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Monetary rewards in a tourism organization: A study-case based on an auto-ethnography

Recompensas monetarias en una organización de turismo: Un caso de estudio basado en una autoetnografía¹

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Abstract

Over years, management and marketing has been influential and useful to organize the working condition in modern corporations in tourism fields. The classical literature suggests that motivated workers enhance their commitment respecting to the goal of corporation. In this process, the assistance of managers is vital to achieve the success. In doing so, the program of incentive (monetary awards) gives to workers a reason to internalize management decisions. This not only is not truth but also, we have found in this case-study opposite evidence. The capital somehow, disorganizes the human relations and harmony in service organizations. Of course, outcomes of this review should not be extrapolated to other unit of analysis; this is valid only for this organization.

Key Words: Psychological motivation, Monetary Awards, Conflict, Trust

Resumen

A lo largo de los años, la gestión y el marketing han sido influyentes y útiles para organizar las condiciones de trabajo en las corporaciones modernas en los campos turísticos. La literatura clásica sugiere que los trabajadores motivados mejoran su compromiso con respecto al objetivo de la corporación. En este proceso, la asistencia de los gerentes es vital para lograr el éxito. Al hacerlo, el programa de incentivos (premios monetarios) da a los trabajadores una razón para internalizar las decisiones de gestión. Esto no solo no es verdad, sino que también hemos encontrado en este estudio de caso evidencia opuesta. El capital de alguna manera desorganiza las relaciones humanas y la armonía en las organizaciones de servicio. Por supuesto, los resultados de esta revisión no deben extrapolarse a otra unidad de análisis; esto es válido solo para esta organización.

Palabras clave: motivación psicológica, premios monetarios, conflicto, confianza

Introduction

The specialized literature stresses the needs of implementing efficient methods to motivate workers and desk-staff. In the industry of tourism and other services where experiences are sold and exchanged, the customer attention occupies a central position to gain loyalties. The tourist organizations devote considerable efforts and resources to keep their staff motivated to cement the customer's relations. Because of this, the present chapter explores the negative effects of monetary rewards in these types of organizations. Needless to say, the research results from a much broader project of investigation concerning the negative effects of a monetary incentive program in one of the most well-known rent a car company in Buenos Aires and Argentina. The main selected methodology of this research was ethnography. The reason behinds this lies in the fact that motivation is a complex and dense theme which needs further qualitative explorations. Because of confidential claims, the real names of participants and interviewees were covered or changed to protect their identities. Added value is a significant aspect of psychological motivation widely followed and recommended by marketing experts and consultants. Corporations often adopt monetary rewards to incentives their personnel but in so doing, they trigger a climate of extreme competition, greed and fear which directly or not affects the organization. The implementation of monetary rewards has some limitations which are discussed in the present text. The history of management reveals that the relationships between workers and capital owners were determined by the conditions of production, which vary from time to time. Originally, the policies to foster production were based on paternalist viewpoints, but in the time the concept sets the pace to more concrete philosophies oriented to measure the staff performance. It is safe to say that as a concept, resource management was originally imagined as a need –if not an urgency- of organizing the workers' relationship in a more efficient way. As experts suggested, these new rationalizations lead to more prosper and stable organizations. When the conflict is regulated or constrained, the organization expands its potential to other fields. For this reason, and whatsoever, the labor policies were implemented by top-ranked managers taking seriously the contribution of psychology and sociology amounted during the 70s decade (Davis 2006). This begs a more than interesting point of entry for this essay review, is postmodernity effacing the classical notion of authority, by which conflict arises?

Preliminary Discussion: what method?

Let's explain readers first that ethnography-related research was conducted during the years of 2004-2008 in a well-known Argentinean rent-a-car company. In this opportunity, we succeeded in collating substantial and firm evidence which helps us understanding the complexity of workers' relations. In view of the fact that many interviewees manifested their worries or fears their supervisors penalize them, the role of observer kept occulted. Based on a snowball method, the interviews were conducted to several workers to gain a rapid snapshot, tape-recorded and verbatim transcribed. To date, the literature adopted by experts associated to the psychological motivation as a

key factor that explains how a good (memorable) experience is mutually constructed. There are financial resources –in the fields of management- deployed to understand the customer’s experience. The thesis of these studies holds that sustainable tourist companies are successfully expanded when the *internal client* is preserved. Workers are more active, creative and or find better ways of dealing with problems when they are motivated or have a sentiment of belonging. Thus, for these voices, motivation plays a significant role facilitating the necessary background towards a climate of cooperation and stability (Zamora Gonzalez et al, 2004; Arkursus and Tarkan, 2002; Lindroth, 2008; Zehrer et al, 2008). In addition, others studies have drawn their attention to the importance of incentive-programs to improve the satisfaction of workers and their connection with consumers (Dominguez, Richert and Castro, 2006; Charles and Marshall, 1992; Hall, 1995; Rodriguez and San Martin, 2008; Mckercher and Lau, 2007; Um, Chon and Ro, 2006; Fuller, Matzler and Faullant, 2006; Ball, 1988; Brymer, 1991; Bigne and Andreu, 2004; Szivas, Riley and Airey, 2003; Muller and Wyss, 2007; Moller et al, 2007; Alonso Ferreras, 2002; Lillo Bañuls et al, 2007). Although the number of publications on workers’ motivation abounds, less attention was paid to the negative effects of rewards in tourism organizations. This is the reason; research of this caliber deserves our time and efforts.

Centered on empirical-rich research based on the usage of Culture Assimilator Technique in the cross-cultural interaction between Australian airline’s employees and Japanese tourists, Bochner & Coulong evince how complainers not only had a bad experience but followed cultural maps that lead them to claim something in the services was wrong. We claim when our expectancies are not met. In consequence, when we move in unfamiliar situations, we behave according to our cultural background (software). These researchers found that Japanese tourists opted not to complain before returning to home. What is more important, sometimes a complaint may not overtly be expressed at the desk by the consumer because it is considered a lack of respect or inappropriate. In this, way, the familiarity with the visited destinations serves very well in resolving previous disputes or problems. Those tourists who have repeated the destination claim less than others who visit the destination by the first time (Bochner & Coulong, 1997). The recent advances of social psychology, -in multicultural organizations- shows how interpersonal relations are harmed or boosted according the cultural background as well as how rapid conflicts are minimized. (Hofstede, 1991). To wit, Earley (1989) compared the performance of Chinese and American managers on a in-basket simulation of work to find that there were clear evidences of social loafing among US managers whilst Chinese worked harder even though in loneness. Similarly, as Yamagishi (1988) acknowledged, American managers were inclined to choose for individual rewards whenever the penalties that compound the incentive system are low, but not when they were high. Generally, Japanesses often inclined to be satisfied for individual rewards no matter than the level of penalties. Recent advances reflected that competitiveness -among firms- pressed workers to be trained in a high-quality system of education where efficiency and efficacy prevail. A. Lillo Bañuls et al (2007) show how behind the quest of excellence lies a climate where the organization needs to compete –

in egalitarian conditions- with other firms at a liberal decentralized market. The volatile nature of the tourist system, adjoined to the high-mobilities in the tourist organizations without mentioning the increasing numbers of destinations and brands, paved the ways to new forms of training and motivation. The psychological motivation seems to be the tug of war of organizational consultants to explain why or under what conditions the firms fail in the goal achievements. Alexandru Nedelea calls attention to the importance of marketing and managerial disciplines as a toolbox to delineate the necessary policies for destinations enhance their attractiveness. As discussed, the volatile nature of tourism and its intangibility reproduces flexible cultures which are mainly adapted to resolve customers' issues. In the basis of this competence, destinations recycle themselves while overcoming the obstacles often they face as well as invigorate their skills and potential in struggling with other firms. For the customer's loyalty to be recaptured, companies launch different commercial promotions and programs generating a Darwinist backdrop of all against all. (Nedelea, 2010). This raises a more than an interesting question, what is the role of ethics in business?

To respond to this question, we need to come to British philosopher G. Klemptner (2004), who toyed with the belief that ethics, business and marketing should not be dissociated. This chapter –as well as this book- intends to deal with ethical issues and the problems of competition in the tourism industry. Of course, it is noteworthy West faces a serious stock market crisis which whipped the main economies since 2008. This reality says much than we are accustomed to accepting. Having said this, the international financial order rests on shaky foundations while tourism goes through countless risks and threats. Is competition the symbolic core of capitalism? how can competition be regulated to avoid a climate of mistrust in the tourist organization?

Capitalism and the atmosphere of competition

The inevitable and sudden decline of Communism had serious effects for local economies even to date. Based on a limited control over business by states, investors have selected peripheral countries with lower costs to enhance their profits. Undoubtedly, this resulted in a search for maximizing benefits searches which ushered workers to a climate of precaritization as never before. The process of globalization triggered a climate of extreme competition for workers as well as the rise of anxieties and conflicts in the organizations (Gottdiener, 1994).

In the *Manufacturing Consent*, Michael Burawoy (1979) explores the roots of capitalist mind as well as the ideological discourses that produce the monopoly of knowledge. In some respect, the sociology of work has serious problems to understand the role of conflict in the process of production. Defining the “organization-factory” as a harmonic body, the founding parents of sociology considered the conflict only as a social malady, at the best an error, or a disruption which should be remedied. Starting from the premise that the organization needs from the technocracy to control its performance, as Burawoy adds, organizational consultants believe that conflict –far from optimizing the resources- is disruptive and should be avoided. Contrariwise, Burawoy argues eloquently that

conflict –far from being negative- seems to be endemic, as a part of the system of production, but inscribed in capitalism since its inception. Over the years, Burawoy reminds, sociology –through the lens of structuralism and functionalism, embraced a managerial perspective while Marxism was overlooked or simply contested. These theories punctuated on the negative figure of conflict for social enhancement but also judged badly the nature of consent. As Burawoy says, there is no consent without conflict and vice-versa.

“Conflict and consent are neither latent nor underlying but refer to directly observable activities that must be grasped in terms of the organization of the labor process under capitalism. Conflict and consent are not primordial conditions but products of the organization of the work” (1979: p. 12).

This above-noted citation reveals two significant things. On one hand, the sociological literature had minimum efforts in explaining –but merely describing- the workers’ behaviour as well as their innermost feelings. In this way, conflict receives a pejorative connotation as a cultural illness to be eradicated from the core of the private organization. On another, the surplus theory and the expropriation of the capitalist system remain untouched or covered by an ideological veil. Put the problem in these terms, the history of capitalist production reveals that the production of goods not only is finely-ingrained in a dense network which often remains inexpugnable even for the trained sociologist but also creating tailored experiences so that the capital can be reproduced.

Why does Capital lead to conflict?

In practical terms, capitalism has been widely criticized by the limitations in the accumulative process, without mentioning the material asymmetries created by the system. As Geoffrey Skoll puts it, the figure of capital seems to be a symbolic mediator of human relationship in the same way, the Id in the Freudian theory. What is important to discuss, is why capital mediates between production and workers. The problem of reproduction, and probably it is the main Skoll’s thesis, seems to be based on a philosophical dialectics where the relation between causes and effects is blurred. From its earlier texts, Marx interrogated furtherly on how the society keeps united. He traces back on the social origin of human relations and its intersection with the economic system. Over years, sociology prompted to respond to the same dilemmas but overlooked the material connection of economy and history, as Skoll adheres. In the Marxian texts, the figure of the city occupied a prominent position as the main recipient of human relations. Metropolis condenses capital accumulation and the necessary manpower to keep the machine functioning. The capital exhibits a dialectical relation between the worker and the machines disposed to amass the surplus. In this respect, Skoll mentions the *“dialectics of triadic thought”* to denote the juxtaposition of two complementing modes of thinking. Originally, social sciences demarcated the borders of capitalism assuming that the exploitation of the workforce was irreversible and an inevitable stage of economic production. The agency, which is oppressed by the system,

earns a wage for its work, but behind this economic relation lies a cheat. The theory of surplus-value says overtly that the worker is stolen of the produced profit in favor of the capital-owners. Having said this, dialectics consists in introducing a third object (capital) that mediates between the other two objects, but in so doing, the relations between the three objects are obscured. Far from being the subject, subjectivity becomes an “object” to be placed under the lens of expert scrutiny. The laypeople are educated to understand them-Selves, through the mediation of the analyst. This type of analytic process consists of getting away the mythical autonomy of the agency to achieve a view of other much deeper forces. At a closer look, history plays a similar role than dialectics. Although one of the merits of Karl Marx was his contributions to the philosophical fields, above all the dialectics of agent and production, he was exploring the economy of capitalism. The crux for this society lies in the production as well as the reproduction of what is produced. This creates a dialectic image of two objects, the original and its copycat. The dialectics in the Marxian tradition, it is safe to say, postulates that capital takes the form of commodities, while shaping the productive relations. The reification of capital consists in absorbing any individual worker’s essence, into the sublimated form of their labor, the commodity. The ontology of capital adheres not only to the subordination of workforce, but also a clear sign of victimization, where the worker lost their rights to claim good portions of surplus. The system of wage, Skoll adds, alienates the possibilities of workers to keep the control of consuming machine.

In consonance with this, Richard Hofstadter (1992) contended that the quest for profits, as well as the needs of competing with others for a job in the labor market, is not news in the US. Such a tradition stems from the doctrine of social Darwinism in earlier authors as Asa Gray, Graham Sumner and of course Herbert Spencer –only to name a few. This theory introduced two significant axioms which reconfirmed the long-dormant sentiment of exceptionalism in American society. On one hand, the theory marked the idea of the survival of the fittest, as a precondition towards evolution. On another, social determinism evinced the urgency to explain the material inequalities in the US. After all, Darwinism shed light on the conceptual limitations of classical liberalism. As he observes, the legitimacy of the law and order was not sufficient to explain why some Americans were richer and others remained in extreme poverty. As a supra-organism, the *social structure* interrogates on the hegemony of the law, presenting the individual performance as a sign of self-improvement. The struggle for survival was the mainstream cultural value that marked the American character from the outset. Drawing an ideological map between the wild man and the civilized one, the fathers of social Darwinism sees in wealth and social mobilities the marks of the racial superiority only West has respecting other cultures. Thus, “primitive man, who long ago withdrew from the competitive struggle and ceased to accumulate capital goods, must pay with a backward and unenlightened way of life” (p 58). Millionaires have not resulted from the greed or avarice but the evolution of natural selection. They have been selected by their strengths, tested in their success in business, and abilities to achieve adaptation to the environment. Rather, others have been relegated to occupy pour

conditions of existence or to disappear. Because of social Darwinism was a doctrine originally adopted by some religious waves, not only Sumner but Gray alarmed on the negative effects of leaving the poor without assistance. At a closer look, Calvinist and other protestant circles emphasized on the hostility of the environment as a proof of faith. This belief suggests that man evolves in a conflictive and dangerous world. Secondly, the archetype of the uphill city which holds the selected people exerted considerable influence to delineate the roots of labor. Being a successful businessman for Americans, was more than important to ensure one is part of selected by God. At a surface, this is not pretty different in what social Darwinism claims (Hofstadter, 1992).

In this token, Zygmunt Bauman illuminates us discussing the problems of capitalism in two of his seminal books, *Consuming life* and *Liquid Fear*. In the early industrialization age, workers were part of the production machinery. They worked surely for many hours and were paid starvation wages. The capitalist spirit not only changed the workers' minds but also the ideological narratives revolving around the ways consumption and production are finally organized. Today's labor market, workers are commoditized to be exchanged by other commodities. We do not work to live, rather we work to consume. This point opens the doors to what Bauman calls *liquid modernity*. The big brother is an example of how people enter incompetence, as commodities, to be selected and bought by others. Participants in this reality show know that only one will win, and the rest will die. Big Brother, for Bauman, emulates the life in capitalist societies which enhance the style of life of few by producing pauperization for the whole. The modern state set the pace to the advent of liberal market to monopolize the sense of security for people. This does not mean that states are unable to keep the security, but also the market is re-channelling the consumption by the imposition of fear. If human disasters as Katrina show the pervasive nature of capitalism which abandoned thousand of poor citizens to death, no less true is that the "show of disaster" unbinds of responsibilities for the event. The sense of catastrophe, like death, serves to cover the inhuman nature of capitalism (Bauman, 2007; 2008). This society only has an answer to the crisis, when its economic system is at risk. Since the real reason for disaster are ignored by the allegory of death, which persisted in the media and famous TV series where technicians and forensic experts look to solve the crime, the disaster comes sooner or later (Bauman, 2011).

Last but not least, the logic of capitalism rests on the needs of alternating cycles of production and destruction. This creative destruction denotes the needs of transforming the reality, the social institutions and the environment according to the needs of capital-owners. The organizational and institutional goals, which historically marked the life of an organization, have been replaced by a solipsist discourse where reality is tailored to what any consumer wishes (Korstanje 2012). In a world where reality can exist only in the individual perception of people, the inner world remains impermeable to the external events. This means that we only see what we want to see. Paradoxically, we live in a safer world –comparing the Middle Age- but needs further rituals –which are stimulated by mass consumption- to recover the sense of security.

The psychological character of Managers

Unlike the classical sociology, some scholars as Miklas Luhmann and Anthony Giddens focused their attention on the figure of money in our modern style of life. Luhmann clarifies that money serves as a symbolic mediator (among many other else as power and beauty) for the self to reduce the uncertainty and the society may function (Luhmann, 1979). In a similarly minded argument, Anthony Giddens (1991) explains money is very important for the capitalist society. As a cultural project, the globalization has been consolidated allowing the evolution of what Giddens dubs as “disembedding processes”. In this new world, money, risk and the net of expertise return to lay-people the trust in their institutions (Giddens, 1991). A more than a pungent book, in this discussion, sheds light on the passage from family to corporate capitalism. Michael Useem (1984), in *the inner Circle*, points to the problems to understand if nations are governed by a powerful business-elite class or by an atomized cell of corporations which only exerts pressure over governments. This debate is far from being closed. The psychological portraits of American and British managers vary on by many factors. While Americans are oriented to profit-generations and private welfare, the British are less prone to productivity issues. However, over the years, sociologists portrayed a benefactor character of managers. Unlike the “predatory” capital owners, managers are workers who want the best for the company. They not only care for the good function of the company but also are motivated by non-profit concerns. The merit why Useem needs recognition rests on the criticism of this belief.

Managers, in the US and UK, evidenced not only rapacious greed for money but also attempted to intervene to generate public policies that protect their business and concerns. As Useem added, family capitalism was more integrated into the community using a type of scale production. Now, things are more scattered, units are more atomized, but large corporations govern the world from one to another point of the Ocean. Many managers have tempted to buy shares of the company which became in owners while others have pursued their self-interests to have the opportunity to make their businesses (Useem, 1984). They are no longer concerned by the workforce motivation nor by the performance of the company unless by their wealth enhancement. Unfortunately, this was not investigated in tourism fields. Our research in this vein intends to fulfil a gap to complement the specialized literature on motivational issues.

One of the founding fathers of organizational psychology, Harry Levinson (1976), contends that leadership is vital to achieving a good performance in the lines of production. The decision making the process as it is made by top-management molds the destiny of workforce. The leadership marks the start for the total authority of executives over workers. The introductory chapters channel precisely the problem of greed. Those people less educated, Levinson adds, seem not to be interested in accumulating money than other groups. The efficacy of a good leader (executive) is the stimulation of non-monetary rewards. Its primary goal depends on the possibility to contribute to common wellbeing. In doing so, psychology and psychoanalysis allows not only the understanding of worker’s mind indoors but opening the horizons to

captivate new segments of consumers. By tracing analogies between the family and the line of production, Levinson considers that rules are crucial aspects of life to order the world and lead the organization to stimulation. This archetype confers to workers the security of being protected by executives, as fathers care their children.

“The *superego* incorporates the moral and spiritual value of culture in which a person lives, the rules and regulation within the family, and the attitudes toward himself which the person has acquired from those around him. Thus the superego is at a policeman, a judge, and a preceptor. The superego represents the law, telling us what we should or should not do. It represents the judiciary, in judging how well we conform to the rules which it has set up, and it represents the preceptor, incorporating values and aspirations and goals” (1976: p. 11).

Per his view, chiefs and subordinates celebrate a psychological contract that draws the expectations and behaviors in the organization. Management should understand how this psychological contract is formed. Other studies emphasize on the relevance to recruit the correct personnel, high skilled or qualified to make great achievements for the company. At some extent, these scholars argue that the workers are committed if they can reap rewards for their efforts. This enhances not only the self-esteem but the concept of security of self. (Rogelberg & Books-laber, 2002; Miner, 1992). What is more than important to examine is the role played by leaders to forge the labor-related climate. Managers are crucial to organize the worker’s duties as well as resolving all conflicts resulting from human interactions. In doing so, they should appeal to create a fluid communication, which may align the workforce to managerial goals (Daft, 2011). However, no less true is that conflicts sometimes have benefits and disadvantages to the chain of production and job-satisfaction levels. Undoubtedly, there is a gap between conflict management and social network literature, which was not yet fulfilled. One of the first methodological problems to study conflict is how it can be measured. What one person may perceive as conflictive atmosphere, others experience as harmonic one and vice-versa. In this discussion, the role played by networks in the reduction or inflation of conflicts is significant for social analysts. Under some conditions, the conflict triggers team performance or the commitment to a certain task. Ching Tsung Jen (2013) conducted an empirical research to validate the following salient axioms,

- ✓ In groups where the authority is centralized, the conflict influences negatively in job satisfaction.
- ✓ Team-structured organizations managers and people who are in better position are prone to conflict than others.
- ✓ Psychological problems as anxieties or any type of disorder lead people not to understand social change.
- ✓ Centrality in the task, not authority, is benefited by the exacerbation of conflict.
- ✓ The distress caused by discrepancies, in the task-oriented group, fosters the productivity and the competition among workers.

In the fields of hospitality, Sanchez Cañizares (2007) et al explored how workers do their best to increase the quality of service as long as they are motivated. Since those companies that give incentives to their members develop more possibilities to prosper than others in the line of time, psychological satisfaction comprises the motivation as a vehicle for good and efficient communication. In doing so, the importance of a fluid interaction between workers is an essential aspect in services (Sanchez Cañizares et al, 2007:244-246). Like in other aspects of life, people feel motivated when perceiving their work contribute to the general goals of organizations. In the preexistent body of knowledge, the perception of material benefits is outweighed to the costs at the time of accepting or rejecting a tourist project in a community. This means that power, competition, benefits and costs are inextricably intertwined (Gursoy and Rutherford, 2004) (Santana, 2006) (Zehrer et al, 2007) (Pearce, 2008) (Franch et al, 2008) (Dwyer, 2008) (McNaughton, 2006). Tran and Phillip emphasized that the nature of human beings is based on the need for achievement (prizes), power (control) and affiliation (sentiment of belonging). The pattern of behaviour is often determined by the typology of subjective needs (Tran and Phillip, 2010). Applied research in psychology shows that positive and negative incentive determines the motivation of subjects as well as their commitment to production. The process encompasses three stages, arousal, direction and intensity. The arousal signals to any aspect that triggers the action. Rather, direction understands the channel where the worker's needs are fulfilled or how its energy is monopolized. Lastly, intensity refers to the vigor workers put in achievement some goals and ignoring others (Mitchell & Daniells, 2003). Interesting research has revealed the influence exerted by the psychological character of bosses (capital owners), the goals and workers into the organizational culture. It exhibits the collective values, principles, and beliefs that regulate the member's behaviour and management style (Needle, 2004). However, motivation is a very difficult concept to grasp. Schlemenson (1987) focuses on the non-monetary aspects of the organization are the most important to care to keep motivation in subordinates. Leadership is based on a clear message and exemplary conduct by managers. The commitment declines when the gap between what people do and the predicate is enlarged. By this vein, G. Morgan (1998) and E. Jacques (2000) argued that monetary incentive should be combined with other non-monetary resources in order not to generate a climate of downright envy and competence. Unless otherwise resolved these experts point out stakeholders start to develop a sentiment of frustration simply because monetary awards are entropic. The much money the worker earns much more conflict the organization faces. The frustration as psychological concept can be understood in comparison with expectances. The money expands the individual expectances in detriment of the in-group performance. Organizations that have implemented system of monetary funds to stimulate the work have faced serious problems internally. Therefore, monetary awards should be complemented with other types of incentives.

Study-case: Buenos Aires.

This research is a result of vast experience of more than 10 years managing monetary and non-monetary fund for tourist companies. A couple of decades back, G. Homans

affirmed that employees work based on a high level of motivations when their work contributes to the well-functioning of organization beyond the wage or other variables, being useful has major importance for workers than the earned-money (Homans, 1963). As explained, one might speculate that wages should equate to time and efforts spent by the employee, otherwise, pathological behavior surfaces. At first glance, the preliminary findings in this research can be detailed as follows:

1. The studied organization trained their employees to ensure the best quality in customer attention. The importance of their psychological motivation was associated to the goal of ensuring the existent level of loyalty in consumers.
2. The pyramid of this organization was based on three levels. At the top, Chief Executive Officer (CEO) who makes the vital decision in tactic and strategic fields. His managers, situated at a second middle level, are in charge of controlling the quality of the service. At the bottom, the front-line workers who are in direct contact with consumers, renters and tourists. While the managers have no financial or monetary incentive program, front line workers have paid depending on their sales.
3. Although the application of incentive programs started from a previous discontent in front line workers, the working atmosphere worsened after the policy of incentive was widely applied.
4. The process of recruitment was carefully accomplished following higher criteria of selection. The points that should follow a frontline worker were documented in a manual to prevent potential conflicts.

Quite aside from this, from 35 interviewed workers who range from 20 to 55 years old, a total of 29 stated their disconformities respecting to the monetary incentive system; by the way, only 4 interviewees were certainly well-motivated with the application of the present motivation incentive system. Because of time and space, we are not able to give more specification about all interviews, but only the most relevant are transcribed: Romina (female 32 years old) was upset stating that:

“The current form of incentivation does not work in our company; I believe this is because managers apply penalizations without any previous notice. Quite aside from this, we realize at the end of month how much money will earn. Sometimes the penalizations are based on fact invented to debit from arbitrarily that is not a serious system; however, the system has been designed properly the problem lies in the application if you ask me”.

Similarly, other agent Agustin (Male, 27 years old) claimed:

“I am unhappy with our incentive programs for two reasons, penalties are not applied in a fair manner and it is an invention of Managers to boost the performance but save money. If the monetary penalties over us are not clear, it is because we bill more and more each month. As a result of this, they (Managers) like no to pay us and invent errors in procedures for the application of debits and pay less than due”.

For some reason, this climate of conflict and hostility among managers and front-line employees was not found by the opinion poll conducted by Human Resources departments. The problem remained undetected for all them. One of the striking limitations managers found in the implementation of a monetary incentive program was the resistance of agents to accept the discounts processed by personal omissions or errors. On another hand, a typical behaviour observed in the front-desk managers was a manipulation of monetary programs at their discretion. The root of discrepancy was simple in general terms. Managers were reluctant to support their subordinate in view of the increasing of monetary awards given. Eager and envy were two emotions that flourished in this organization while the incentive program applied. The gap between Managers and workforce's wages reduced considerably to the extent that some managers earned a less salary than their subordinates. In view of this, workers were unduly penalized by errors that were fabricated by their managers. This generated a climate of conflicts or tension as never before.

Starting from the premise wages are measurable instrument to regulate the performance, managers have not felt valorized by their job and achievements. For Esteban (Male, manager 35 years old) who is in charge of Buenos Aires Location

“Employees are very ambitious when more money they earn more like. I understand that they are receiving at hand more than \$ 500/600 for productions but claim that that is not enough. Truthfully, Managers do not inform the penalties in due course, but this is a consequence of all problem's employees have brought. In past, when we reported to agents that a penalty of \$ 150 was debited from there accounts in accordance to some errors, they responded aggressively and threatened us to mistreat to clients because of their unsatisfaction. Please figure out that we do not manipulate the incentive program, if this measure was taken it is due to diverse problems program of this nature has been caused; up-to-date we have modified this program more than twice but the unhappiness still remains”.

It is important to mention that the degree of conflict does not deter the volume of sales in this organization. To put this in numbers, during 2005 the number of sales was \$ 2.000.000 ARS, in 2006 this amount rises to \$ 2.500.000 for being \$ 3.500.000 to the end of 2007. On another hand, the number of complaints about 2005 was 65 in the country all while the number duplicated to 120 for 2006. This evidenced that even though the sales have not been diminished the quality of customer relationship slumped. Based on these assumptions, an all-encompassed four-fold model has been construed in accordance with two grids: a) the course of action of managers and b) agent's reactions. Table 1 shows the types of behaviors observed during the ethnography according to the degree of punishment or recognition. At the short term, if the worker were penalized employing a monetary deduction, the answer was based on hostility or any neglect. Accused of being liars, managers were blamed to manipulate the monetary program by

envy and anger. Rather, if the penalties do not involve any type of monetary deduction, workers evidenced indifference or acceptance.

Table 1

Types of reaction based on punishments

Type of Punishment	
Monetary Punishment	Negation and Hostility
Non-Monetary Punishment	Acceptance or Indifference

Table 2 gives an opposite conclusion than Table 1. At time of applying monetary awards over workforce, the answer was based on commitment and motivation. Secondly, this behaviour changed radically if the award were non-monetary such as more days of holiday, ticket to fly, or training programs. At a closer look, in this organization, once the monetary program was implemented, any change was not allowed by workforce. Paradoxically, workforce did their best to increase the production but at the same time the conflict arose. The climate of loyalty and trust between managers and agents not only diluted but also become into a culture of mistrust.

Table 2

Types of reactions based on awards.

Type of Award.	
Monetary	Motivation and commitment
non-monetary	Acceptance or Indifference.

At a first glance, the dichotomy, acceptance or rejection of punishments depends on the type of incentive, award or punishment at stake. In cases when the incentive is exclusively applied on monetary awards or punishments the self-esteem and commitment respecting to work rises but this causes serious problems whenever the worker should be subject to monetary punishment. Since front line workers are in a privileged position because they are in contact with tourists or consumers, they can negotiate major portions of monetary awards than other relegated groups. The expectance of managers respecting of the high quality of service offered, situates front line workers in a privileged position. Far away from capitalizing this advantage to coordinate efforts, as managerial literature says, front-line workers extortionate managers to gain further power. Of course, in this tactic, consumers were hosted by workforce. This happens because agents speculate with the fears of managers who were in charge of the service quality. To validate this assumption, we come across with the following interview which is self-explanatory: Marcelo (male, 25 years old) said us the following,

“I do not care if I had right or not, if the mistake is mine or not, I will always complaint and fight when an economical penalty is being applied on me simply because that is money, and the money worths my time and efforts”.

Other consultants agreed to the same question voicing: “*whatever the case may be, I will be in disagreement with this award programs only for one reason, the money*”.

This latter excerpt seems to be in sharp discordance with previous managerial literature that outlines stakeholders tend to accept punishments whenever they consider they are fair. To this point of view, one might conclude in two main ideas:

1. Monetary incentive program increases the sales but paradoxically triggers an inappropriate atmosphere for working since it paves the ways for the advent of competition and dishonesty.
2. Whenever the involving incentive program is exclusively centred on a monetary basis, the individualism rules.

Starting from the premise that agents were close up to customers, the quality of services is in danger if they self-perceive as under-motivated. The symbolic proximity of agents along with consumers gives to the latter ones a major probability to deploy strategies to negotiate directly to CEO with their back to managers. It is more than important not to loose the sight that the agent’s strength lays in the capacity to be working at front-staged positions. Relevant findings, in this study, lead readers to question the nature of money and its pervasive influence in subject behavior. In a desperate attempt to reduce the conflict, chief executive officer prompted to fix a “ceiling” to the monetary awards, but this was in vain. The pressure of workforce boycotted the income and profits of organizations from many perspectives. Some agents and front desk workers aborted the activities echoing a strike which was supported by worker unions. In other cases, they refused to offer cheaper rates to their clients, affecting seriously the organizational profits. CEO lost his political arm wrestling against workforce and opted to return the award-system. This measure woke up the fury of managers who quitted in protest. They passed to other rent-a-car companies migrating vital information for local competence in the market.

Conclusion

It is important not to lose the sight that conclusion obtained in this study case cannot be extrapolated to other samples or units. They are only adjusted to micro-sociological condition of work in this corporation. One of the premises that delineated this research was the idea that motivated workers are committed in the production of organization. This point of entry was widely validated by all specialized literature in tourism fields. The surveys of working climate reveal what managers and top management want to hear. Classical methodologies of survey to reveal the working atmosphere sometimes are not enough to correct glitch generated by capital and monetary incentive royalties. Instead, a much deeper ethnography may complement and give results that help in understanding human behaviour in organizations. What would be more than important to discuss in future research are the effects of monetary fines found in our fieldwork.

This represents the complexity of psychological motivations. One of the aspects which have not been addressed in this review is the effects of over-motivation on workforce. This means that under some conditions, the excess of motivation may generate conflictive atmosphere declining the trust because of a rise of competition. The introduction of monetary paid awards may be causing this by elevating the expectative of workers. However, these are simple speculations which deserve further attention. Secondly, perhaps the cultures of rent cars are different than other organization such as hotels or airplanes. Our evidence, anyway, demonstrates the monetary awards disorganize the human relations necessary to grant the firm's performance.

Basically, Human capital comprises all stock of skills and knowledge embodied in the ability to perform labor so as to produce economic value.

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