance scores

Scores	Countries	Rankings (out of 53)
112	Greece	1
101	Guatemala	3
69	Taiwan	26
54	**New China***	n/a
46	US	43
35	Great Britain	48
30	**Old China***	n/a
29	Hong Kong	51
8	Singapore	53

* The difference is statistically significant at the 0.0001 level.

Table 5: Uncertainty avoidance scores for Old China, New China, and selected countries

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ANDREW CARTWRIGHT

Knowing when it is time to go: managing rural decline in Central and Eastern Europe

Over six thousand Russian villages became totally uninhabited, since the last census in 2002, bringing the total number of empty settlements to approximately nineteen thousand—another 36,000 communities house less than people each. Nowhere else in the world is the pace and scale of rural depopulation as dramatic as in Russia (Wood 2012)—the collapse of the state farms and the loss of much rural industry encouraged many to leave. Moreover, the abolition of the residency system of *propiska* allowed greater freedom of movement within Russia. This decline in the rural population coincides with a significant reduction in the overall population—demographers estimate that the population of Russia will shrink by 17 million, by 2025, and over three-quarters of it will live in cities (Chawla, Betcherman, and Banerji 2007).

Urbanisation is a global phenomenon, and it was only in the past five years that the world population changed from a majority residing in rural areas to a majority living in urban environments. The size of these new mega cities can create a host of problems—as well as open up new possibilities for rural dwellers. Where there are high birth rates and falling mortality rates, much of the population increase is concentrated in towns and cities. By 2025, for example, the Turkish population is predicted to grow by 22.3 million, with much of the increase being squeezed into Istanbul and its surroundings (Chawla, Betcherman, and Banerji 2007). At the same time, the overall rural population in Turkey is predicted to shrink by 2.45 million (UN DESA 2012).

In many parts of Europe, and especially in Eastern Europe, the prognosis is that the overall population levels will shrink, and that there will be a significant 'greying' of the population. By 2025, for instance, the median age in Slovenia will be 47 and 20 per cent of Bulgarians will be over 65 years old (Chawla, Betcherman, and Banerji 2007). Consequently, the debates on the implications of demographic change in Europe are increasingly broad, addressing not only economic implications but also the consequences for political participation (Goerres 2009), for family relations (Czekanowski 2011), and for the organisation of education systems (Chawla, Betcherman, and Banerji 2007).

Population changes clearly warrant long-term management. If projections are a sound base for planning, then many rural settlements may no longer require a school in a few years, although they may require a different kind of health service. However, the danger is that cutting back on public services will simply accelerate

out-migration and further weaken the attraction of certain settlements. Moreover, in some places in Europe, maintaining good public services may still be insufficient to reverse negative demographic trends—a recent report on policy alternatives for those regions facing demographic pressures was at a loss as to what to recommend to Sachsen Anhalt (ESPON 2013: 59):

> In a nutshell, it appears that a weak reproductive potential, ageing and depopulation are the biggest challenges for the case study regions. The relatively high birth rates in the Scandinavian regions and the comparatively "young" age structure of the Hungarian regions' population attenuate these problems somewhat. For Sachsen-Anhalt, on the other hand, it seems that the gathering demographic clouds have no silver lining.

The aim of this article is to consider how demographic changes might influence the future management of rural public services in Central and Eastern Europe. The focus will be on services for the young and the old, drawing on recent sociological and anthropological research. The first argument of this article is that the nature of rural–urban ties is a distinct feature of Central and Eastern Europe—and one that might be considered an underused resource when contemplating future settlement needs. As Table 1 (p. 35) shows, rural populations still account for a significant portion of the overall population. The second argument of this article is that migration has especial importance for rural development. On the one hand, in contrast to other parts of Europe, rural in-migration in Central and Eastern Europe is often associated with the urban poor, seeking to reduce their living costs, rather than the affluent, seeking a peaceful retirement. On the other, combined with changes in fertility and mortality, out-migration has had a very uneven effect on rural settlements. In some areas, remittances provide some compensation, smoothing out income losses and sometime taking conspicuous consumption to new levels. However, with the appearance of significant numbers of settlements with only double-digit populations, additional out-migration can fatally undermine the viability of some rural communities.

Of course, dealing with unpredictable population changes poses a question of great emotional and sentimental importance—but it also has clear, practical, social as well as economic dimensions. The argument here is that understanding the dynamics of rural population change is important because it potentially affects many more people than just those who live in the rural areas. Planning for smaller populations can be a spur for innovation in public service management, creating new connections among local administrations and taking planning decisions with a far greater attention to their potential demographic impact.

This article draws mainly on the situations in Romania, Hungary, and Serbia. Each country displays different dimensions of demographic change. Romania has a large rural population, still strongly connected to food production—yet, many of her rural areas are also subject to strong migratory pressures. In Hungary, where

the rural population is significantly lower, the exit from food production is more rapid. Serbia is included because rural population change seems to be less affected by rapid out-migration or widespread withdrawal from agriculture and food production.

Average urban population (percentage)						
Country	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**	**2010**	**2020***
Denmark	79.1	83.7	84.8	85.1	86.8	88.1
France	71.1	73.3	74.1	76.9	85.2	89.6
Hungary	60.1	64.2	65.8	64.6	69.0	73.4
Ireland	51.7	55.3	56.9	59.1	61.9	65.1
Romania	40.3	46.1	53.2	53.0	52.8	53.5
Serbia	39.7	46.1	50.4	53.0	56.0	59.6

* Predicted figures.

Source: Based on UN DESA (2012).

Table 1: Average urban populations for Hungary, Romania, Serbia, and selected countries between 1970 and 2020

Following this introduction, the article continues with outlining some of the problems in identifying the true size of the rural population, in the second section. This is then followed by a discussion on the implications of continued population decline for rural public services, in the third section. This section focuses on some of the challenges in maintaining rural schools. It also considers how the ownership of land can sometimes be a distorting factor in considering the needs of the rural elderly. The fourth section considers some alternatives for rural public service delivery, including how this might be organised by combinations of regional and local authorities—the article offers only limited discussion on the financial implications of such changes. The conclusions are briefly outlined in the fifth, final section.

Profiling the rural population

One problem with understanding the process of rural population change is that it is difficult to determine which areas are most likely to be affected by declining populations. Although the current resident population is a good indicator, it is not so sensitive to capturing the actual dynamics of population and residency in Central and Eastern Europe.

The Hungarian anthropologist András Czegledy (2002) coined the phrase 'urban peasant' to describe those people who spent their weekends and summers in the countryside, usually staying in houses that had been in their family's possession for some time and that, more often than not, still had an elderly relative living there fulltime. This group was not driven to produce food by economic necessity—rather, their connections to the countryside reflected their attachment to 'self-provisioning', the opportunity to spend time with family, and their enjoyment of sharing the fruits of their labour with friends, family, and neighbours. Czegledy argued that urban peasants were important because they could not only ensure the upkeep of rural properties, they could also take care of elderly relatives and even neighbours. In Romania and Serbia and, to a lesser extent, Hungary, maintaining connections to rural relatives remains an important source of additional food—in return for their labour, urban households can stock up on fresh fruit and vegetables, meats, wines, brandies, and other foods preserved through pickling and drying.

A second category of rural resident which might not appear in statistics is children temporarily in the care of their grandparents. Throughout Central and Eastern Europe, although by no means only here, it has long been common for children to spend large parts of their long summer break in the countryside. In some countries, this practice has been extended to all year round. For instance, urban children living with their rural relatives have become a significant feature of migration in Romania, where often both mother and father migrate to work in Spain, Italy, or elsewhere. One of the most common problems this creates is with schooling. Not only do many grandparents find it difficult to support children in their schools, but the absence of their parents can make it more difficult for children to concentrate and do well at school. Successive governments and civic organisations have introduced various measures to ameliorate some of the problems created by both parents being away for lengthy periods (Ulrich et al. 2011). For example, civic organisations have been working with schools to ensure that parents are sent weekly reports on their child's progress, and, in 2008, the government announced a programme to support Romanian teachers in Spanish schools, thereby encouraging migrating parents to take their children with them.

Arguably, both categories transcend the notion of visiting guests by either the frequency or length of their visits, resulting in variations in population numbers over time and space. Those areas closer to cities and larger towns, for instance, are more susceptible to such population fluctuations, whereas places with fewer amenities and badly served by transport connections receive far fewer of these urban visitors.

Whether rural out-migration will be temporary or permanent has become an important question for both researchers and policy makers. Sandu (2000), for instance, surveyed almost every village settlement in Romania to determine what influence the local environment had in shaping the nature of migration patterns.

He found, for example, that 60 per cent of all circular or return migration in the rural areas originated in only 4.4 per cent of villages (Sandu 2000: 18). On the one hand, villages with populations of around two thousand people, close to European highways, and with a history of commuting, higher numbers of young people, and relatively high unemployment were more likely to experience circular rather than permanent migration. On the other hand, villages further away from large settlements—those that had smaller populations and those that had lost their administrative functions—were more likely to experience permanent out-migration.

Of course, incorporating such findings into policy and planning is by no means straightforward. Migratory flows can be fickle, and the lengths of time spent away or the actual amount of remittances sent back are very hard to predict. Higher numbers of migrant children might be good for rural school numbers, but, with unpredictable economies in countries such as Spain and Italy, it is hard to decide whether these children are staying in the countryside for the long or short term. In a similar vein, the presence of 'urban peasants' at weekends and for holidays can suggest both a healthy state of urban–rural connections as well as an absence of alternative local employment.

Some implications of continued population decline for rural public services

In Hungary and Romania, the responsibility for organising rural public services changed significantly with decentralisation in the early 1990s followed by a steady regionalisation and recentralisation of powers from the mid 1990s onwards (Thelen, Cartwright, and Sikor 2008). In Hungary, for example, local authorities could elect to run a range of public services with co-financing from central transfers and with some support and supervision from county level. Many villages chose to run their own schools, only to find that they were unable to adequately maintain them in the face of rising maintenance costs and falling pupil numbers—and, thereby, falling per capita transfers. In recent years, many smaller settlements unilaterally transferred responsibilities onto county authorities, leaving many of the latter in significant debt.

In respect of the elderly, the local authorities had relatively little scope for providing services. There were virtually no residential facilities for the elderly outside the major urban areas. Local authorities in Romania, for instance, could assess individual household means and, where they fell below the minimum income, the households would be entitled to extra funds. Similarly, local social workers could draw up lists for provision for extra winter fuel or for the distribution of occasional food aid from the EU.

Increasingly though, the design of public services is the shared task of the self-governing settlement—*comună*, in Romania—and intermediate regional authorities, who may outsource specific tasks to professional providers. In Hungary, for example, the homecare visits for the elderly are organised by micro-regional authorities, but can be delivered in conjunction with the social services department from larger conurbations. In other words, although the smallest settlements may no longer have principal responsibility for organising public services for the elderly or for school children, they can still play an important role in representing local needs.

From a national or strategic point of view, advocates for rural areas face a conundrum. If they support efforts to move out of agriculture to other productive sectors, this might encourage further out-migration and therefore accelerate the demise of villages. Alternatively, if they focus on the quality of rural roads, schools, energy supply, and essential public services, would they be ending up in making large claims on the national budget? The current structure of the EU's Rural Development Fund reflects this division between sector and area support. Whilst the two main and well funded measures under Pillar One deal with agricultural development, the other instruments under Pillar Two have the more nebulous goal of trying to diversify the rural economy and improve the quality of life. This section of the article focuses on this latter dimension by looking at the relationship between two key public services—rural schooling and services for the elderly—and demographic decline.

For some, maintaining the local, rural schools is paramount, because they are the ultimate symbol of future population development. Without them, young families will neither stay nor move into the area. Although this sounds intuitively correct, to what extent is it backed up with research evidence? Living in rural areas may have other attractions and, as in many parts of the world, children can always 'commute' to school. The situation of the elderly represents another issue that might be more susceptible to emotional and ideological arguments rather than evidence-based ones. In all likelihood, the profile of the many of the smallest settlements will continue to be heavily skewed towards the over 60s. Without significant changes, elderly residents will be loath to relocate, which means that large numbers may well be in need of access to good quality public services. However, the kinds of services that are found in urban areas—such as residential care homes or dedicated health services—are usually lacking in rural areas. Could their extension to the rural areas be afforded and, if presumably not in many cases, what kinds of provision could realistically be imagined?

Assessing the contribution that schools make to rural life is a minefield. A study of small schools in Hungary argued that there were many shibboleths from both the right and the left that made impeded rational discussion (NIPE 2006). At the time of the study, there were 1,220 small village schools with a total of 111,352

students. The average student population was 91 and the average population of the villages concerned was 1,022. However, contrary to received wisdom, these schools were neither significantly more expensive than their urban counterparts nor were they poorer in educational outcomes, once they had been controlled for basic socio-economic starting points. (Longstanding consensus on the reasons explaining educational achievement identifies the socio-economic background of the family way ahead of the specific characteristics of schools.) More specifically, the study revealed that '[i]f the minimum number of students per school was raised to 150, the national educational costs would be reduced by 2 per cent; if the minimum was raised to 200, there would be an overall saving of 5 per cent. This relatively modest saving would require four to five hundred rural schools to be closed down' (NIPE 2006: 8).

In terms of sustainability, recruiting teachers for rural schools was generally harder than recruiting for urban schools. However, according to NIPE (2006), this problem could be partially mitigated if would-be teachers had a better insight into the challenges of rural schools, as well as were there to be preferential pay and promotion possibilities. Trainee teachers tended to gain their practical experience in larger, better equipped urban schools. One current problem was that rural teachers occupied a special position within their immediate communities, that was part social worker, fund raiser, grant writer, event organiser, and / or career adviser. Whilst local officials and residents may be grateful for teachers who willingly volunteer for these additional responsibilities, it might not be a realistic means for addressing rural needs in the longer term.

For example, in an echo of the famous Brazilian family support, the *bolso familia*, and as a means for reducing dropout rates from school, receipt of certain child benefits in Hungary and Romania is conditional on school attendance. By making the class teacher directly responsible for recording attendance, and thereby appearing to control access to the payment, teachers can sometimes find themselves in direct confrontation with parents. It is perhaps too much to expect young rural teachers to take on organising the sports team, rounding up the truants, cajoling the feckless, negotiating cost sharing with the local council, as well as teaching three or four different subjects. In other words, decision makers at county or national level would do well to reconsider whether these expectations are a realistic basis for attracting and maintaining professional public services.

Kovách and Kučerová (2006), in their 'rise' of the new 'project class' in the countryside, argued that not everyone welcomed the extension of traditional professional duties. In their words, the so-called project class was made of rural professionals such as doctors and teachers who offered their services, on a paid or unpaid basis, to write projects for regional, central, European, or other kinds of funding. Their skills could be used to understand grant requirements, assess financial implications, and then contrive activities that could fit within the relevant

terms of reference. According to the authors' informants in the villages under study, doctors, for example, should be doctors and teachers should teach. Expecting these rural professionals to assume active roles in finding funds by writing and, worse, administering complex grants was bound to be at the expense of their primary duties. In any event, how could these people presume to say what the village needed? Were their plans outlined in the local manifestos or were they another example of important decisions emerging by default rather than democratic discussion?

The NIPE (2006) study highlighted the fact that the role and sustainability of rural schools can be approached in different ways. Obvious shortages in teaching resources can be mitigated by promoting mobility within the general teaching profession—through dual appointments, for instance, and through promoting teacher sharing between urban and rural schools.[1] Other studies drew attention to the importance of greater parental participation in school activities (Kovacs-Cerović, Vizek-Vidović, and Powell 2010). Although this proposal is by no means uncontroversial, with substantial doubts over the optimal way to manage voluntary parental labour, there have been a number of positive instances in the region where extracurricular activities—sporting events and even the physical upkeep of school buildings—have drawn directly on parental involvement (for an extended discussion of the issue of parental participation in schooling in South-Eastern Europe, see Kovacs-Cerović, Vizek-Vidović, and Powell 2010).

In relation to public services and benefits for the rural elderly, several studies identified significant discrepancies between rural and urban residents (Milbourne 2012). In the 1990s, those who had worked for the state or in collective farms were frequently receiving lower pensions compared to their urban counterparts. Although many factories and urban state enterprises were bankrupt, the income loss for rural pensioners was aggravated by the rapid decline in the provision of basic public services in the countryside. However, as far as the state authorities were concerned, rural underemployment and low pensions were ameliorated by rural households having reclaimed agricultural land during the 1990s reforms. In their survey of rural poverty in Romania in 1998, the National Commission of Statistics (NCS 2000: 30) concluded that possession of land was the single most important dividing line in the rural areas between those above and those below the poverty line.

Whilst land has always been an important asset in supporting rural livelihoods, it did not always follow that land ownership translated into significant crop yields, rents, or other incomes. As Katherine Verdery (2004) showed, the distribution of collective farmland in Romania created significant social conflict in the country.

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[1] This approach is reminiscent of the appointment strategy of the Church of England and its efforts to ensure that rural parishes are supplied with vicars and curates.

Land restitution may have been the critical goal for many, but, when this was totally divorced from actual ability to use, its pursuit could appear dishonest, particularly when others who had worked for years for collective farms only received tiny plots of marginal land. Verdery (2004) showed how the social divisions created by land reforms undermined the cultivation of local land—those who were relatively land rich tended to be labour poor and those with labour were unwilling to work for those who, they felt, had cheated them from their fair returns.

The consequences of land divisions were to be further compounded when it became clear that central decision makers also saw land ownerships as real incomes. In the 1990s, in Romania, Serbia, and, to a lesser extent, Hungary, social welfare transfers shifted towards means testing when it came to assessing entitlements (Barr 2005). In Romania, for example, the programme of minimum income support made a detailed set of standards for the valuation of household assets and their imputed income. Ownership of land was assessed by size, the level of local rents, and the quality of the soil. According to researchers commissioned by the UK's Department for International Development (DFID), this land valuation process frequently worked to the detriment of many rural households (Sinclair et al. 2002: 11). Given their limited revenue raising powers, it was critical that local authorities maximised central transfers and minimised local contributions. If local land values could be set at an artificially high level, then the level of imputed incomes from land would lift households above the poverty threshold and thereby lose any entitlement to minimum income support. With local authorities obliged to contribute 20 per cent of the costs of minimum income support, inflating land values reduced local social security bills. The DFID researchers found that, in some parts of Romania, rural land values exceeded those in the most exclusive capital suburbs in the country (Sinclair et al. 2002: 11).

There were other ways in which land ownership could disadvantage the rural elderly. Decollectivisation created an enormous number of property owners.[2] Kin relations once again became very important for determining who had a stake in the income coming out of the countryside. However, in the land reforms, it was not always optimal to register every kin claimant. Both rural and, to some extent, urban households disguised the actual distribution of within-family land-related incomes by registering ownership in the name of a single elderly relative. Not only could this strategy help avoid taxation, it could also maintain entitlement to certain welfare benefits or simply avoid the costs of land registration. In some instances, each individual plot had to be measured by a surveyor and maps had to be drawn up and entered into the cadastre, incurring relatively prohibitive costs for cash poor

[2] There are few figures on the number of property owners created in the land reform process. However, to give an idea, there were 6.3 million applications following the Romanian land reform in 1991 (Cartwright 2001: 118).

households (Cartwright 2001). In Hungary, much of the land that was owned by younger family members was held in so-called undivided shares. These plots were usually grouped into a single field or area which then made it easier for larger producers to rent and use the land. It is true that such inheritance practices led to familial disputes, and some hitherto unquantified social costs—for instance, it was estimated that over one million cases of intergenerational land disputes filled up the Romanian courts in the 1990s (Cartwright 2001: 118). However, it also made sense to assume that the traditional practices of family inheritance would eventually govern, and there was neither pressing social need nor popular pressure to identify each and every actual owner in the land books. However, one consequence was that land valuation rested upon a series of fictions whose implications became steadily more disadvantageous to those who had the misfortune to be listed as owners.

A recent research programme on rural social security revealed some interesting practices for assessing local needs and distributing resources (von Benda-Beckmann, Thelen, and Kovács 2012). Whilst benefit regulations usually counted land as an asset, local social workers could sometimes collude with family land arrangements in order to ensure access to benefits. In one Romanian case, for example, if the social worker recorded the four hectares belonging to the grandfather in the house, then his 14 years old grandson would become ineligible for a school-related allowance. However, knowing that the land yielded very little income and that the parents spent a great deal of their time looking after their infirm parents, the social worker excluded the land from the list of household assets. In another case, the rules for the allocation of winter fuel, often in the form of wood, provided that garden plots should be taken into account in determining entitlement. Social workers sympathetic to those elderly that were either unable to cut wood themselves or had no family to assist them, would fail to record the full size of garden plots, thereby ensuring more elderly households could benefit.

Whilst local discretion could sometimes alleviate land-related complications, in other cases, the room for manoeuvre was more limited. Fox (2009) gave the example of the allocation of direct payments under the Common Agricultural Policy in Romania. Although the programme was supposed to offer financial support to those actually working the land, where local rent contracts were unregistered, as was often the case, it became virtually impossible for local officials to ensure that direct payments were made to the actual working tenants rather than the registered land owners.

Connecting population change to public service policy

So far, the aim of this article has been to identify several practical considerations in assessing rural public services, such as, for example, the importance of maintaining good relations between urban and rural areas. Although the practice of extended families coming together to grow their own food may be waning, there are other strong reasons to invest in rural–urban linkages, not least their ability to support elderly relatives as well as care for younger family members. Where the house in the country is a means of escape, and where the area is blessed by attractive landscapes, well connected, and supplied with necessary infrastructure, the near future outlook might be positive. Such scenarios could be encouraged by investing in rural sports, leisure facilities, grants for modernising older properties, and ensuring good connections to utilities and communication technologies. In areas that are less well endowed, the situation might be bleaker and, without serious attention, settlements might be looking at complete depopulation within a matter of decades.

Given the role public services play in the quality of rural life, this section examines various alternatives that could be considered by rural and regional planners.

Whilst the problems of running rural schools have been relatively well documented, there has been much less attention given to the implications that the collapse of preschool facilities has on rural areas.[3] This may reflect cultural practices that valorise early childcare being almost exclusively carried out within the family. No doubt, young women being able to take extended leave to look after their children can reduce pressure on the local labour market. However, as attendance rates in urban kindergartens remain at high levels, it could be that cultural preferences alone cannot account for the lack of village kindergartens. Nevertheless, rather than seeking to reopen old kindergartens, villages might support children attending private family homes, with hosting parents receiving some training which would then allow them to host other parents' children within their own homes or in some facility offered by the local authority.

For older children, the reinvention or extension of boarding schools can connect those living in remote areas to more populous areas and help rural schools retain sufficient numbers. In Austria, there have been experiments with creating multigenerational households, with those who are no longer able or willing to live

[3] The figures from the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (KSH 2013) do not distinguish between urban and rural institutions, but the overall figures do show a significant reduction in places and pupils. In 1990, there were 4,718 kindergartens in Hungary and, by 2011, this was down to 4,336. In the same period, the number of children attending kindergarten dropped by 50,000.

independently sharing facilities with young boarders coming in for the week. An additional advantage of reviving larger rural institutions is the support they could give to the local economy. Not only could they offer modest numbers of employment opportunities, but they could deliberately source the majority of their food and fuel needs through local suppliers. Creating more ethanol-supplied power plants at the local level, for example, can reduce costs and increase opportunities for local land owners.

Encouraging people to move out of family homes located in remote or sparsely populated areas would need to be very carefully handled. In a minority of cases, it might be possible to physically transport old buildings to areas that are more established and have better facilities and amenities. However, in most cases, the costs would be prohibitive and physical relocation saved for houses with historical or architectural merit. Undoubtedly there will be many who do not want to move, and, for this group, the question is how best to organise access to services for them. In Serbia, where mobility amongst the rural population is less pronounced, elderly families whose children live far away can face problems. Local initiatives in the south of the country have introduced a system of care workers who are paid to look after basic needs such as fetching medicines, cleaning, and generally making sure that the old and housebound are well (von Benda-Beckmann, Thelen, and Kovács, 2012). It is increasingly common for health workers to make home calls as part of their regular duties. In other situations, they might cooperate with the local authority to carry out basic medical tests in the village cultural house. These mobile services can take advantage of communication technologies to connect isolated households to medical centres.

A final alternative is one that could be called the Cinderella option.[4] As in the story, whilst Cinderalla slept for her hundred years, a wall of thorns and bushes grew up to hide the palace. In the same way, rather than let the landscape become full of empty properties, roads could be closed, green boards put up, and access to abandoned villages restricted until such time as a new use might be found. One problem for poor local authorities is that, in the absence of owners, they are obliged to carry out basic maintenance on empty or abandoned properties, and are usually unable to recoup their costs. Placing responsibility for maintaining abandoned properties in the hands of a local or national trust is a proposition that runs the same risks as taking care of abandoned land. In law, the property still belongs to someone, even if they have no wish to live, rent, maintain, or otherwise dispose of the property. In countries with a history of confiscations and expropriations, state acquisition of private property remains a very sensitive issue. Undoubtedly, there

[4] This was proposed by Christine Dissman (2009) who argued for its application in the context of towns of the former German Democratic Republic that were seeing rapid population decline, with accompanied multitudes of empty properties.

would also be significant financial implications for running the programme on a national scale.

Conclusion

The sheer variety of rural environments and the complexity of their population dynamics make any general statement suspect. And yet, there does appear to be a trend that is going to transform the rural landscape over the next twenty to thirty years. Unless there are active efforts to maintain strong connections between urban and rural areas and new forms of employment opportunity developed, there will be increased concentrations of poverty in the rural areas and there will be many more villages where the fulltime residents can be counted only in double figures. Focusing on the management of public services draws attention to the ways in which their provision can mitigate or, in some cases, perhaps even reverse the trend towards the potential ghettoisation of the elderly rural poor. Combined with dedicated accommodation and supplied with commuting teachers, there is no reason why specialised and mainstream educational facilities cannot be located in rural areas. In other cases, such as providing adequate healthcare services for the elderly, there is less chance that their provision will reverse negative demographic tendencies. Instead, the justification for introducing a more mobile organisation of public services is to take into account the legitimate desire of the elderly not to be uprooted from their homes and to ensure that the decline in the rural population is managed decently.

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ALAN CLARKE

Value creation–creating values: contradictions and constraints in the development of religious tourism

There is a long history of commercialisation and commodification within religious movements—yet, commercialisation and commodification are often resisted. This article considers why economic value may not be sufficient to explain development in religious tourism. Best practice research on religious tourism demonstrates that development rests more on the contribution to the core, religious values of the location than on traditional adherence to capitalist economics (Clarke and Raffay 2012). Consequently, return on investment has to be reconsidered in other terms, as well as in terms of financial value.

To explore the values involved in the development of religious tourism in general and in Southern and Eastern Europe (SEE)[1] in particular, this article draws on current research. Known as RECULTIVATUR, this research aims to use the religious cultural values of SEE jointly with local assets, human resources, infrastructures, and services to develop a religious tourism capable of creating new jobs and generating additional income. The project is tasked to elaborate an SEE Religious Tourism Model, a step-by-step guide for decision makers and other stakeholders that would allow them to:

- identify the religious cultural potential of their area by analysing, assessing, and capitalising on previous experiences;
- identify synergies with other projects;
- address the relevant stakeholders;
- develop the region by using its religious assets;
- manage religious assets optimally;
- realise their proposals by finding suitable funding opportunities; and
- create sustainable solutions.

The research outline also promises that the project will offer equal opportunities to all the religions of the SEE Programme Area, aiming to contribute to inter-religious communication and a better understanding and acceptance of various beliefs. However, so far, this promise has been difficult to realise in practice, largely due to the overwhelming Christian (admittedly, of different sorts) bias of the membership.

[1] Albania, Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Montenegro, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Ukraine (Eurostat 2001).

Traditionally, according to the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), tourism is the movement of people away from their normal place of living for periods of less than one year, while, according to popular opinion, tourism is people going on holidays and enjoying their leisure time. Of course, in practice, there are complex niche markets to consider, but this traditional view of tourism still dominates. Tourism is well recognised as a powerful economic force, not only a marginalised exploitation of the pleasure periphery. Despite the continuing uncertainty in the world economy, UNWTO designated 13 December 2012 as the day of the billionth traveller of the year—moreover, 2012 was the year this figure was ever reached. There was an approximate 4 per cent growth in both the number of tourists and tourist expenditure. Despite ongoing economic volatility in the Eurozone, Europe consolidated its record growth of 2011 with a 3 per cent growth in 2012. Results were above average in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) (9 per cent), in line with the average in Western Europe (3 per cent), yet comparatively weaker in Southern and Mediterranean Europe (1 per cent), one of the best performing European sub-regions in 2011. This was partly the motivation behind projects in religious tourism development in SEE, where the countries are rich in religious and cultural heritages (UNWTO 2012). The volume and value of religious tourism was estimated at over 300 million people spending a suggested USD 18 billion worldwide (eTN 2009). Of course, the challenge for RECULTIVATUR is to find a way to develop the potential for tourism in the SEE countries without diminishing the integrity of the religious offers.

This article is divided into seven sections. Following this short introduction, the second section compares business values and religious values, to inform the debate about the development of religious tourism. The third section considers the possibilities of value beyond the economic, especially from the perspective of co-creation. The fourth section presents the debates around the nature of pilgrimage and religious tourism from the perspective of the RECULTIVATUR project. The fifth section explores the pilgrimage–tourism axis. In the sixth section, the article considers the challenge of commodification to religious values when religious heritage sites are exposed to commercialisation. Finally, the seventh section concludes by considering the consequences of the processes discussed in the preceding sections, critically exploring the meanings and motives involved in religious tourism.

Business values–religious values

The context for this article is a particular form of niche tourism, namely that specialised form of cultural tourism focussed on religion and religious heritage. Tourism itself can be regarded as a business, much the same—though also different

from—other forms of business. For the big tourism organisations—such as the airlines, hotel corporations, and tour operators which make up the membership of the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC)—tourism is an economic sector which constitutes big business. They promote a business model which draws on the extraction of surplus value, by minimising expenditures and maximising profits. The debates around this model are well established, from such ancient authorities as Marx (1867) and Weber (1904) to contemporary writers including Daft (2002) and Fisher and Lovell (2008). However, even in Fisher and Lovell's (2008) book which explores business from an ethical perspective, considering the sustainability and corporate social responsibility of the triple bottom line, there is no denying that the single bottom line is the concern for profit. It was perhaps Gordon Gekko—the star of the film *Wall Street* (1987) and, consequently, one of the most famous American businessmen of the 1980s and 1990s—who summarised all this most aptly: '[t]he point is, ladies and gentleman, that greed—for lack of a better word—is good. Greed is right. Greed works' (American Rhetoric Movie Speeches 2011).

In the traditional sense, tourism may fit within such values, as well as recognise them, but in dealing with religious tourism we find both organisations and stakeholders whose religious value system may be identified as the antithesis of 'greed is good'—religious institutions tend to value the world differently. 'Greed is good' is not a motif which translates easily into religious orders, and this establishes challenges and constraints on the development of religious tourism.

In his spiritual and moral reflections, Quesnel (2010) argued that, when he went into the temple of God, Jesus exposed a sense of avarice covered with the veil of religion—an aspect on which he looked with the greatest indignation. The High Priest received a percentage of the profit from money changers and merchants—their removal from the Temple precinct would have caused a financial loss to him. Because pilgrims were unfamiliar with Jerusalem, the Temple merchants sold sacrificial animals at a higher price than elsewhere in the city. The High Priest overlooked their dishonesty, as long as he got his share, and ordered that only Tyrian shekels would be accepted for the annual half-shekel Temple tax—they contained a higher percentage of silver, and the money changers exchanged unacceptable coins for Tyrian shekels. Of course, they extracted a profit in the process, sometimes much more than the law allowed. The merchandise of holy artefacts; simoniacal presentations; fraudulent exchanges; mercenary spirit in sacred functions; ecclesiastical employments obtained by flattery, service, or attendance, or by any other non-monetary means; and collations, nominations, and elections made through any other motive than the glory of God were all fatal and damnable profanations, of which those in the temple were only a shadow.

There is a contradiction at play in these antagonistic relationships between business values and religious values—there are many examples of organised

religion demonstrating the characteristics of considerable wealth. Brown (2012) observed that it was often the individual believers—not the church—who made the sacrifices of surrendering their wealth, often giving it up to the church itself. Poverty was a virtue and avarice the source of all evil, of course, but the institution of the church needed the money to create and maintain a reputation for power.

Co-creation in tourism: value, beyond the economic

Any attempt to refocus the moment and the experience of tourism could only benefit from the (experience) economy literature (Pine and Gilmore 1999), the service-dominant logic literature (Vargo and Lusch 2004), and the author's own endeavours to develop a co-creation perspective (Clarke 2011a). These approaches have entered into the field of tourism and even into the study of culture and heritage tourism. However, a critical view is not easy within the confines of a single article, even one setting out to be fundamentally questioning—authors have a general tendency to provide singly defined examples of processes and practices. Authors are encouraged—correctly—to live by the empowered and active participants in heritage and cultural tourism (Morgan, Lugosi, and Brent Ritchie 2010), but these can also be the death of attempts to impose authorial authority, as encounters blossom in unforeseen directions, offering polysemic experiences to co-creators. Jazz musicians frequently explore this freedom, and so do actors in improvised theatre, where narratives develop collectively and interactively. The whole perspective denies single interpretation, yet this is the idea research underlines when talking of drawing on the differently distributed resources brought into constructions and exchanges (Clarke 2011a). Experiences will be different for each of the actors involved, as well as for those not involved, which necessitates that we recognise processes, in the plural, at every step of the analysis. This is very difficult to maintain, as we look for the certainties that we have previously come to expect in what we have seen as a fixed world of production and consumption. Habitus and even co-creation force us into pluralities and polysemic constructions—therefore, we live in a world where there should be considerably more use of the additional 's' than there is.

The author's own recent work considered the applications of co-creation across the fields of leisure, tourism, hospitality, and events to explore the ramifications for business development (Clarke 2011a). There has been a considerable interest in co-creation in the marketing literature (Vargo and Lusch 2004; 2008), where the emphasis on value creation and value extraction focused on the interactive processes between companies and their consumers (Prahalad and Ramaswamy 2004; Payne, Storbacka, and Frow 2008). Service-dominant (S-D) logic is based around the central role of active consumers in the co-creation of value, and takes

various forms in the research on tourism experience and the value components within tourism. As Payne et al. (2009: 1) argued, this is predicated on the 'customer's active involvement and interaction with their supplier in every aspect, from product design to product consumption'. Until these recent writings, the traditional view was that companies create value and that products are the end of the consumer experience. In the S-D logic, as opposed to the good-dominant (G-D) logic, co-creation experiences are regarded as the basis for value creation.

The S-D logic and the study of services drew on the work of authors such as Ramaswamy (2008: 9) who argued that the capability for innovation and the capacity for growth come from the organisation's ability to be 'continuously interacting with its customers through engagement platforms, especially those centred on customer experiences'. This attention to the customer as the basis for the strategic capital for innovation impacted directly on the ways the author and his colleagues began to reconsider tourism development and hospitality management with customer-centred business models (Hassanien, Dale, and Clarke 2010). Of course, this raises the question of whether there can be considered to be customers in religious settings.

Several attempts were made in the marketing literature to develop a conceptual framework for co-creation by mapping customer, supplier, and encounter processes (Payne, Storbacka, and Frow 2008). These processes involve interactions and transactions between customers and enterprises, as well as the possibility to identify within this nexus the opportunities for co-creation and innovation. In marketing, from an S-D logic perspective, the customer is always a co-creator of value, and this is a key, foundational proposition of the logic (Lusch and Vargo 2008: 7). In effect, S-D logic suggests that the value starts with the supplier understanding customer value creation processes and learning how to support, encourage, and enhance customers' co-creation activities.

The author's own starting point is that it is precisely in tourism and its associated fields that we can uncover primary examples of co-creation in the ways in which experiences play essential roles in the supply and consumption of the products and services which make up the sector—the active involvement of the tourist leads to a deeper experience, and as such, in the context of the S-D logic, to a higher value. Interaction between and with consumers and providers is the foundation for co-creation (Prahalad and Ramaswamy 2004). For co-creation to develop effectively, active customer involvement in the production of a good or service must be introduced, maintained, and enhanced, thus ensuring that the final value of such good or service is increased because customers can tailor it as they desire (Lusch, Vargo, and O'Brien 2007). This 'co-creation experience', as Prahalad and Ramaswamy (2004) termed it, is linked directly to achievement of value creation as the result. For businesses, the days of autonomously designing products or developing production processes, tapping new distribution channels, or

engaging in other marketing activities without involving consumers seem to be over (Dahlsten 2004; Prahalad and Ramaswamy 2004; Cova and Salle 2008; Kristensson, Matthing, and Johansson 2008; Ramaswamy 2008). Co-creation not only leads to an increase in value creation, but may also contribute significantly to product innovation (Clarke 2011a). Tourism research has yet to fully explore all the possibilities offered by co-creation for innovative developments in tourism destinations and the attendant increase in competitive strength (Clarke 2010).

Tourism market research focuses increasingly on the experiences of tourists and the cultural contexts of their destinations. Lichrou, O'Malley, and Patterson (2008) asserted that destinations must not be regarded only as physical spaces. Places have intangible, cultural, historical, and dynamic aspects too. They are experienced by tourists in a dynamic context of social interaction with a common cultural meaning and with a collective memory (Stokowski 2002). According to Murphy, Benckendorff, and Moscardo (2007), the traditional destination branding approach emphasises mainly the physical attributes and activity opportunities—accordingly, destinations are simply considered as locations. Lichrou, O'Malley, and Patterson (2008) believed that visiting a tourism destination is a process of experience—the dreams and fantasies of consumers, the meeting of people, and the interactions among hosts, visitors, and other tourists. It involves a dynamic context in which destinations are simultaneously produced and consumed. Tourists have an image of a tourism destination even though they have never been there, which is why Lichrou, O'Malley, and Patterson (2008) developed the opinion that, metaphorically, destinations should be seen as narratives rather than products. This perspective urges us to work in a way which leaves room for the recognition of interaction, co-creation, and the notion of tourists as participants instead of spectators.

One of the challenges for a destination management organisation (DMO) is using the 'global network resources and thematic communities to continuously identify and act upon new innovation and value creation opportunities' to 'strengthen the competitiveness of the tourism destination' (Ramaswamy 2008: 9). To harness the strategic advantages that may come from intersectoral networking, destinations have to act as collaborative organisations rather than individual competitors. This is evident in the development of religious tourism, where few—if any—religious organisations have the connections with the wider tourism sector to access any of the wider markets. Competitors are becoming partners and cooperative competition, or co-opetition, and co-destiny are becoming increasingly important (Li and Petrick 2008; Prahalad and Krishnan 2008). This means that DMOs will have to cooperate interactively with other partners in the destination, through processes of exchanging ideas and expertise and of linking together financial and human resources (Wang 2008). Govers and Go (2009: 255) argued

that brand positioning 'should be built on a value match between place identity and the type of audience the place is attempting to attract'.

It can be argued that today's consumers have a different attitude towards consumption than those of previous generations (Poon 1994). In addition, tourists, and consumers in general, are not only better educated and wealthier, but also have access to more information than ever before. Tourists are looking for unique activities, tailored experiences, special interest foci, experiences in a lifestyle destination setting, living culture, creative spaces, and creative spectacles (Gross and Brown 2006). The need for authentic experiences, not contaminated by being fake or impure, is also growing (Gilmore and Pine 2007; Yeoman, Brass, and McMahon-Beattie 2007). Tourism destinations in particular can offer visitors experiences that they do not normally find in their everyday lives. Oh, Fiore, and Jeoung (2007: 119) posited that '[t]he benefit chain of causality view of tourism motivations tends to position tourist experience as a construct that transforms destination settings and activities into ultimate benefits and value that tourists obtain by visiting the destination.'

In research on tourism behaviour, experiences do appear to play a significant role (Gross and Brown 2006; Morgan and Watson 2007; Oh, Fiore, and Jeoung 2007). According to Sternberg (1997), tourism has been at the forefront of staging experiences, and tourism's central productive activity is the creation of the touristic experience. According to this research, tourists are in fact and by definition looking for experiences. Pine and Gilmore (1999; 2002) distinguished four types of experiences: the aesthetic experience, the educational experience, the entertainment experience, and the escapist experience (see Table 1, p. 56). These '4Es' vary along two dimensions—active–passive involvement and absorption–immersion—that intersect to produce quadrants. Active–passive involvement entails the level of participation by consumers in the creation of experience-generating offering. Those who passively participate do not directly affect or influence the offering, whereas active participants directly affect the offering that yields the experience. Absorption is 'occupying a person's attention by bringing the experience into the mind' and immersion is 'becoming physically (or virtually) a part of the experience itself' (Pine and Gilmore 1999: 31). According to Pine and Gilmore (1999), including all four types of experiences is optimal. However, we suggest that small, resource-strapped, rural businesses should initially focus on one or two of the 4Es and then augment their experiential offerings over time.

Experiences determine the value of destinations, and DMOs are increasingly using this in positioning their destinations in the market. 'The demand is growing for travel that engages the senses, stimulates the mind, includes unique activities, and connects in personal ways with travellers on an emotional, psychological, spiritual or intellectual level' (Arsenault and Gale 2004).

Canadian research, for instance, showed that contacts with the local communities—through cooking, visiting farms, and being welcomed into the homes of locals, for example—are particularly appreciated (Arsenault and Gale 2004). This also holds true for all manner of experimental, practical, and interactive activities. Tourists do not just want to be spectators. They want to participate, roll up their sleeves—not only view the gardens, but also do some gardening. They want to take a peek behind the scenes—not only go to a concert, but also meet the musicians afterwards. Learning experiences—such as photography workshops, going to a wine university, and learning to understand the ecosystem of an area of natural beauty—are also growing in popularity. Furthermore, the sharing of experiences, the social dynamics connected with travel, getting to know new people, reinforcing old friendships and making new ones, and spending time with relatives are also considered important (Arsenault and Gale 2004).

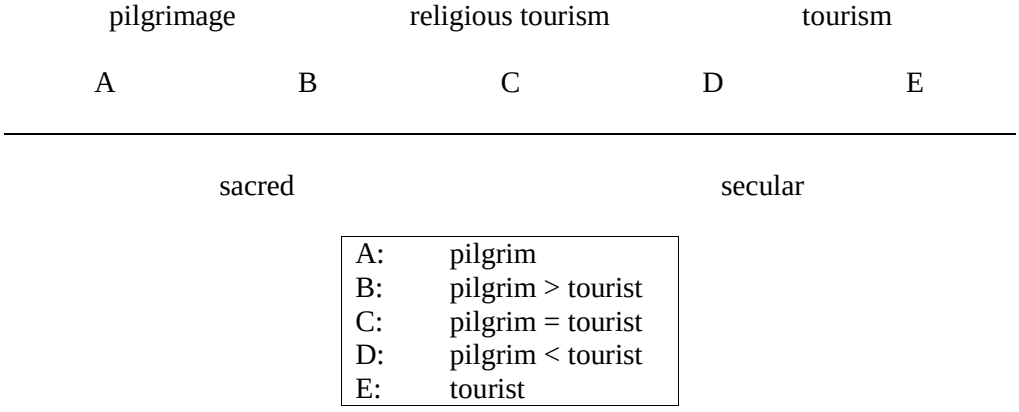
Type of experience	**Description of experience**	**Active–passive involvement dimension**	**Absorption–immersion dimension**
aesthetic experience	actor enjoys just being in a sensory-rich environment	actor passively appreciates and does not measurably alter the nature of the environment	actor is immersed in or surrounded by the environment
educational experience	actor increases skills and knowledge through absorbing information presented in an interactive way	actor actively participates through interactive engagement of one's mind and / or body	actor absorbs the business offerings
entertainment experience	actor's attention is occupied by the business offering	actor passively observes activities and / or performances of others	actor absorbs, but is not part of, the activities and / or performances
escapist experience	actor is an active actor who shapes events	actor actively participates in events or activities	actor is immersed in an actual or virtual environment

Table 1: Pine and Gilmore's (1999) 4Es

According to Li and Petrick (2008), co-creation between tourists and providers should be the answer. Co-creation involves tourists' active involvement and interaction with their supplier in every aspect, from product design to product consumption (Payne et al. 2009). DMOs all over the world are confronted with major changes in the tourism industry and a rapidly changing tourism consumer, against the background of far-reaching social, political, and economic developments (Gretzel et al. 2006). In addition to natural disasters and terrorist attacks, the tourism industry is also faced with sweeping climate change and its consequences for tourism and tourism regions in particular (Ehmer and Heymann 2008). Many DMOs face significant dilemmas: stakeholders with different interests, major changes in external environmental factors, tight financial budgets, and, last but not least, a red ocean of bloody competition (Kim and Mauborgne 2005).

RECULTIVATUR's perspective on religious tourism

The RECULTIVATUR project began from a perspective heavily influenced by a traditional sense of the differences distinguishing pilgrims, religious tourists, cultural tourists, and other tourists (see Figure 1), but also from a desire to move these discussions forward (Vukonic 1996; 1998; Trono 2009). Since all categories need to be addressed, the terminology may not be the most helpful for developing markets for religious tourism as such, but it is most helpful for segmenting and analysing the visits and visitors to religious heritage sites.



Source: Adapted from Smith (1992).

Figure 1: The way from pilgrimage to tourism

Bauman (1996) distinguished between A (pilgrim) and E (secular tourist), with the way from pilgrimage to tourism—and from sacred to secular—leading through B (more pilgrim than tourist), C (pilgrim as well as tourist), and D (more tourist than pilgrim). For pilgrims, the main aim of the journey is to be with God. For religious tourists, there may be spiritual aspects to the journey, but the main aim of the journey is education and pleasure (Sallnow and Eade 1991). Being with God is not the sole aim of their journey. M. L. Nolan and S. Nolan (1989) suggested that, in lieu of piety, religious tourism involves an individual quest for shrines and locales where it is possible to experience a sense of identity with sites of historical and cultural meaning. Religious tourists visit churches or sacred places very much like tourists (M. L. Nolan and S. Nolan 1992). However, there is more integration within the religious tourism sector than Figure 1 would seem to suggest (Rinschede 1992; Timothy and Olsen 2006). The very elements which define the act and experience of pilgrimage are also integral, defining elements of religious tourism—of course, tourists who happen to pick up on them casually experience them too, albeit in different ways. For this reason, we suggest that the core elements of pilgrimage form in fact the base on which the whole religious tourism enterprise is founded (see Figure 2).

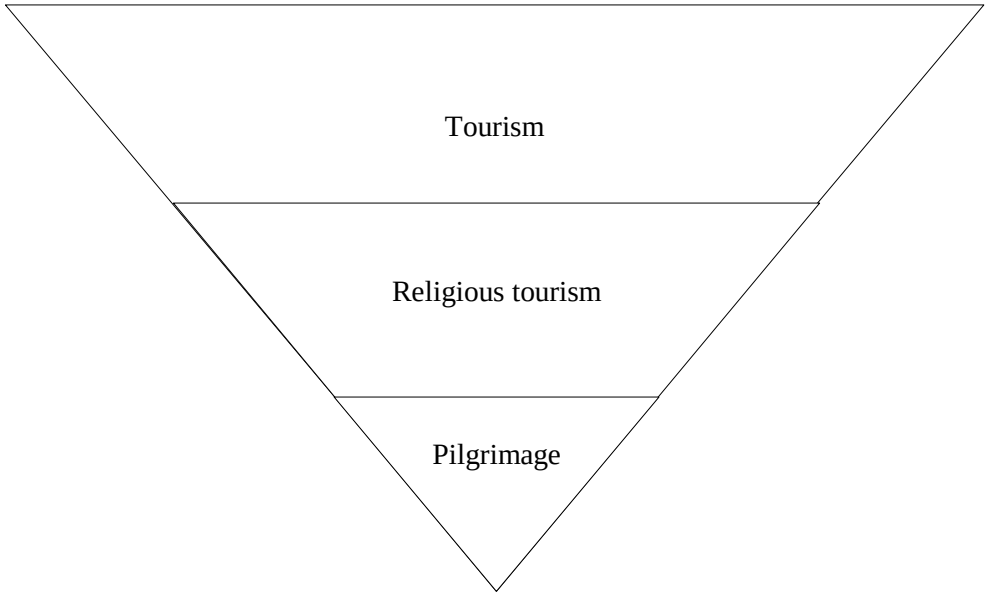


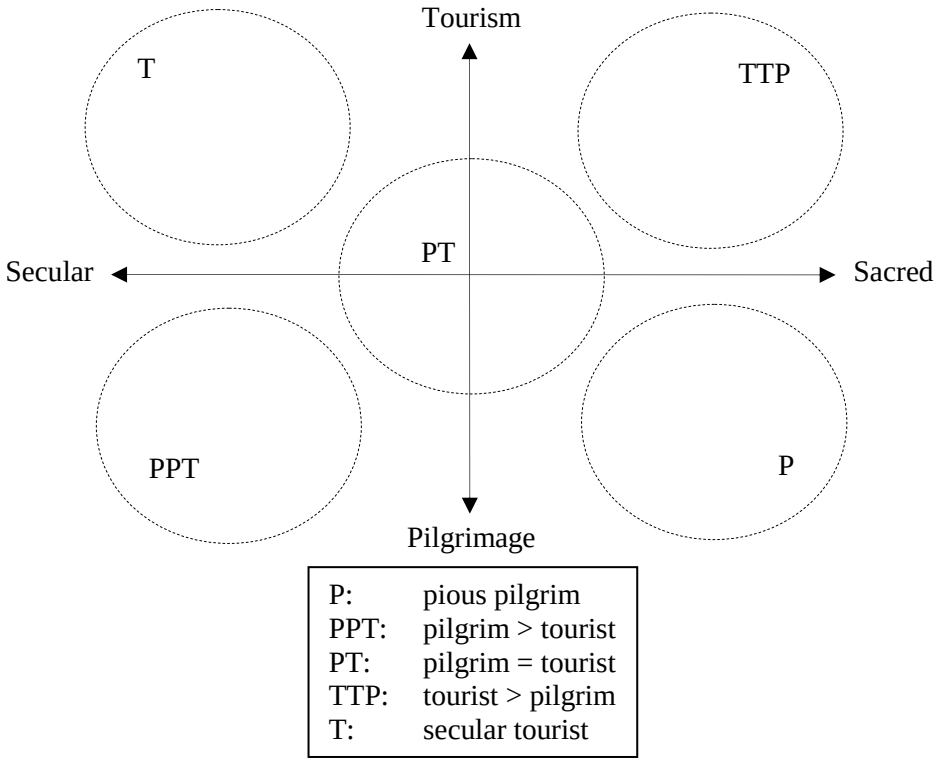
Figure 2: The essential integration of pilgrimage in religious tourism

This has been an ongoing debate at least since 1300, when Pope Boniface VIII sought to alter the balance between the sacred and the profane (Vukonic 1998). To facilitate pilgrimage to Rome, and to contribute more to the coffers of not only the church but also those of various Roman suppliers, the rules were changed. Pilgrimage to Rome had previously necessitated thirty days of continuous indulgences in the Basilica, but Pope Boniface VIII lowered this requirement to fifteen days, with the other fifteen days to be spent with 'the other and profane pleasures' of Rome. For the millennial jubilee of that year, he also ensured that the Vatican controlled the food and accommodation markets (unfortunately, we can find no direct reference to souvenirs), demonstrating that the strict division of the sacred and the profane as expressed in the division between non-material and consumption was already being queried in practice.

The pilgrimage–tourism axis revisited

Collins-Kreiner and Kliot (2000) explored pilgrims' behaviour along a sacred–secular continuum (see Figure 3, p. 60). They examined the existence of such a sacred–secular continuum, where pilgrims' features can be ranked, overlaid by a gap analysis of where the pilgrim's perception sits against a definition of reality as sacred or secular. A second continuum, ranging from astonishment to disappointment or from pilgrimage to tourism, allows the construction of positions in the matrix showing how important the different characteristics of the site are to the different types of visitors. Collins-Kreiner and Kliot (2000) identified the need to gain inspiration and strengthen belief as the major pilgrimage motivation for Roman Catholics and noticed that visiting the Holy Land enabled them to continue their lives back home with new energy and a feeling of purpose. They observed that awareness of Jesus' inspiring 'presence' at the sites gave significance to pilgrims' visits—and made them more conscious of the spiritual aspect of life (Bowman 1991). It is, in fact, crucial for pilgrims to visit the site itself and to understand the meaning of what happened there—Roman Catholics perceive themselves as pure pilgrims, who concentrate on religious aspects and disregard touristic ones. Collins-Kreiner and Kliot (2000) showed that Roman Catholic pilgrims are close to the sacred end of the sacred–secular continuum—they do not blend holiness and secularism during the pilgrimage and ignore all touristic aspects, including facilities and activities. At the same time, Protestants believe in direct contact between faithful and Bible—for them, building a church at a site harms the site's authentic atmosphere (Bowman 1991). Protestant pilgrims want to 'feel Jesus' directly, not by means of intermediaries. They prefer simple, natural places (such as the Sea of Galilee and its surroundings) to elaborate, artificial sites (such as churches), because they believe in the spiritual aspect of the pilgrimage,

not in its physical aspect. In addition, Protestant pilgrims are interested in non-religious activities such as visiting sites which combine religion and history, for example, and getting to know Israel and its residents. They do not ignore the tourist aspect of pilgrimage, use tourist facilities, mix cultural and sporting activities with religious activities, and visit secular and non-Christian sites. In short, Protestant pilgrims are close to the tourism end of the pilgrimage–tourism continuum and to the 'religious tourist' prototype, in the middle of the axis, rather than the pure 'pilgrim' prototype.



Source: Adapted from Collins-Kreiner and Kliot (2000)

Figure 3: Basic discrepancies between the pilgrim's perception and reality

The location of each pilgrim on the scale is personal and subjective—almost infinite sacred–secular combinations lay between extremities. According to Smith (1992), these locations try to reflect the multiple and dynamic motivations of the traveller, whose interests—and ensuing activities—may switch from tourist to

pilgrim and vice versa within the course of the journey, without the individual even being aware of the change. Our continuing work suggests that the different positions identified interpellate different criteria of significance for these different types of actors, and that it would be possible to develop a model for thresholds of tolerance and acceptability. The model would call on the different values embedded in different sites of value generation, values which can range from purely capitalist to wholly sacred (see Figure 4). Even a church may be deemed unsustainable and / or unauthentic enough!

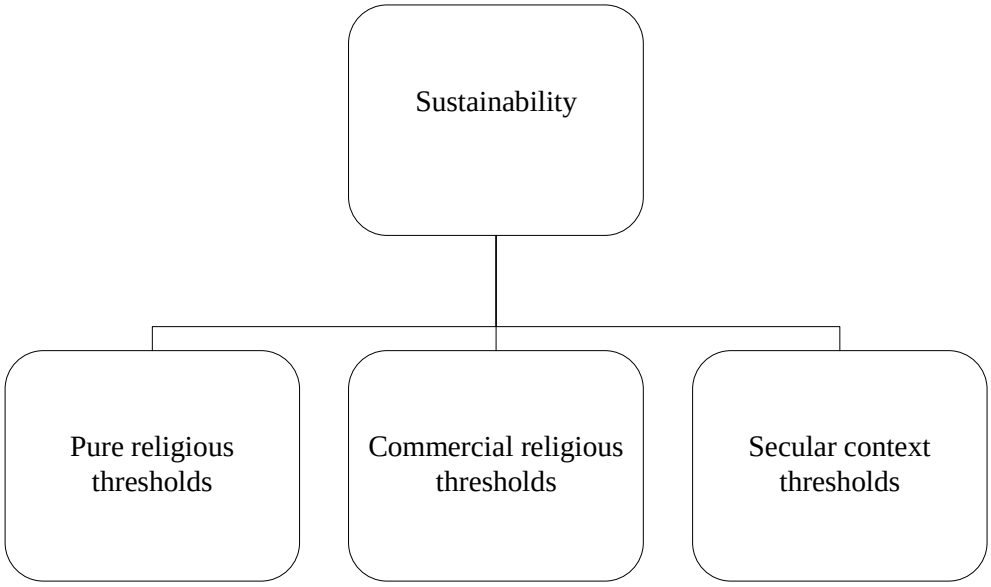


Figure 4: The thresholds of sustainable religious tourism

Contemporary research explores the complicated relationship between pilgrimage, religion, and tourism, including aspects such as economic, political, social, psychological, emotional, and others (M. L. Nolan and S. Nolan 1989; 1992). For example, Eade (1992) explored the interaction between pilgrims and tourists at Lourdes, Rinschede (1992) developed a typology of tourist uses of pilgrimage sites, and Vukonic (1996) examined the connection between tourism and religion. In addition, Rojo (2007) argued that there are no homologous religious audiences for sacred sites. Therefore, the religious tourism trend comprises heterogeneity of demand, individualism in motivation, and, possibly, even a tailor-made, complex, and chaotic response required of providers. It will necessitate both flexibility in response and construction and determination to vouchsafe the religious contents and values of the heritages in such a way as to

appeal to both religious and non-religious visitors. Religious sites are not visited merely by religious tourists, and the motivation to choose a tourist destination is not bound with the religion of the visitor (Rojo 2007: 57).

Commodification: counting the cost of commerce

According to Vukonic (1998: 11),

> [v]ery often "religious considerations" and religious teaching are ignored and attempts are made to use the large-scale presence of believers in the same way or in a way very similar to the way this is done in traditional tourism. In Christian, especially Catholic pilgrimage centres the religious "border" was crossed long ago in all possible forms of the commercialisation of the religious feelings of visitors.

Commodification—or commoditisation, the possible loss of unique cultural meaning and identity—of religious sites may distress worshippers and pilgrims. This may happen at Uluru, in Central Australia, just as much as at Westminster Abbey and Canterbury Cathedral, in England. Our research explored the paradox of commodification through the benefits and costs to worship at religious sites of special interest (Wiltshier and Clarke 2012).

The sale of goods and services at such sites is widespread and anticipated with some trepidation by visitors, as they enter or leave. Souvenirs, often mass produced well away from the site itself, are regularly purchased and collected by visitors to commemorate a sacred visit, for example to Fatima in Portugal or Lourdes in France. Relics are copied, religious scripts are reproduced, and vernacular and sacred architectural mementoes created in resins and petrochemicals are widely distributed as faithful copies and sold on a large scale. The need for non-worshippers to possess copies of special—even unique—keepsakes could always be questioned. The need for the site to sell mass-produced items to generate surplus for reinvestment in site protection and interpretation could never be questioned—and herein lays the paradox: is it fair, or indeed equitable, to support the production of trinkets in faraway places? Does the purchaser have any notion of whether the income thus generated benefits the sacred site? A balance can be reached between the needs and expectations of all parties involved through compliance with the religious significance of the place and its norms of conduct, through avoidance of over commercialisation and excessive exposure of religious supply elements, and through care for the environment and host community. Religious tourism supply is ready and willing to become an integrant part of sustainable development, as long as it serves to the accomplishment of its spiritual mission (Stănciulescu and Ţîrca 2010: 129).

Visitors and worshippers alike have a duty of care towards both special, revered sites and the guardians of these sites. Consequently, visitors and worshippers can be assured of the importance of making a contribution to offset the cost of their visit through the purchase of all manner of souvenirs. However, visits to such sacred sites of worship and pilgrimage should not be sullied by outright greed—sympathetic businesses and tour operators must consider ethical and responsible practices to support the ongoing management of religious sites. An early souvenir may be the creation and sharing of identity as part of both religion and tourism as journeys. Stausberg (2010) alerted us that, at the crossroads, a pilgrim may well be aligned with the tourist and in no way in an opposed or contrary binary position. He refocused our views of the shared liminal experiences of tourism and religion on a contemporary perspective of congruence and convergence rather than binary opposition. The complex and chaotic characteristics defining the itinerary of the new mass tourist may open a view that permits individualism, differentiation, and otherworldly options in tourism. While not focusing on the chaotic and complex as such, Stausberg (2010: 27) did refer to the 'experience hunter' and the contemporary tourist enjoying a 'travel career'. One of the beauties of his text is that the evidence presented in the narrative is of the tourist as in practice, blurring the boundaries between tourist and ascetic, between traveller and pilgrim. This can be seen as one of the impacts of co-creation within the pilgrimage, religious tourism, and commercial nexus. With the contributions of the participants given full respect in the co-creation of the experiences, it is possible to see how the values emerge, change, and continue around the different constructions. It is possible to find space even within the most commercialised sites where the religious values of pilgrims can be expressed and even reinforced.

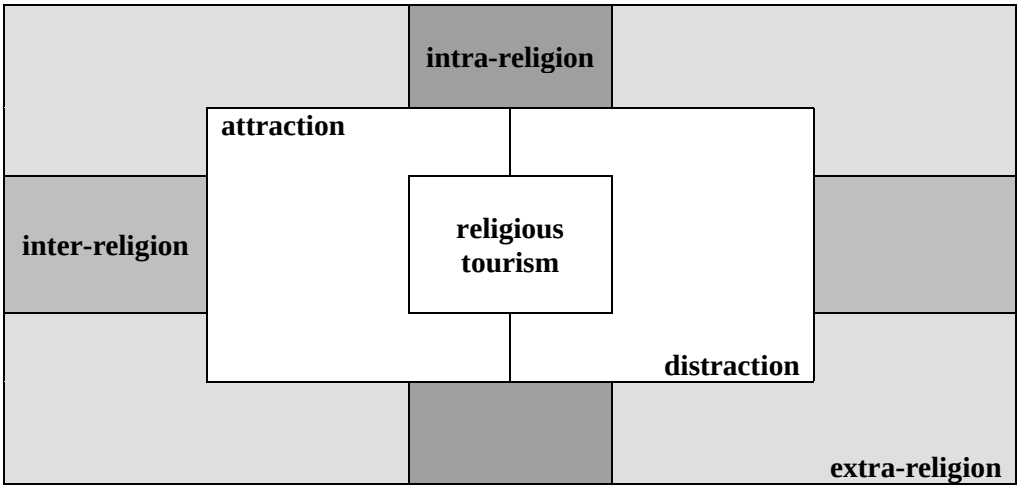
Meanings and motives in religious tourism

The purpose of this article has been to elaborate the differences between simple, capitalistic values and religious values in tourism development for the further investigation of religious tourism offers, both within the RECULTIVATUR project but also with colleagues in the ATLAS Special Interest Group on Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage (Griffith and Raj 2012). This will help optimise the value of tourism development in a non-conflictual way not only in religious communities but also in tourism communities and host communities. Focussing on the fundamental values of pilgrimage, we argue that the core practices enshrined in pilgrimage are enhanced by linkages to elements from the tourism system. Since not all elements of the tourism system constitute an additional benefit, it is possible to propose a model whereby religious tourism is surrounded by the notion of attraction, derived from the concept familiar to tourism researchers, with amenities,

attractions, and accommodation included (see Figure 5). Moreover, since some of these attractions may not act as actual motivators for pilgrims, we introduce the notion of distraction, defined as those parts of the wider tourism system that do not address directly the core concerns of the pilgrims' quest. The analysis of religious tourism undertaken in and around the RECULTIVATUR project has suggested three sets of factors influencing the development of religious tourism, drawn from three identifiably different sources:

- intra-religious factors, developed from within the religious values of the host's core value system;
- inter-religious factors, identified from the best practices of other religions in order to develop the core experience; and
- extra-religious factors, coming from outside religious value systems, mostly drawing on the sense of development from the tourism industry.

The particular issues of the sustainable recreation of experience and commercialisation of contexts need to be articulated.



Source: Developed from Clarke 2011b.

Figure 5: Clarke's model for the future development of religious tourism

Levi and Kocher (2009) suggested that pilgrims are a distinct category of tourists, with a distinct purpose and a discrete sense of the experience involved. However, there are opportunities for developing integration rather than segregation—for bringing the sense of pilgrimage into the experience domains of other types of tourism—of course, as long as the core values of pilgrimage are

observed and protected. Clarke's model suggests that it is possible to develop religious tourism without destroying the core of the pilgrimage experience.

We have grown accustomed to the idea that pilgrims are concerned solely with the non-material and non-economic elements of the experience. However, there are obvious absences in defining pilgrims outside the consumption relationships found in other forms of tourism. This may no longer be the case, as we find evidence of commercialisation of even the pilgrimage experience. There are examples already of the certification of pilgrimage and of the recognition that this certification is, in itself, part of the valorisation of the experience. Certification is linked not only to the duties of the routes, but also to the wider values enshrined in experiences as well as routes. Implicitly, this involves links with the organisations involved in the certification of sustainable tourism developments.

It is possible to promote sustainable linkages among pilgrims, religious tourists, and other aspects of tourism development, especially with regard to the promotion of religious values. Our research will continue to explore these linkages from the points of view of sustainability, authenticity, involvement, and connectivity. The core values of the pilgrimage suggest that the socio-cultural importance of sustainability is embedded in the developments we discussed—and will perpetuate, if religious tourism is to continue to have meaning and significance within its specific contexts of operation. By working closely with religious communities, tourism communities, and local, host communities, it should be possible to build on the best practices identified to ensure that religious tourism is at the forefront of an emerging sustainable community tourism, with respect to the thresholds we discussed.

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EDIT KOMLÓSI

The role of trait emotional intelligence in task and conceptual performance: the case of functional managers in the hotel industry[1][2]

Unquestionably, adequate selection, recruitment, and retention of employees (for example through (re)training) results in high-quality work outcomes. Ultimately, however, efficient, effective, and competitive organisations require more than just experience and expertise from their employees—some personal traits enrich not only individual, employee performance but also collective, organisational performance. Research has confirmed the link between emotional intelligence and work outcomes (see, for example, Spencer Jr. and Spencer 1993; George 2000; Lopes et al. 2006)—emotional intelligence tests assist with the selection and recruitment of employees, more loyal and better performing than employees selected and recruited the 'usual' way, and with their subsequent training and retraining, through the identification of personal traits likely to affect their work (and life) outcomes. In the particular case of the hospitality sector, studies have started to emerge exploring the links between emotional intelligence and work outcomes (see, for example, Langhorn 2004; Sy, Tram, and O'Hara 2006; Scott-Halsell, Blum, and Huffman 2008; Min 2012). However, thorough research into the emotional intelligence of functional managers in the hotel industry—and into its role in task and contextual performance within given organisational cultures—is scant, both in Hungary and internationally.

Consequently, this article investigates the links between emotional intelligence and work outcomes—measured through task and contextual performance—in the particular context of the hotel industry. It is based on the author's extensive examination of the literature as part of her doctoral research, currently (February

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2013) in midway progress, and it aims to make recommendations with regard to employee selection, recruitment, and retention. Customised (re)training, for example, enhances functional managers' awareness both of those personal traits that influence individual performance and of those organisational cultures that would most suit individual functional managers.

This article intends to synthesise the results of the literature review, not to reproduce the literature review in its entirety. To this end, the article is divided into six sections. Following this short introduction, the second section presents an overview of the hospitality sector in general and of the hotel industry in particular. The section examines the role tourism plays in the economy, with particular reference to the Hungarian economy and the wider EU economic context. The section also looks into possible explanations for the high employee turnover so characteristic of the tourism sector. The third section looks into similarities and differences between hospitality / hotel management and management in other industries. The section defines general and functional management and identifies the similarities and differences between them. It also examines the factors that lead to successful management and looks into the particular role personality plays. The fourth section defines the concept of performance and discusses ways in which performance could be measured. The section examines task and conceptual performance in particular. The fifth section introduces the concept of emotional intelligence and presents the theoretical and methodological evolution of this area of research. The section distinguishes between ability emotional intelligence and trait emotional intelligence, as well as between their respective methods of measurement. The link between emotional intelligence and performance at work is also discussed in this section, particularly with regard to the hospitality sector and the hotel industry. The final, sixth section summarises the findings of this extensive literature review. The section explains the implications these have for the author's wider, doctoral research and suggests further possible avenues for research.

The hospitality sector

Tourism is a key component of the service economy—in Hungary, it makes a direct contribution to the national economy of 4.6 per cent of GDP and an indirect contribution of 12 per cent (Hungarian Tourism Board 2011). According to the ITB *World Travel Trends Report* (2010), more than 800 million people travel every year, making the tourism sector one of the leading employers and providing a job to every 12th person—in Hungary, 6.2 per cent of the working population are employed directly in the tourism sector and 5.1 per cent are employed indirectly (Hungarian Tourism Board 2011).

Hotels are a leading industry in the tourism sector. In the EU alone, for example, 1.1 per cent of the total working population are employed in the tourist accommodation industry—of these, about four out of every five people are employed on a fulltime basis (Eurostat 2011). Also, in Hungary, the average hotel occupancy is 75 per cent of the total capacity (Hungarian Hotel and Restaurant Association 2010). However, employment in this segment fluctuates more than just with seasonality—hotel jobs appear less stable than in the rest of the labour market (Eurostat 2011). According to István Németh, the Head of the Hungarian Spa Association (2011), guests are increasingly sophisticated, and expect customised service, not just quality service. Therefore, hiring highly qualified, loyal, self-motivated employees is essential, and hiring assertive functional managers[3] who deal well with conflicts, have a high empathy level, are adaptable, and perform well in stressful situations is vital.

Hospitality is a 24/7, labour-intensive sector that makes interpersonal relationships challenging for employees (Brymer 1982; Ross 1995)—the working conditions are not ideal, and the levels of education and the cultural backgrounds of the workforce are diverse (Raub, Lorena, and Khanna 2006). The career 'ladder' is rather horizontal—within the department or to an identical or similar position in another hotel, eventually overseas. A typical career in the hotel industry—for example from back office agent to desk agent to front office manager to general manager—restricts career development to different functional management positions, or to moving to a different hotel, eventually within the same hotel chain (Hayes and Ninemeier 2006). Alternatively, managers leave the industry, either for good or to start their own businesses (a small lodging place, for example, or a restaurant) (Carbery et al. 2003). The cultural, ethnic, and religious diversity of both guests and employees also characterise the hospitality sector, and require high levels of interpersonal skills and emotional intelligence (Testa 2004; Baum 2006). Constantly high work pressures result in high incident levels of burnout, and in high employee turnover (Watkin 2000; Singh and Woods 2008). As a result, the hospitality industry is characterised by labour shortages and an ongoing demand for skilled employees (Hayes and Ninemeier 2006).

However, when a subordinate's long and stressful hours result in reaching a managerial position, there is usually an urge to do the job well—or move elsewhere altogether. With responsibilities towards guests and subordinates, as well as towards owner(s), hotel functional managers are key figures who try to play—and balance—several roles in order to satisfy this triple mandate. This requires certain personality traits and competencies.

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[3] Middle managers responsible for a department / unit and the people working in that department / unit.

General and functional managers in the hotel industry: roles, competencies, and characteristics

Hotel managers differ from their counterparts in other industries in that they generally undertake a much wider range of activities and spend a major part of their time in frequent interactions with both guests and staff (Wood 1994). Hotel managers are thus key to shaping their organisations. According to Hayes and Ninemeier (2006: 2), hotel managers cannot 'fake'—they 'must have a genuine enthusiasm to please people who are visiting', and they must act as role models for their subordinates.

In the hotel industry, as elsewhere, awareness of personality traits and values minimises the risk of appointing unsuitable candidates to management positions and maximises the support organisations can offer with career development (Akrivos, Ladkin, and Reklitis 2007). According to Dalton (2010), successful management careers are characterised by mastery of multi-skilling: thinking skills, political skills, technical / professional skills, social and interpersonal skills, emotional understanding, and self-awareness. Wilson (1998) believed that successful management careers require workaholic and innovative managers—aware and knowledgeable of organisational policies and dynamics; effective negotiators, especially with fiscal authorities; and characterised by commitment, dynamism, and perfect appearance. Successful, effective hotel managers are characterised by personality traits (such as, for example, emotional stability and intelligence), good health, and a capacity to inspire the people around them (Morrison, Rimmington, and Williams 1999)—inborn characteristics, stable throughout adulthood. They are also characterised by personal values (Olver and Mooradian 2003)—learned characteristics, influenced by the environment. The two sets of characteristics are strongly interrelated.

Hotel managers can be categorised by task and by department—in turn, departments can be categorised by function, product / service, geography, customer, and process (Barrows and Powers 2009). Function and product / service are the two most common types of departmentalisation at organisational level, whilst geography and customer are the two most common types of departmentalisation at corporate level.

While managerial functions across the hospitality sector share many features in common, the hotel manager functions have five distinguishing characteristics (Guerrier 1987; Baum 1989; Wood 1994; Hayes and Ninemeier 2006; Barrows and Powers 2009). (1) Hotel managers joining the hospitality sector do not do so having followed a prescribed career pathway. (2) The extent of experience in the hospitality sector does not affect the hotel managers' career prospects. (3) Hotel managers may leave the hospitality sector altogether, if they perceive no long-term

benefit from their qualifications in the area. (4) Young managers are more likely to be committed to their company, if they can advance rapidly to functional management level. (5) Career development requires managerial mobility.

The head and leader of the hotel management team is the general manager, responsible for the hotel's short-term profitability and final decision making in policies and procedures regarding hotel-specific operation (Hayes and Ninemeier 2006). The general manager has a 'helicopter view of the organisation' (Dalton 2010: 19), and anticipates, conceptualises, and finds solutions to problems with assistance from functional managers. In a full-service hotel, to serve as a model for subordinates, the general manager job description includes specific duties (lead the revenue effort of the hotel by maximising the revenue per available room (RevPar), for example); minimum qualifications (strong interpersonal / leadership skills and caring behaviour toward both guests and team members, for example); and desirable qualifications (previous experience as department head, for example) (Hayes and Ninemeier 2006). By examining American hotels, Nebel, Lee, and Vidakovics (1995: 257–8) found that, far from being predestined for the job, 80 per cent of general managers had previously worked in functional manager positions for about three years, and had spent nearly 88 per cent of their time in only one hotel department. Nearly three quarters (72.5 per cent) of the general managers studied had worked in only one of only three departments (food and beverage, front office, and housekeeping)—only 20 per cent had worked in either sales and marketing or accounting and finance. Moreover, 69 per cent of the general managers investigated reported that experience in one of the operational departments (food and beverage, front office, and housekeeping) was essential in their appointment.

Soft skills (such as interpersonal skills), contextual behaviour, and desirable traits (such as sociability and self-control) were also essential in appointments to general management positions. Worsfold (1989a; 1989b) identified the necessary personal characteristics based on interviews with 28 successful general managers. He divided these personal characteristics into five categories, by ranking, where the figures inside the brackets indicate the numbers of general managers who thought that category important (Worsfold 1989a: 58): people skills (skills related to understanding people, leadership skills, ability to motivate, caring for people, interest in people, and the ability to communicate; 19); resilience, mental and physical (courage, stamina, energy, the need to be thick skinned, and good health; 10); motivation (dedication, drive, self motivation, and the need to succeed; 8); personality characteristics (personality, style, flair, extraversion, tolerance, aggression with the willingness to take risks, and the need to be stable; 7); and intelligence (intelligence, common sense, and the necessity of a good memory; 6).

However, general managers have to wear several 'hats'—'I'm wearing my sales manager's hat today` (Barrows and Powers 2009: 567)—and are not easy to

observe. Nevertheless, since 80 per cent of general managers had previously worked in functional manager positions (Nebel, Lee, and Vidakovics 1995: 257), it makes sense to examine the features that enable functional managers to advance into general manager positions.

Functional departments are specialist hotel units that bring together employees with certain skills and competencies. Functional managers are in charge of such specialist hotel units—in rest, their job descriptions are similar to those of general managers. The skills required from functional managers can be divided into four categories (Hayes and Ninemeier 2006: 64): conceptual skills (the ability to collect, interpret, and use information in a logical way); interpersonal skills (the ability to understand and interact well with people, including guests, employees, owners, etc.); administrative skills (the ability to organise and direct required work efforts); and technical skills (the ability to perform hotel management-specific tasks).

According to O'Fallon and Rutherford (2011), the key competencies for functional managers in the lodging industry are, in order: self-management, strategic positioning, implementation, critical thinking, interpersonal skills, leadership, and industry knowledge.

Alongside authorities relevant to their capacity as heads of units, functional managers are also accountable for specific responsibilities (Barrows and Powers 2009). Mintzberg (1973) believed that it is impossible to separate and categorise the different roles functional managers fulfil—all performances include informational and interpersonal elements, and these appear particularly influential in hotel and catering. Nevertheless, all functional managers' main role is to lead their units effectively and efficiently (Larkin 2009). According to Wood (1994), roles are sets of behaviour patterns in an organisation, and 'multiple role holder managers' experience stress. Hotel functional managers are such multiple role holders, with organisational responsibilities towards the guests of the hotel, the hotel owners, the general managers of the hotel, their staff, their peers, the suppliers to the hotel, etc.—in addition of course to personal responsibilities towards their families, their friends, and the wider community.

Role expectations can lead to conflict, stress, work overload, and role bargaining, with major influences on unhappiness, poor performance, and intention to quit (Macaulay and Wood 1992). Moreover, according to Brymer (1979; 1982), all hotel managers encounter stress at some point or other in their careers. Brymer (1979: 62) divided the stressors into four categories: individual (type A, workaholic, as most hotel managers are, or type B, laidback); family (the effects of work relocation on the entire family, for example); organisation (high responsibility in combination with inter-unit dependence, for example); and social and environmental (economic changes or public distrust, for example). Drummond (1990) grouped the symptoms of stress into psychological symptoms (low self-esteem, depression, etc.); physiological symptoms (headache, high blood pressure,

etc.); and performance symptoms (inability to make decisions, avoiding guests, tasks, and situations, etc.). Since stress affects individual and organisational performance alike, hotels have to strive to minimise pressure at work (Kusluvan 2003). Mullins (1992; 2005) took this view further when he stated that it is the hospitality management's responsibility to reduce and control stress at work. In his opinion, there are three measures hotel managements can take. The first measure is to remove the stress latent in the structure of the hotel—in order to cut costs, most hotels hire fewer and less carefully selected staff than optimally required, then expect them to perform well. According to Riley (1996), this is an unrealistic expectation. The second measure is to remove the stress inbuilt in the hotels' information and communication structures. Roles—defined through responsibilities, authorities, and accountabilities—must be clearly specified to prevent interdepartmental conflicts. The third measure is to design and implement a recruitment strategy that secures the human resources most relevant to the hotel industry—the kind of human resources that 'do an emotionally great job' (Wood 1994: 79).

Stress is the primary explanation behind high levels of intention to leave and high labour turnover (Macaulay and Wood 1992), but not the only explanation by any means. Johnson (1985) showed that highly rated hotels have low labour turnovers due to the employment of more—and more carefully selected and recruited—staff (Riley 1996); due to clearly specified roles and effective communication (Kusluvan 2003); as well as due to good working environments (Brymer 1982). Other factors influencing hotel managers' high turnover include (Deery and Iverson 1996; Jackson and DeFranco 2005) the high ratio of young, part-time, especially female employees; the low pay; the limited training; and (Deery and Shaw 1999) the organisational culture. Garavan, O'Brien, and O'Hanon (2006: 671) revealed that the 'combination of demographic, human capital, psychological attributes and hotel characteristics, explain significant variance in the turnover cognitions of hotel managers', with the most significant explanation for management turnover being their perceived commitment to the organisation. High management turnover has financial drawbacks, and the more is 'invested' into a manager, the higher the financial loss is (Guilding 2003; 2009). This loss includes leaving costs, replacement costs, training costs, and indirect costs (in customer satisfaction, for example)—all costs hotels are mostly unaware of (Lashley and Rowson 2000). Kaufmann, Lashley, and Schreier (2009) counselled that hotels' lack of adequate management (and staff) training results in low customer satisfaction and productivity as well as high staff turnover. 'Pull' factors (such as better salary, better working hours, permanent and alternative employment, improved career prospects, training and development, and empowerment) contribute to retaining hotel managers, whilst 'push' factors (such as lack of training, poor organisational image, unfavourable terms and conditions,

discontent with superiors, irregular work patterns and work hours, poor payment, and lack of autonomy) influence them to leave (Lashley 2000).

These factors confirm the importance of human resources practices (Lashley and Rowson 2000). A well-planned selection and recruitment strategy secures high levels of required competencies, social skills, and emotional intelligence from the start (Langhorn 2004)—characteristics which can be further developed, if necessary. Understanding of the interconnections among recruitment, training, and retention of managers and staff is fairly recent in the hotel industry (Jackson and DeFranco 2005). However, emotionally intelligent managers place high priority on (re)training and retaining skilled employees, in order to enhance performance (Rosete and Ciarrochi 2005; Rojek 2010), as well as customer satisfaction and organisational commitment (Vance 2006). Mann (1998) argued that there are three emotional states when dealing with customers: emotions felt, emotions displayed, and the job-role-required emotional performance—emotional intelligence is a key influence on business success in the hotel industry (Kaufmann, Lashley, and Schreier 2009).

Different competencies contribute to individual work outcomes in different ways. Therefore, while individual employee performance is influenced by personal abilities and personality traits, the concept of performance and the methods of measuring performance need to be explored in further detail.

Measuring task and contextual performance

The concept of measuring performance dates back to the early days of the Twentieth Century, when Frederick Taylor's (1911) 'scientific management' advanced the idea that work can be measured, analysed, and controlled. Any complex task can be viewed as an assembly of simple tasks that are easy to standardise, and that enable measuring actual performance against prescribed, standardised performance (Kaplan 1990).

Thus, performance can be defined variously, for example as measuring individuals' actual performance against objectives and responsibilities (Neale 1991) or as measuring the efficiency and effectiveness of an activity, where efficiency corresponds to organisational aims and customer demands and effectiveness represents the utilisation of resources to reach set aims (Neely, Gregory, and Platts 1995; Walters 1995). According to Ingram (1996), performance refers either to successful outcome or to the way business is conducted, and managers have to consider both—in addition, employees' performance in supplying goods and / or services may be rated by customers too. Gallwey (1974) defined performance simply as opportunities minus obstacles, with opportunities realised only if internal and external conditions are favourable.

Controversially, Aguinis (2009) argued that performance is not the direct or indirect outcomes of employees' endeavours, but what employees do and how they behave—therefore, he argued, performance is a multiplicative relation of declarative knowledge (facts, principles, and goals); procedural knowledge (cognitive, psychomotor, physical, and interpersonal skills); and motivation (choice to perform, level of effort, and persistence of effort). According to Boyatzis (1982), effective performance has three interlinked elements: individual competencies, job demand, and organisational environment. These definitions of performance differ from one another, but overlap to a large extent, and indicate that performance can be managed and measured, both individually and collectively, at both unit / team level and organisational level.

Performance in the hospitality sector is defined similarly to performance in other service sector organisations, and is managed and measured from financial and operational (hard), organisational (hard and soft), and human (soft) perspectives (Goldsmith et al. 1997; Claver-Corte's, Molina-Azori'n, and Pereira-Moliner 2007; Klidas, van den Berg, and Wilderom 2007; O'Fallon and Rutherford 2011).

Measuring performance is a means of managing performance (Halachmi 2005). It is a good indicator of an organisation's state of play, and of its likely trajectory (Armstrong and Baron 2011). However, measuring performance is hampered by a number of factors (Furnham 1996). (1) Managers feel uncomfortable with giving negative or corrective feedback, and most are unaware of the negative consequences (Adams 2005). (2) Managers are not adequately trained in measuring performance. This may cause uncertainty and feelings of unfairness among employees. (3) Managers opt for outsourcing performance measurement, for example through emotional intelligence software, in lieu of face-to-face discussions with the employees. In addition, managers restrict measuring performance to checking the financial (hard) outcomes. (4) At the very worst, the organisation does not take performance measurement seriously.

A number of performance measurement ideas, models, and systems were developed for the hotel industry (see, for example, Mattsson 1994; Phillips 1999; Denton and White 2000; Doran, Haddad, and Chow 2002), most of which are based on the balanced scorecard theory and focus on financial performance. In the aftermath of the global economic crisis of 2008, human resources performance re-emerged as the focus of performance measurement, both at individual level and at functional level (see, for example, Murphy and Murrmann 2009; Zigan and Zeglat 2010).

However, evaluating managers across a wide range of job categories is difficult, not least because developing evaluation criteria is complex. Traditionally, in the hotel industry, the focus has been on short-term results. Consequently, hotel managers have been assessed primarily on control of expenses and profitability criteria (Umbreit 1986). Behavioural performance studies did not start until the

mid-1970s, based on the behaviourally anchored rating scale (BARS) developed by Smith and Kendall (1963) and extended to the service sector (Campbell et al. 1973), ten years later. Umbreit (1986) refined BARS by validating hotel managers' performance dimensions rigorously—seven independent criteria and their accompanying behavioural statements were thus defined: handling guest complaints and promoting guest relations; developing market strategy and monitoring sales programmes; communicating with employees; motivating and modifying behaviour; implementing policy, making decisions, and delegating responsibility; monitoring operations and maintaining product quality; and handling personnel responsibilities.

Behaviour influences managers' performance directly—in turn, this determines team and organisational success or failure (Boyatzis 1982). Certain behaviours and an environment allowing for the correction of behaviour may result in high hotel manager effectiveness (Umbreit 1986). Consciously or unconsciously, behaviour is embedded in personality traits and attitudes (Ajzen 2005).

Task and contextual performance

Among the factors influencing performance (work environment, human resources practices, organisational culture, etc.), employee behaviour is undoubtedly one of the most dominant (Kusluvan 2003). However, understanding performance requires understanding the multidimensional aspect of performance, where two of the dimensions are particularly prominent, task and contextual (Borman et al. 2001), also referred to as prosocial behaviour (Penner et al. 2005) and organisational citizenship behaviour (Netemeyer et al. 1997).

This approach to performance can be traced back to Fox's (1974) categorisation of work roles—he distinguished between task range role (tasks that can vary from specific to diffuse) and discretionary content (behaviour needed for specified and disperse jobs). Furthermore, Fox argued that all jobs contain both elements, but that the discretionary elements come from within the individual and are self-controlled—they cannot be controlled externally. Consequently, hotel functional managers, for example, require a good command of self-control.

Borman (2004) warned that task and contextual behaviour need to be regarded separately—individuals may accomplish tasks highly satisfactorily even when their contextual performance is unsatisfactory. Griffin, Neal, and Neale (2000) also argued that task and contextual performance should be distinguished, and further claimed that individuals' understanding of situations allows them to connect to and benefit from contextual behaviour, which in turn contributes to unit and organisational effectiveness. Table 1 (p. 81) summarises the characteristics of both dimensions.

Task performance is primarily determined by abilities and skills, whilst contextual performance is influenced by personality (Arvey and Murphy 1998). In addition, task performance varies across jobs and is likely to be role prescribed, whereas contextual performance is quite similar across jobs and is not likely to be role prescribed (Aguinis 2009). Organ (1997) named five types of organisational citizenship behaviour as contextual performance indicators, widely acknowledged and used—altruism (helping co-workers); courtesy (treating co-workers with respect and preventing conflicts); sportsmanship (sustaining a positive attitude by not complaining about insignificant issues); civic virtue (maintaining an interest in and responding to the strategic life of the organisation); and conscientiousness (complying with organisational rules and requirements, and job dedication).

Task performance	**Contextual performance**
activities that transform raw materials into goods and services	persisting with enthusiasm and exerting extra effort to complete tasks successfully (being punctual, for example)
activities that help distributing finished products; services planning	carrying out tasks that are not formally part of their job (making constructive suggestions, for example)
activities that help planning, coordination, and supervision	helping and cooperating with others
activities that enable organisations to function effectively and efficiently	following organisational rules and procedures; endorsing, supporting, and defending organisational objectives (organisational loyalty, for example)

Source: Based on Aguinis (2009).

Table 1: Main characteristics of task and contextual performance

Altruism and supervisor–subordinate relationships were found to be the key values among hospitality managers (Chen and Choi 2008). Courtesy and sportsmanship are vital in overcoming employee stress in the hotel environment, and conscientiousness is an added value for hotel managements.

Performance management assumes the management of both task and contextual performance. However, in the particular context of the hospitality sector, characterised by continuous interaction with both guests and co-workers, contextual performance plays the essential role (Kuslavan 2003). Contextual

performance influences directly customer / guest satisfaction, team effectiveness, and the intention to leave (Chen, Hui, and Sego 1998) and indirectly financial organisational outcomes (Cohen 1999). Measuring contextual performance is vital—employee assessment is biased if not designed from both perspectives, task and contextual (Bolino et al. 2006).

In summary, performance is influenced by personality traits, personal abilities, and individual behaviours, as well as by internal and external environments. The next section explores emotional intelligence as one of the performance influencing factors and explains both concept and measurement.

Emotional intelligence

Emotional intelligence and its relation to work outcomes and performance have been studied from different perspectives. The popularity of emotional intelligence stems from research confirming that job performance predictions based on intelligence quotient (IQ) alone are only 10–30 per cent accurate, whilst the additional consideration of emotional intelligence takes accuracy above 30 per cent (Jensen 1998). Emotional intelligence is key to business success in the hotel industry (Kaufmann, Lashley, and Schreier 2009).

The concept of emotional intelligence

Daniel Goleman's (1996) work on emotional intelligence hit a sensitive and thought provoking area that slowly but firmly has influenced even the most 'down-to-earth' economies ever since. The human factor has always been present in business. However, its extreme influence on sustainable competitive advantage was only realised in the late 1990s, when research showed significant evidence of positive correlation between emotional intelligence and performance (George 2000; Lopes et al. 2006), customer satisfaction (Hochschild 1983), and individual and organisational success (see, for example, Zeidner, Matthews, and Roberts 2004; Furnham 2008; Blanchard et al. 2010). However, emotional intelligence research prior to the Twenty-first Century was argued to have been based on anecdotal case descriptions rather than scientific measurements (Dulewicz and Higgs 2000). Nevertheless, researchers found partners in competitive organisations where managers believed in knowing and managing feelings, a worthwhile tangible asset (Hill 2010).

The origins of emotional intelligence can be traced back to Thorndike's (1920) concept of social intelligence defined as the ability to understand and manage individuals and take sensible actions in human relations. Nearly forty years later, Eysenck (1958: 175) questioned whether personality can be measured and said 'the

answer depends on what we mean by personality, what we mean by measurement, and, indeed, one might even maintain that it depends on the meaning of the term "can"'. The contemporary forms of emotional intelligence only appeared in the late 1980s / early 1990s, when various terminology emerged (Payne 1989; Goleman 1996; Cooper and Sawaf 1997; Petrides and Furnham 2001; Bar-On 2006). Salovey and Mayer (1990: 189) were the first to define emotional intelligence as such. Their initial definition of emotional intelligence as 'the ability to monitor one's own and others' feelings and emotions, to discriminate among them and to use this information to guide one's thinking and action' was later modified to 'the ability to perceive emotion, integrate emotion to facilitate thought, understand emotions and to regulate emotions to promote personal growth' (Mayer and Salovey 1997: 10). Bar-On (2000; 2006) combined previous approaches and used the concept of emotional-social intelligence to define skills, competencies, and facilitators and verify human behaviour. Emotional intelligence also bonds numerous fields of psychological science, such as human cognitive abilities, self regulation theory, or neuroscience of emotion (Zeidner, Matthews, and Roberts 2004).

At the turn of the Twenty-first Century, to diminish misconceptions and clarify the various theoretical distinctions, Petrides and Furnham (2001) examined the state of play of emotional intelligence theories and measurements. According to Pérez-González, Petrides, and Furnham (2005), there is a clear conceptual distinction between ability emotional intelligence (or cognitive-emotional ability) and trait emotional intelligence (or emotional self-efficacy). The former concerns emotion-related cognitive abilities, and is measured with the aid of maximum-performance tests. The latter concerns emotion-related behavioural characteristics, and is measured with the aid of self-reports (Petrides 2009). 'Trait emotional intelligence is a distinct, compound trait located at the lower levels of personality hierarchies' (Petrides, Pérez-González, and Furnham 2007: 26). In other words, trait emotional intelligence is a collection of emotion-related self-perceptions—an individual's confidence in her or his capability to perform various tasks which, according to Mikolajczak et al. (2007), correlates negatively with the individual's IQ.

The distinction between trait and ability emotional intelligence is determined by the research methods employed in measuring emotional intelligence (Petrides 2010). Mayer, Salovey, and Caruso (2000) argued that the distinction is not between ability and trait emotional intelligence, but between ability and mixed emotional intelligence, whereby mixed emotional intelligence refers to mixed abilities and personal traits, including situational, motivational, and dispositional variables (MacCann et al. 2004). However, mixed emotional intelligence theoreticians disregard concerns over emotional intelligence measurement.

Furnham (2001) highlighted this weakness and claimed that cognitive abilities cannot be measured successfully by self-reporting.

Measuring emotional intelligence

Adequate measurement of emotional intelligence may contribute to successful employee selection and recruitment, judicious employee assessment and promotion, enhanced performance, customised coaching and (re)training, and others (MacCann et al. 1993). However, what exactly 'adequate measurement of emotional intelligence' actually implies in practice is a matter of no small interest and debate (Austin et al. 2004).

Various emotional intelligence measurements were developed, based be it on firm or on vague theoretical backgrounds, including with regards to measurement aspects such as reliability, validity, and factor structure (Petrides 2011). Some researchers developed self-report questionnaires (see, for example, Schutte et al. 1998), whereas others developed tests around correct / incorrect type questions (Mayer, Caruso, and Salovey 1999)—assuming they all operationalised the same contract, this obviously resulted in conceptual confusion and conflict (Pérez-González, Petrides, and Furnham 2005).

Petrides (2009) stated that, when regarded as mental abilities, emotional intelligence cannot be measured—there are no perceptible criteria that would allow scoring mental abilities objectively (Spain, Eaton, and Funder 2000; Watson 2000). Nevertheless, researchers such as Mayer et al. (2002) claimed that ability tests had undergone changes that had improved their validity. Mayer himself co-developed the Emotional Accuracy Research Scale (EARS), which includes several given situations (Mayer and Geher 1996)—however, since the test was developed by asking an individual of the experience in the given situations, its validity is dubious (Stought, Saktofske, and Rarker 2009). The Multifactor Emotional Intelligence Scale (MEIS), another situational judgement test co-developed by Mayer, consists of stories of a fictional person and seven emotional feelings the presence / absence of which has to be indicated on a 5-point Likert scale (Mayer, Caruso, and Salovey 1999)—since the situations are again subjectively measured, and since there are 'good' extremes and 'bad' extremes, the test generates stereotypical emotional intelligence categories (Petrides 2011). Despite factor structures and internal consistency of ability measurements still raising queries (Legree 1995; Pérez-González, Petrides, and Furnham 2005), MEIS (Mayer, Caruso, and Salovey 1999) and its descendant, the Mayer-Salovey-Caruso Emotional Intelligence Test (MSCEIT) (Mayer et al. 2002), are presently the most extensively used ability tests. Brody (2004: 237) criticised MSCEIT heavily and argued that Mayer and his co-researchers 'have not provided us with clear evidence that establishes a clear

conceptual and empirical distinction between their measure and a latent trait of EI' and that there is no evidence of the test truly measuring individual differences.

The validities of trait emotional intelligence tests—including those regarded as mixed emotional intelligence tests by researchers such as Mayer, Salovey, and Caruso (2000)—were less extensively explored and compared than the validities of ability emotional intelligence tests. After comparing MSCEIT (Mayer et al. 2002), the ability test with two self-report measures, the Emotional Quotient Inventory (EQ-i), and the Self-report Emotional Intelligence Test (SREIT), Brackett and Mayer (2003) concluded that the two trait tests (EQ-i and SREIT) were moderately interrelated, while neither trait test showed links with the ability test (MSCEIT). Gardner and Qualter (2010) studied the concurrent and incremental validities of three trait emotional intelligence tests—the Schutte Emotional Intelligence Scale (SEIS) (Schutte et al. 1998), the Multidimensional Emotional Intelligence Assessment (MEIA) (Tett, Fox, and Wang 2005), and the Trait Emotional Intelligence Questionnaire (TEIQue) (Petrides and Furnham 2001)—and found TEIQue a superior predictor of multiple psychological criteria. However, Pérez-González, Petrides, and Furnham (2005: 126) argued that hardly any 'trait emotional intelligence measures have been developed within a clear theoretical framework and even fewer have sturdy empirical foundation'. They undertook a thorough examination of trait emotional intelligence measurements in terms of predictive validity, incremental validity, discriminant validity, and factor structure (Pérez-González, Petrides, and Furnham 2005: 130–3). The minimum Cronbach alpha for reliability for individual testing is 0.80, according to Anastasi and Urbina (1997). Of the 14 tests investigated by Pérez-González, Petrides, and Furnham (2005), only three fulfilled Anastasi and Urbina's (1997) minimum reliability requirement—EQ-i (0.85), SUEIT[4] (0.85), and TEIQue (0.90). In addition, TEIQue had the highest convergent and discriminant validity, as well as the highest correlation with the Giant Three (extraversion, neuroticism, and psychometrics) and Big Five (openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism) dimensions of human personality. The convergent and discriminant validities of the trait emotional intelligence tests investigated are unclear, low, or moderate, with EQ-i and TEIQue showing high correlations with the Big Five personality dimensions. In terms of structure, only TEIQue, TEII[5], WLEIS[6], and TMMS[7] had clearly distinguishable factors, and, with the exception of TMMS, could provide global scores. 'Appendix on research methodology' (pp. 90–4)

4 Swinburne University Emotional Intelligence Test.

5 Tapia Emotional Intelligence Inventory.

6 Wong and Law Emotional Intelligence Scales.

7 Trait Meta Mood Scale.

further explores the virtues and vices of TEIQue, the author's psychometric instrument of choice for her doctoral research.

The effect of emotional intelligence over performance

According to Blanchard et al. (2010), managers are key figures whose leadership style should include coaching and should lead to employee involvement, empowerment, and support. Goleman, Boyatzis, and Mckee (2002: 212) too referred to effective executive leaders as coaches or, better still, mentors who create a secure atmosphere for employees to 'spread their wings, trying out new style and strengths'. Furthermore, they argued that, since leaders work with their employees in teams, emotional intelligence is a key element of leadership effectiveness. Leaders motivate and challenge team members to be effective and achieve high-performance, influence interaction, build trust, and encourage team members to achieve the organisational vision (Goleman, Boyatzis, and Mckee 2002).

The relationship between emotional intelligence and work-related performance started to be investigated in the early 1980s, when several projects were carried out in the manufacturing industry to examine the non-financial, human factors influencing work outcomes. The first study did not investigate emotional intelligence as such, but it did investigate personality traits. Its focus was on the relation among stress, optimism, and financial outcomes such as productivity (Boyatzis 1982; Lusch and Serpkenci 1990; Seligman 1990). With the appearance of the emotional intelligence concept (Salovey and Mayer 1990), research studies started to investigate personality in further depth. For example, Spencer Jr. and Spencer's (1993) experimental study investigated the differences between the L'Oréal sales agents selected the 'usual' way and those selected on the basis of certain emotional intelligence competencies. The study showed that sales agents thus selected sold more than sales agents selected the 'usual' way and their turnover during the first year of employment was 63 per cent lower. Studies by McClelland (1998) and Goleman (1998) obtained similar results. Goleman (1998), for example, found that employees hired on an emotional intelligence basis were 90 per cent more likely to complete their on-the-job training. In other research, Spencer Jr., McClelland, and Kelner (1997) examined 300 top executives from 50 international companies and identified six emotional competencies that distinguish star managers from the rest: influence, team leadership, organisational awareness, self-confidence, achievement-driven attitude, and leadership style.

In the Twenty-first Century, empirical studies of the relationship between emotional intelligence and work outcomes rest increasingly on methodological grounds. What test should be applied became an important issue for researchers, who developed and tried out their own tests to collect data for validation—Spencer

Jr. and Spencer (1993) used Emotional Intelligence Competencies (EIC), for example; Dulewicz and Higgs (2004) used the Emotional Intelligence Questionnaire (EIQ); Rosete and Ciarrochi (2005), Carmeli and Josman (2006), and Kerr et al. (2006) used SEIS; Groves, McEnrue, and Shen (2008) used MSCEIT; and Sánchez-Ruiz, Pérez-González, and Petrides (2010) used TEIQue. These and other studies (such as Ashkanasy and Dasborough 2003, for example) investigated managers and university students (as future managers) and found that, for both generations, the levels of emotional intelligence show a relationship between individual and organisational performance. Research by Wolf, Pescosolido, and Druskat (2002) found that empathy was related to selection for leadership positions within self-aware teams—a possible indication that team members' emotional intelligence levels also influence decision-making. Self-management, creativity, positive personality, and the ability to develop cohesive and supportive relationships with people were also found to influence performance. George (2000) stated that emotional intelligence is a key factor both in private life, where it enables individuals to be socially effective, and at work, where emotionally intelligent managers have effective social interactions with both colleagues and customers.

Managing people is an emotional process in itself, and managers should recognise employees' emotional state and intervene accordingly for efficient performance. After studying 117 public service executive managers, Rosete and Ciarrochi (2005) found that excellent business performance was linked with managers with high emotional intelligence and specific characteristics such as high openness. Furthermore, such managers can manage emotions better than others.

The effect of emotional intelligence over performance in the hospitality sector

In the hospitality sector, studies of the effect of emotional intelligence over performance are relatively new (Min, Tang, and Yin 2011). Carvelzani et al. (2003), for example, investigated seven tour operators' attitudes, opinions, and observations, and found that tour operators make use of emotional intelligence to offer personalised travel solutions. Min (2012) examined the relationships between tour guides' emotional intelligence and demographic variables, and found that gender and length of service affect emotional intelligence. Scott-Halsell, Blum, and Huffman (2008) examined the hospitality managers' particular socio-demographic roles and emotional intelligence levels, and found that average emotional intelligence scores for professionals are above the norm. Their study did not find a relationship between emotional intelligence and qualifications, but those, especially women, who spent less than twenty years in hotels, restaurants, and private clubs were interviewed to allow them adequate freedom of expression. Langhorn (2004) studied pub / restaurant general managers, and found that general

managers' performance depends on their awareness and understanding of their emotions. Furthermore, the general managers' overall emotional intelligence levels indicated positive profit performance and high employee and customer satisfaction. Sy, Tram, and O'Hara (2006) carried out a study of a national restaurant chain and confirmed that employees' emotional intelligence was positively associated with performance and job satisfaction. A study of the foodservice industry revealed that executive's emotional intelligence shows a relationship between social and stress management skills (Cha, Cichy, and Kim 2008). Executives with low emotional intelligence had poor social skills and managed work-related stress much worse than managers with high emotional intelligence. Scott-Halsell, Blum, and Huffmann (2008; 2011) carried out comparative research to investigate hospitality undergraduate students and hotel industry professionals, and found significant differences. Hotel industry professionals had higher overall emotional intelligence, behaviour, empathy, knowledge, and motivation abilities than hospitality undergraduate students, which may imply that traits can change with experience and / or learning (Dulewicz and Higgs 2004; Roberts and Mroczek 2008). Scott-Halsell, Blum, and Huffmann (2011) also showed that professionals with up to twenty years of service in the hotel industry were more able to express emotions than their younger colleagues, possibly because of the upbringing of the baby-boom generation, raised to express emotions differently than younger generations.

Scott-Halsell, Blum, and Huffmann (2011) examined emotional intelligence in relation to age, gender, experience, hospitality sector segment, and education. However, their study used the Emotional Intelligence Test (2nd revision, developed by Plumeus), which mixes abilities and traits and comprises 70 multiple-choice questions that are analysed as an IQ test. Furthermore, the study did not examine emotional intelligence in relation to performance, and the sample size of 65 was relatively small and could not be generalised for the entire hospitality management population.

It is clear from this review of the relevant literature that a thorough examination of the hotel managers' performance in relation to their trait emotional intelligence is needed—the supposition that individual abilities influence mostly task performance and personality traits affect mainly contextual performance requires particular attention.

Conclusion

This article synthesised the theories and exploratory studies that provide the author with a firm foundation for her doctoral research on the relationship between hotel functional managers' emotional intelligence and their individual task and

contextual performance. Certainly, within only about twenty pages or so, it is impossible to pan out a detailed literature analysis. Rather, the aim of this article was to explore why—along with individual abilities and professional knowledge—soft skills are important in hotels, emotional workplace representatives of the service industry. The multiple roles hotel functional managers perform vis-à-vis various stakeholders require versatile and adaptive personalities, as well as team leader qualities.

The synthesis revealed that employees with high levels of emotional intelligence levels tend to perform better than employees with low levels of emotional intelligence. However, both concepts—emotional intelligence and performance—need thorough definitions in order to validate this general statement.

Notwithstanding a candidate's subjective enthusiasm for a career in the hospitality sector, an objective competency map is clearly needed. Selecting some candidates over others requires knowledge and understanding of their strengths and weaknesses—of those characteristics that would ensure their successful retention. Thus, several tests and methods are currently used in selection, recruitment, and (re)training—however, their liabilities have to be considered when trying to predict the candidates' efficient and effective retention. For her own research, the author has opted for a trait emotional intelligence measurement which roots in psychological science and concepts such as human cognitive abilities. Whilst abilities are competencies that can be learned, personality traits are innate—however, they can be shaped by family, education, and cultural environment, as well as developed consciously, albeit only through self-knowledge, determination, and certain abilities. Since personality development is a long process, personality traits can probably forecast a 'person–position match' more rapidly, as well as more adequately—therefore, good, forward planning should involve trait emotional intelligence measurements. Furthermore, (re)training employees should focus first on self exploration of personality traits and only second on ability development.

In the majority of Hungarian hotels, human resource management either does not exist or its role is limited to financial aspects of employment and to aspects of labour law and formal employee selection and recruitment. (There are exceptions, of course, mainly within international chains.) Staff / manager turnover is high and loyalty is debatable. As guests become increasingly aware of their needs, the hospitality industry's role must change from satisfying these needs to anticipating, sensing, and preceding such needs. The future of human resource management in hospitality lies with the selection of people who are aware of and can manage well their own feelings and those of others. Hotels in Hungary have recently realised that skilled and qualified graduates are not enough. As a founding member of the Hungarian Hotel and Restaurant Association Education Board, and as a university lecturer, the author sees the potential for developing emotionally aware students for the hospitality labour market.

Appendix on research methodology

The objective of the doctoral research at the origin of this article is fourfold. First, it investigates emotional intelligence among functional managers to facilitate its application in employee selection, in particular in the hotel industry. Second, it identifies organisational performance indicators in the hotel industry, in order to identify functional managers' individual task and contextual performance indicators. Third, it investigates the relationship between functional managers' emotional intelligence and their individual task and contextual performance in the hotel industry. Fourth, it identifies those organisational cultures that would most suit the individual functional managers in the hotel industry. This appendix examines some of the methodological issues involved, concentrating on TEIQue, the author's psychometric instrument of choice.

Reliability and validity are vital in the selection of a psychometric instrument (Crowther and Lancaster 2009). After studying the reliability and viability of various psychometric instruments, as well as the results of various research in the area, TEIQue was selected to measure the emotional intelligence of functional managers in the hotel industry. TEIQue has eight incorporations, varying from child to adult and from short to long. It measures individuals' understanding of themselves and of other people, as well as their ability to use this knowledge to achieve set goals (Petrides 2011). TEIQue 1.5 (referred to as TEIQue, from now on), the long form of the adult test, allows for the particular investigation of the relationships between inborn personality traits and the functional managers' task and contextual performance in the hotel industry. When the desired, necessary individual traits are known, incorporating TEIQue in well-developed employee selection may contribute to high, long-lasting individual performance, with further positive influences over both unit and organisational performance (Van Rooy and Viswesvaran 2004). Nevertheless, both internal environmental changes (such as, for instance, a worsening in working conditions) and external environmental changes (such as, for instance, changes due to economic turmoil) may deter employees from high performance, regardless of their 'positive' personalities. Also, insufficient challenges and the lack of future prospects would have a similar, negative effect.

Its foundation on psychological theory and the ensuing nearly ten years of programmatic research are the first and, by far, main argument in favour of using TEIQue (Petrides 2009). Cattell (1973) argued that any amateur can make up a test with accepted homogeneity, reliability, and validity, but to determine personality structures and adequate measuring scales takes years of programmatic research. Companies and consultancy groups who develop such tests without involving

relevant experts—and whose employees receive baseless feedback and undergo pointless training, as a result—can do more harm than good (Antonakis 1993). Moreover, according to researchers (for example, MacCann et al. 2004; Pérez-González, Petrides, and Furnham 2005; Waterhouse 2006; Petrides 2011), most emotional intelligence theories and tests have been (and are still being) developed without sufficient psychometric theories, conceptualisation, and interpretation of findings.

Facets	**Number of items**	**Mean**	**Standard deviation**	**Alpha**
adaptability	9	4.65	0.85	0.75
assertiveness	9	4.89	0.93	0.77
emotional expression	10	4.74	1.22	0.89
emotional management	9	4.87	0.82	0.70
emotional perception	10	4.84	0.81	0.73
emotional regulation	12	4.39	0.90	0.81
impulsiveness (low)	9	4.54	0.93	0.74
relationships	9	5.48	0.79	0.68
self-esteem	11	4.92	0.89	0.80
self-motivation	10	4.74	0.81	0.69
social awareness	11	5.01	0.89	0.82
stress management	10	4.55	0.98	0.80
empathy	9	5.12	0.77	0.70
happiness	8	5.55	1.01	0.87
optimism	8	5.26	0.97	0.81
Factors	**Number of items**	**Mean**	**Standard deviation**	**Alpha**
emotionality	4	5.05	0.71	0.78
self-control	3	4.49	0.79	0.79
sociability	3	4.92	0.75	0.82
wellbeing	3	5.24	0.83	0.83
Overall emotional intelligence	**15**	**4.90**	**0.59**	**0.90**

Source: Based on Petrides (2009: 19) by permission of the copyright owner. (© K. V. Petrides. All rights reserved.)

Table 2: Descriptive and internal consistencies for the TEIQue variables

Petrides and Furnham (2001) developed the first sampling domain of TEIQue, by applying the test to the Giant Three and Big Five domains, with solid evidence of consistency in personality terminology (Furnham 2008). The long form (153 items) of the adult test (TEIQue 1.5) started to be developed in 1998 and underwent several revisions until finalised in 2001. The short form (30 out of 153 items, methodologically selected) of the adult test (TEIQue 1.5SF) was validated in 2010. The 153 items cover 15 facets ('optimism', 'happiness', 'self-esteem', 'emotional management', 'assertiveness', 'social awareness', 'relationships', 'emotional expression', 'emotional perception', 'empathy', 'stress management', 'impulsiveness', 'emotional regulation', 'self-motivation', and 'adaptability') in the construct's sampling domain, each item belonging to one facet only (Petrides 2009). The 153 positive and negative items counterbalance one another within and among the 15 facets, as well as within and among the four factors ('wellbeing', 'self-control', 'emotionality', and 'sociability') plus one (containing two auxiliary facets, 'self motivation' and 'adaptability', which add up to the Global TEIQue scores) and within and among global traits. By 2012, TEIQue had been translated into 17 languages. Its Hungarian adaptation (Komlósi and Göndör 2011; 2013) and validation process started in 2011, on university students. The test was then applied to middle managers in production firms and as part of a tourism marketing project in Veszprém (Komlósi 2012).

TEIQue is a self-report test designed to be factor analysed at the facet level on a 7-point Likert scale, argued to be the best for maximisation of reliability, including by comparison with the 5-point alternative (Coelho and Esteves 2007). Table 2 (p. 91) summarises the descriptive and internal consistency for the TEIQue variables (where N = 1,721, of which 912 female and 764 male, with 61 unreported) (Petrides 2009). The alphas for the four factors—0.78 for 'emotionality', 0.79 for 'self-control', 0.82 for 'sociability', and 0.83 for 'wellbeing'—as well as for the 'overall emotional intelligence' (0.90) are very strong.

Regarding the conceptual / psychometric validity, the TEIQue facets emerged from the Big Five, while the factors were developed by four independent research groups, each factor containing a cluster of correlated definite traits—for example, 'extraversion' includes 'warmth', 'positive emotion', 'assertiveness', etc. (Matthews, Deary, and Whiteman 2003; Vernon et al. 2008).

According to the TEIQue factor inter-correlation matrix, emotional intelligence correlates negatively with 'neuroticism' (-25) and positively with 'extraversion' (0.33), 'conscientiousness' (0.34), and 'openness to experience' (0.24), while being interdependent of 'agreeableness' (-0.05) (Petrides 2009: 29). Concerning criterion validity, research was carried out to investigate the correlation and outcomes of different TEIQue levels (Van Rooy and Viswesvaran 2004; Petrides, Pérez-González, and Furnham 2007; Sevdalis, Petrides, and Harvey 2007; Petrides 2009). TEIQue correlates strongly with coping styles (individuals with high emotional

intelligence are more likely to use adaptive coping styles when dealing with stress (the correlation is r = 0.665)); dysfunctional attitudes and depression (high emotional intelligence is negatively associated with depression (r = -.652) and dysfunctional attitudes (r = -.465) that lead to depression); academic performance (adolescents with high emotional intelligence deal with stress well and have large social networks; social science and art students scored highest on 'emotionality', while natural science students scored highest on 'self-control'); self-monitoring and aggression (emotional intelligence is a statistically positive predictor of 'self-monitoring' and a negative predictor of 'aggregation'); and humour style (differences in emotional intelligence lead to differences in humour style). TEIQue was also proved to have high validity, especially predictive validity of job performance and organisational commitment (Van Rooy and Viswesvaran 2004; Petrides, Pérez-González, and Furnham 2007; Gardner and Qualter 2010)—it is the only test that covers the sampling domain of trait emotional intelligence comprehensively (Austin et al. 2004; Matthews, Zeidner, and Roberts 2012) and proves the culturally independent universality of personality (Freudenthaler et al. 2008). High emotional intelligence is associated with low levels of stress and high levels of perceived job control, job satisfaction, and job commitment (Petrides and Furnham 2006; Singh and Woods 2008; Platsidou 2010). Furthermore, high emotional intelligence may conduce entrepreneurial behaviour (Zampetakis, Beldekos, and Moustakis 2009); protect against burnout (Singh and Woods 2008; Platsidou 2010); and predict internal work locus of control (Johnson, Batey, and Holdsworth 2009). TEIQue is a highly versatile psychometric instrument, and may be used in recruitment and selection, team building, coaching, leadership training, measuring organisational commitment, organisational change, talent development, and appraisal, as well as in assessing and enhancing employee morale (Petrides 2011).

Compared to other emotional intelligence measurements, TEIQue is supported by coherent psychology theory (Matthews, Zeidner, and Roberts 2012). Inevitably, however, TEIQue has its fair share of limitations. TEIQue is a self-report questionnaire—unavoidably, therefore, it raises the question of bias. Given that TEIQue is not independent of social desirability, its results across different occupational sectors need to be regarded with caution and interpreted within the parameters of the given circumstances (Mikolajczak et al. 2007).

Since hotels use various performance measurements, task and contextual performance are measured on a self-assessment basis. This approach is based on previous empirical research results and literature, and was developed as part of the author's wider doctoral research. Task performance includes task requirements and co-working elements. Contextual performance includes extra effort, communication, and loyalty.

Organisational culture is measured with the Organizational Culture Assessment Instrument (OCAI), a validated research method developed by Cameron and Quinn (1999). First, managers are asked to divide 100 points among four alternative organisational cultures (clan, adhocracy, hierarchy, and market), according to their current experience of the organisation. This method measures the mix of various organisational cultures—or the extent to which one of the four alternatives dominates the current organisational culture. Second, managers are asked to divide the 100 points among the four alternatives, this time according to their preferred experience of the organisation. Managers judge these alternatives along six organisational dimensions: dominant characteristics, organisational leadership, management of employees, organisational glue, strategy, and criteria of success.

In addition to data from the Hungarian hotel industry, the doctoral research on which this article is based aims to collect data from its UK counterpart, in order to analyse eventual differences between Hungarian and UK hotel functional managers. Naturally, as the research progresses, future studies may involve cross-cultural comparative analyses, especially if the results of the doctoral research indicate significant differences between Hungary and the UK.

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ÁGNES LUBLÓY[1] AND GYULA VASTAG

Albert-László Barabási's quest for understanding influence: portrait of an introverted network(research)er

Network research in management has extended, in recent years, reaching virtually every traditional area of organisational scholarship. At macro level, network research has advanced the understanding of inter-firm relationships, strategic alliances, interlocking directorates, and network governance. At the same time, at both micro and meso levels, network research has clarified how team dynamics, knowledge transfer and exchange, social influence, and interpersonal trust shape both individual and organisational performances (Chauvet et al. 2011). Borgatti and Foster (2003) argued that the increased interest in network research is a general tendency away from an individualist, essentialist, and atomistic explanation of various research matters towards a more relational, contextual, and systemic understanding.

Chauvet et al. (2011) differentiated three distinct ways in which network concepts have entered management research. First, networks were introduced in management as a methodology (such as social network analysis, for example), serving to highlight relationships within firms, across firms, or within the organisational environment (see, for example, Kiss and Bichler 2008; Kim et al. 2011). Such research typically involved advanced quantitative methods, with a strong influence from graph theory. Second, networks were introduced in management as a theoretical concept, a new way of addressing questions, with both network ties and network structures used as explanatory concepts (see, for example, Zaheer and Soda 2009; Borgatti and Hagin 2011). Third, networks were introduced in management as a possible interpretation of organisations and as an alternative organisational logic and way of governing relationships among economic and social actors (see, for example, Lerner et al. 2011).

Its applicability in a variety of management areas is another measure of network research. Borgatti and Foster (2003) distinguished eight well-established areas in organisational network scholarship, eight major research stems: social capital, embeddedness, network organisation, board interlock, joint ventures and inter-firm alliances, knowledge management, social cognition, and group processes. Brass et al. (2004), Borgatti et al. (2009), Kilduff and Brass (2010), and Brass (2011) all reviewed organisational network research in detail.

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In their recent article, Chauvet et al. (2011) provided evidence that network research had translated into practical implications for decision making and managerial action. The authors listed five areas where network research had introduced new angles of answering research questions and had renewed understanding of how organisations may tackle management issues: knowledge circulation and creation, governance, individual careers, entrepreneurial ventures, and team composition and management.

In addition, network analysis has also made its way into several branches of management: operations management, strategic management, marketing management, financial management, human resource management, and information technology management. In the field of operations management, for example, supply chain network analysis is a popular supply chain service offered by many consultancy firms. Among marketers, viral marketing is a popular approach—it encompasses all the techniques that build upon the social relations of customers to increase brand or product awareness by a viral diffusion process, analogous to the spread of epidemics or computer viruses (Kirby 2006). For the financial divisions of the telecommunication and banking industries, churn management is a fundamental concern for boosting profit. For human resource managers, network theory is useful in better exploiting the knowledge and capabilities distributed across the members of an organisation. Identification of influencers or key opinion leaders—a crucial approach in change management—is also gaining importance for pharmaceutical and medical companies and the social media alike.

Theoretical physicist Albert-László Barabási is central to developments in network science and the statistical physics of complex systems. The impact of his research outgrew physics and went on to influence biology, medicine, social sciences, and others, and his scale-free model developed in 1999 withstands the passage of time. The Barabási-Albert model explains the widespread emergence of scale-free networks in natural, technological, and social systems—cellular telephony, the Internet, and online communities are just a handful of examples. The Institute of Science Index (ISI) selected his 1999 ‘Emergence of Scaling in Random Networks’ (Barabási and Albert 1999) as one of the ten most cited articles in physical sciences. In addition, Harzing’s (2007) *Publish or Perish* showed almost 70 thousand citations to László’s 325 articles, with a staggering h-index of 74.

László is Distinguished University Professor at Northeastern University, where he directs the Center for Complex Network Research. He holds appointments in the Departments of Physics, Computer Science, and Biology, Northeastern University, as well as in the Department of Medicine, Harvard Medical School, and at Brigham and Women Hospital. In addition, László is a member of the Center for Cancer Systems Biology at Dana Farber Cancer Institute. An ethnic Hungarian born in Transylvania, Romania, László was awarded his Masters in Theoretical Physics at Eötvös University in Budapest, Hungary, and his PhD at Boston University, three years later. After a year at the IBM T.J. Watson Research Center, he joined the University of Notre Dame as an Assistant Professor, and was promoted to the Professor and Emil T. Hofman Chair, in 2001. His latest book, *Bursts: The Hidden Pattern Behind Everything We Do* (2010), was translated in four languages, and one of his previous books, *Linked: The New Science of Networks* (2002), was translated in 11 languages. László is also co-author of *Fractal Concepts in Surface Growth* (1995) and co-editor of *The Structure and Dynamics of Networks* (2006).

His work has been widely featured in the media, including on the covers of *Nature*, *Science News*, and many other journals, and inside the covers of *American Scientist*, *Business Week*, *Die Zeit*, *Discover*, *El Pais*, *La Republica*, *Le Monde*, *London's Daily Telegraph*, *National Geographic*, *New Scientist*, *New York Times*, *Science*, *Science News*, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, *USA Today*, and *Washington Post*, among others. He has been interviewed by ABC News, BBC Radio, CBS News, CNN, National Public Radio, NBC, and many other media outlets.

The following interview contributes to the dialogue among researchers from across the physical and social sciences who share a common interest in understanding the antecedents and consequences of network phenomena. It took place on 15 November 2012 at the Central European University.

AL&GV: From Internet and computer networks to social and biological networks, your research covers a wide spectrum. What do these systems share in common?

A-LB: *All these systems can—and should—be viewed as sets of nodes connected by links. Computers connected by physical cables or genes connected by protein–protein interactions or other metabolic reactions are all networks. Understanding their properties implies understanding their architectures—their networks—first, and is the focus of numerous research papers. The Internet and computer networks and the social and biological networks are the most prominent examples my colleagues and I have studied to date.*

AL&GV: What are your favourite networks?

A-LB: *All networks are worth studying, but a researcher's favourites are influenced by access to data, as well as by personal affinity. At the moment, my colleagues and I focus on three different classes of systems: biological networks, social networks, and online and informational networks. In biological networks, we try to understand how genes connect with one another within cells, as well as the role of this network in human diseases. In social networks, we study people talking to one another: how they talk, who talks to whom, and how you can describe these aspects formally. In many aspects, online and informational networks often overlap with the social networks. Why do we focus on these particular networks? Well, partly because the majority of my group of researchers is based in Boston, where both the Harvard Medical School (HMS) and Northeastern University are located. Our research in biological networks benefits from the expertise of our medical colleagues at HMS, while Northeastern University colleagues working with social networks contribute their expertise in the area of social and online networks.*

AL&GV: What aspect of your research has impacted the scientific community most? Does it surprise you?

A-LB: *Our article 'Emergence of Scaling in Random Networks'[2] has had the highest statistical impact, and it does not surprise me. It introduced the model describing scale-free networks and explained the mechanism behind it—by providing a fundamental basis, many different fields were then able to apply our findings to a wide range of networks. On a personal note, however, I am particularly excited about our work on diseases—'The Human Disease Network'[3] was published in 2007, in the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences. Despite being relatively recent, the article is very well cited—our tenth most cited article, in fact. I am a strong believer in the future of the network approach to understanding and controlling diseases.*

AL&GV: What area of network theory will most impact our everyday lives?

A-LB: *Well, it is really hard to answer this question—our interests change, our lifestyles change, and what we call 'our-everyday-lives' changes too. The best way to answer your question is by focusing on the future. What happens next? What is likely to happen in future? Facebook, Google, and other online social networks have a high impact on many people's lives—they enable us to study them. Network scientists have already contributed to online social networks—network theory tools and ideas are already incorporated into these systems, for example in Facebook algorithms. Medicine too, I expect, will experience changes in the near future, very similar to those experienced by social networks. Who knows, perhaps in as little as only ten or 20 years from now,*

[2] Barabási and Albert (1999).

[3] Goh et al. (2007).

research into biological networks will result in individually designed net-drugs. In my view, once they will emerge, individually designed drugs will have a huge impact on our everyday lives, and we are already moving in that direction. Further down the line, viewing the economy as a network will fundamentally change our ways of observing and predicting economic processes. However, such a fundamental change requires network data that is currently unavailable and that would require businesses to release it. Finally, the human brain is the most complex network we are aware of—that we still do not have a neuron-level map for the brain, although we know the brain is a network of neurons, is pretty puzzling. Our understanding of the function of the brain—and of consciousness—will change, as soon as we construct this map, over the next 20–30 years, I think.

AL&GV: Speaking of medicine, how close did you and your colleagues get to understanding the genetic basis of human cancer?

A-LB: *We study diseases in general—and specific conditions such as asthma, COPD*[4]*, and various heart diseases in particular—but we do not focus on cancer per se. However, a network understanding of particular diseases facilitates a network understanding of disease in general—whether cancer or asthma or any skin disease, diseases cannot be truly understood outside this perspective. The best way to cure disease is by repairing the broken component—typically a gene—which affects the entire cellular network. Treating the broken component implies treating the network as a whole. The majority of current problems in medicine are fundamentally network problems—some drugs treat the disease, but with intolerable side effects somewhere else in the body, and other drugs are still to be figured out. However, major steps have been taken in this direction, not least through recognition by the medical community that networks are essential for their research—at HMS, for example, I am involved in starting a new Network Medicine Division. This is the only way forward, in my opinion, if we wish to capitalise on the genome project. The genome project gave us the components—we now need the interactions to understand how the cell works.*

AL&GV: What area of your research has had the highest impact in business?

A-LB: *I think it is not as much my research as that of the network research community that has had a high impact in certain business areas. One such high-impact area is understanding influence: how business practices spread from certain individuals to other individuals, to sellers, marketers, and so on. The availability of very detailed purchasing and social networking data—and of related personal information—contributes enormously to understanding influence. We already see signs that understanding influence will be a transformative achievement. Another such high-impact area—in business practice, if not necessarily in business research—is diagnosing companies: mapping out their*

[4] Chronic obstructive pulmonary disease.

social networks, finding out their effective influences, understanding their chief executive officers' (CEOs) *decision making mechanisms, and knowing whom their CEOs should approach to take the company to the next level. Maven7, a Hungarian company, is a market leader in this area, having successfully diagnosed hundreds of national and international companies. Such dashboards of the inner workings of organisations will inevitably lead to changes in organisational cultures—including in the ways organisations are run.*

AL&GV: The churn models in the telecommunication industry are a good example for understanding influence. Also, General Motors applied network theory to problems with quality—they compared the product network as depicted in engineering change orders to the collaboration network of design engineers in various departments to determine a coordination deficit that explained about 20 per cent of the quality problems.

A-LB: *Our environments (very homogenous, usually) determine the decisions we make and the actions we take. We do not (and, possibly, we cannot) listen to everybody—we only listen to some. Thus, understanding how influence spreads within organisations is particularly important for large organisations.*

AL&GV: However, most organisations are not notorious for their openness.

A-LB: *Network science tools allow us to gauge information, where individuals are unwilling to provide it. Ideally, of course, information is collective. In reality, however, some members of any organisation will be more open than others to release information as to whom they talk to about organisational matters. The real hubs, the real influencers will emerge from the analysis anyway—other people will point them out. Identifying key individuals in organisations is very much an error-free analysis. At the same time, determining peripheral individuals may be highly inaccurate—this, however, would not influence the description of the organisation.*

AL&GV: Were you able to predict accurately the future applications of network theory at the beginning of your career?

A-LB: *Oh, there were lots of things I was unable to predict at the beginning of my career—scientists' imagination is somewhat limited. I could have never predicted, for example, that, one day, businesses would find our work useful. I would have never thought, to take another example, that, one day, there would be a Facebook that uses our tools. (Other, rather funny applications of our findings explore the relationships among Marvel Comics characters.) I myself got recently involved in a paper I would have never dreamed possible at the beginning of my career on the relationships among the chemical ingredients of food. We try to understand what we like and dislike about food and why the taste of certain foods remains unchanged over time. Fundamentally, after all, chefs face a network problem: how to combine ingredients and what ingredients taste well with others. It is truly amazing, the variety of network science applications, and I always ask*

my students to pick a network and analyse it—their choices are as diverse as illegal downloads from the Internet, bicycle sharing in a city, and the relationships among the grape varieties mixed in Hungarian wines.

AL&GV: What is the idea behind your new, interactively written network science book? What does interactivity add to this book?

A-LB: *This is a fascinating project and the interactivity issue is just one of its many aspects. Let me explain it briefly. I have dreamed of writing such a network science book for ages. When I finally got my act together, I realised that I cannot write it the way I wrote my previous books—it may take two or three years to finish, and I am too busy to sit down and write it from the beginning to the end. As a result, I decided to release the book on the Internet, chapter by chapter, and making the book interactive on the iPad is only one aspect of this project. I work with a team of designers who enhance the graphics, and every chapter is released as soon as it is ready—three chapters are thus already available on the Internet. Moreover, we are piloting its translation form English to Hungarian in a most unusual way—we have recruited a team of volunteer translators. Hungary was not chosen at random for this pilot—since Hungarian is my mother tongue, I can judge the quality of the translation. Based on this pilot, we may offer the whole world the opportunity to translate this book—a local scientist, student, or indeed anybody else who wants to translate this book will have access to the source file and will receive the software enabling them to add a translation to the crowdsource version.*

AL&GV: In June 2013, you will be plenary speaker at the Fourth Annual Conference of the European Decision Sciences Institute in Budapest, Hungary. How does network research contribute to the decision sciences?

A-LB: *Network science and decision making sciences are very closely linked. We live in a world where everything from business to government is characterised by network governance—or network decision making—and does not rely on any one individual decision maker. To take a decision involves considering many different factors and requires inputs from many different constituents. Therefore, network thinking will have to pervade management research, including decision making research. How this diffusion will actually happen in practice remains to be seen, but, on my part, I hope this plenary speech will contribute to connecting the two.*

AL&GV: Have networks influenced your everyday life?

A-LB: *Similarly to most scientists, I am fundamentally an introvert. Network science has taught me the importance of relationships. I have become much more conscious about being part of a community, about reaching out to others. Network science has not killed my introvert nature—after all, you cannot really change your personality—but it has added a layer of almost professional*

link building ability, as well as the willingness to use this ability not only for my own interest, but also for the interest of the community.

AL&GV: Is the notion of an introverted network scientist not a paradox—a contradiction in terms, as it were?

A-LB: *Well, the major decisions in my life were network-related too. For more than a decade, for example, I was at the University of Notre Dame, and I really loved my life there. (I still love it, every time I am back there, and my heart sill aches, when I am not there.) Nevertheless, I moved to Boston, because I meet with more individuals relevant to my research there, and I have more collaboration opportunities, than I would at Notre Dame. No matter how hard I would have tried, I could have not had access to such hubs at Notre Dame.*

AL&GV: What is the future of network research?

A-LB: *Network research has never been only about understanding networks per se, but about understanding complex systems—the search for a theory of complex systems is a huge challenge for the scientific community. In the last ten years or so we learned that complex systems—be they social, economic, communication, or biological—rely on very complicated networks. Therefore, to understand complex systems we first need to understand their underlying networks. Eventually, we cannot avoid looking at systems in all their dynamic complexity, including network processes and the interaction between network typology and process dynamics. In network research, the future is a theory of complex systems, a theory of network dynamics—an explanation of how the networks support various interactions, various processes that enable cells to live, economies to flourish, and societies to succeed.*

AL&GV: You started your career in one particular field, theoretical physics—in the intervening years, at least to some extent, you moved away from it, to focus on a very promising methodology that would provide new insights in many other fields. Do you see yourself as a methodologist? Do you suffer from a split professional personality?

A-LB: *I have never seen myself as a methodologist. What really excites me is the discovery of laws and fundamental principles of complex systems. To make a discovery, we often have to develop methodologies, and yes, it is true, most often than not, the different areas that rely on network science use the methodology rather than the fundamental discovery itself. Let me give you an example—to launch rockets into space we need Newton's Law. From the point of view of the rocket launchers, Newton was a methodologist—from my point of view, Newton was a discoverer of laws of physics, not a methodologist. Therefore, more often than not, network scientists like my colleagues and me focus on the discovery rather than the methodology. However, even discovery enthusiasts like me have to admit that discoveries enable rocket launching only if we translate the laws into*

methodologies—an essential step that we ourselves often take, but that has never been our primary motivation.

AL&GV: Finally, a rather personal question. You have lived significant lengths of time in at least three different countries—where is 'home'?

A-LB: *Having been born in Transylvania and having established a second home in Budapest and a third home in Boston, I obviously care a lot about this issue. (Incidentally, I spend about four months a year in Budapest, primarily to immerse both me and my children in the surrounding Hungarian environment.) I think of myself as having three different homes: my sentimental home is obviously Transylvania, where I come from; my cultural home is Budapest; and, of course, my professional home is Boston.*

AL&GV: Thank you so much for the interview.

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Gyula co-authored two books, wrote eight business cases, and contributed chapters to 15 books. He published over thirty peer-reviewed journal articles, in the US and Europe, and numerous papers in conference proceedings. The h-index of his publications in Harzing's *Publish or Perish* (based on over 1,000 citations) is 15 (as of 14 October 2012). His work on the competitiveness of metropolitan areas has generated interest outside academic circles, and his cases on Sonoco's take-back policy were selected by CaseNet® as two of the six e-link cases for the seventh edition of Meiners, Ringleb, and Edwards' widely used *Legal Environment of Business*.

Gyula has cooperated and consulted with a large number of organisations, including the Aluminum Company of America (Alcoa), the Carlson School of Management at the University of Minnesota, the Global TransPark Authority of North Carolina, the US Federal Aviation Administration, and the North Carolina State University, in the US; the International Institute of Applied Systems Analysis, in Austria; ESSEC-Mannheim Business School, in Germany; Knorr-Bremse Hungary and the OTP Bank, in Hungary; and the International Institute for Management Development (IMD) and the University of St. Gallen, in Switzerland.

Gyula is Founding Member of the Executive Board of the European Decision Sciences Institute (EDSI) and the European Regionally Elected Vice-President (2010–2014) of DSI, where he is also Member of the Development Committee for Excellence in the Decision Sciences and Chair of the Member Services Committee (2011–2012). He is Founding Member of the Global Manufacturing Research Group, where he also served as Associate Director. In addition, Gyula served on the Executive Committee of the International Society for Inventory Research in 1998 and 2006, and he is currently Member of its Auditing Committee.

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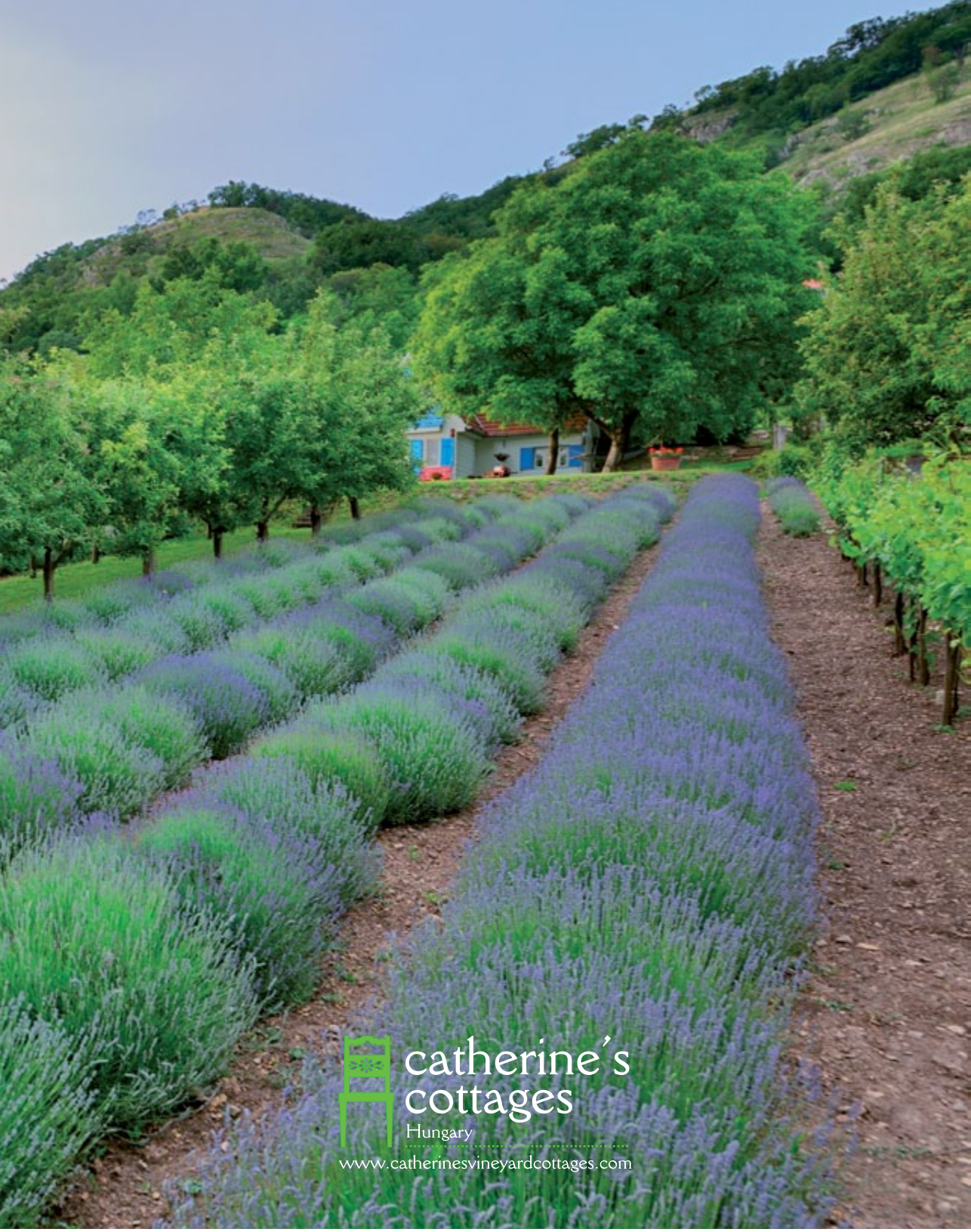
Without further ado, therefore, see you in Hungary in the summer!

Gyula Vastag

Prof. Gyula Vastag
Conference Chair, University of Pannonia



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