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Factors affecting employee empowerment practices in China hotels

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ABSTRACT

The authors seek to explore factors affecting employee empowerment practices in China with specific reference to the hotel sector. Using an open ended questionnaires survey and focus groups, an in-depth examination of the perceptions of hotel managers in China regarding their interpretation and practice of empowerment within their workplace is provided. Notably, this study provides tentative indicators of significant culturally-driven differences in the understanding and application of employee empowerment between western-centric contexts, both in research and practitioner terms, and those perceived to apply in China. Empowerment in China is seen to relate much more to the individual and the merits or otherwise of that person than is the case with organizationally-driven empowerment in western countries. The understanding of empowerment by hotel managers in China relates to the extent to which the responsible manager has personal trust for that employee. This research, therefore, offers major implications for international hotel companies located or planning to locate in China and seeking to apply established empowerment policies within the China hotels. They are also of importance to expatriate managers working in China and to Chinese managers aspiring to work overseas within their hotel management careers.

Keywords: China, Hotels, Employee Empowerment, Human Resources Practices

1. Introduction

Empowerment, as a theoretical concept and as an applied management tool, has been defined by researchers and practitioners in different ways. Bowen and Lawler's (1992) discussion of empowerment relates the concept to practice which includes sharing information, rewards, knowledge and power with front line employees. The front line, non-managerial employees, those described by Bateson and Hoffman (1999) as "boundary-spanning workers" mediating between the organization and its customers, are given the opportunities to make their own decisions and develop their abilities and job performance skills (Kreitner and Kinicki, 1992). Management researchers seek to expand the conceptualization of empowerment beyond discretionary power and job autonomy. For instance, Spreitzer (1995) claims that empowerment needs to be operationalized as a psychological construct reflecting an individual's feelings of self control and self efficacy; Arnold, Arad, Rhoades and Drasgow (2000) argue that empowerment should capture the nature of the relationship between managers and their subordinates.

Hospitality management researchers (Ghillyer, 1994; Klidas, 1995; Lashley, 1994; Hales and Klidas, 1998) claim that there is a level of vagueness as to what empowerment means in terms of why it is employed, the source of authority for the empowerment and to whom it is given; where and when it should be applied and what caveats should accompany it. In spite of this search for the characteristics of empowerment, addressing its perceived benefits in the workplace, Harley (1999, p.42) notes:

Advocates of empowerment tend to promote it with considerable fervour, claiming that it has the potential to generate the kind of 'win-win' outcome beloved of unitarists. That is,

while improving organizational performance and contributing to the 'bottom line', it simultaneously (and necessarily) leads to improvements in the experience of work for employees.

To obtain a clearer picture on the implementation of empowerment, other researchers such as Sutton, Verginis and Eltvik (2003) address empowerment issues within specific businesses contexts, in their case for restaurant managers in Dubai. Similarly, Leong (2001) examines restaurant managers' perception of the practice in US chain restaurants and Hales and Klidas (1998) study five star hotels in Amsterdam. Other case studies of empowerment in the literature include Scandinavian Airlines (Carlzon, 1989), Federal Express (Bowen and Lawler, 1992), Club Med (Horovitz and Jurgens-Panak, 1992), Harvester restaurants (Ashness and Lashley, 1995; Pikard, 1993), Delta Airlines (Glover, 1989), Scott's Hotels/Marriott (Goymour, 1992) and Ritz Carlton (Carper, 1991; Ghillyer, 1994).

Much of the literature on empowerment is western-centric so that little work has been undertaken which addresses the application of the concept beyond the developed country environment. Serious doubt (for example, Baum 2006) has been cast on the applicability of workplace empowerment, in its westernized form, within cultures where managerial structures are, perhaps, more formal and power distance is greater (to use Hofstede's (2001) language). An exception to this research vacuum is Thang et al's (2007, p.121) consideration of empowerment in Vietnamese firms. They explain:

Whereas Vietnamese are willing to take more responsibility and authority when doing so is associated with additional benefits, they show more hesitant attitudes in delegating

power. Assigning authority to lower ranks usually occurs when a sufficient amount of trust has been accumulated with these employees. The dynamics of trust mirrors the long history of uncertainty in daily life.Vietnamese do not tend to trust people easily but to take a prolonged period to interact, observe and step-by-step test their working hypothesis about the degree of trust they give a person..... In a nutshell, expectations for effective shortcuts to employee involvement and empowerment in the context of Vietnam are naive. Although it is likely involvement and empowerment can grow on the ground of Vietnamese cultural values.

Although relatively little is known about perceptions of empowerment and related issues in the hotel sector in China, some enlightening information can be identified. A recent study on empowerment by Humborstad et al. (2008) empirically examines the impact of empowerment on the service willingness of hotel employees in Macau. In their study of a sample of 290 hotel employees, the findings conclude that empowerment has a positive effect on a willingness to deliver higher levels of service. Similarly, Hui et al's. (2004) survey of hotels in Beijing found service employees' willingness to accept and exercise discretionary power allowed by their manager to be essential for the successful implementation of empowerment. The two studies provide insights on the implementation of empowerment in what can be seen as Chinese high power distance organizations. Nevertheless, these studies only seek insights from the perspective of service employees so that the results do not reflect the impact of empowerment from managerial perspective. To fill this void in the context of a high contact service such as hospitality, the present study focuses on the managerial perspective in order to gain insights from a theoretical point of view but also to provide useful information to hotel managers on the implementation of empowerment in hotels in China. The key questions

here, therefore, how is empowerment perceived from a managerial perspective and in what form and to what extent does employee empowerment work in hotels in China? Hence, in this study, we seek to explore the nature of empowerment in the Chinese hospitality setting and, possibly, to debunk some of the misunderstandings that may exist about this widely discussed theme.

Hotels in China are chosen as the context for this study as many such businesses have successfully developed and innovated with respect to their management practices and service styles by combining international management skills with Chinese culture (Cai, Zhang, Pearson and Bai, 2000). It is; therefore, appropriate to study the viability of implementing one key practice within western human resources management (employee empowerment) in the Chinese hotel environment.

The present study will provide an in-depth examination of the perceptions of hotel managers in China regarding their interpretation and practice of empowerment within the workplace. Apart from providing valuable information to hotel managers, the findings of this study should be of value to international hotel companies and expatriate managers working in international hotels in China in order to gain a better understanding on how best to manage hotel employees within Chinese culture. Furthermore, it is of wider value to study management initiatives which claim to empower employees in order to address widely divergent interpretations of the core concept. Leong's (2001) survey of 46 restaurant managers in the United States on the impact of mentoring and empowerment on employee performance found that manager's perception of empowerment has a significant effect on employee success and self confidence. Lashley (1996, 1997) proposes a pragmatic analysis of the paradoxical nature of the potential impact of

empowerment by addressing to the managerial meanings and motives of empowerment and the use of empowerment. What is clear is that all factors that are considered to influence managerial empowerment initiatives can be as powerful and positive as they can be damaging and negative.

There are many reasons why managers are not willing to empower their subordinates. These include habit (decision making and problem solving are embedded in managers' ways of thinking), fear of anarchy, personal insecurity, lack of skills (to mentor and support their employees), lack of top management example and job/promotion insecurity (Clutterbuck and Kernaghan, 1994). Even when empowerment is implemented, Sutton (1997) argues that cultural perspectives can be a barrier to empowerment, for example, traditions of hierarchy; fear of retaliation; the sense that "it is not my job"; failure to identify empowerment; and suspicion and pessimism. In Chinese society, with its collectivist/group orientation, opinions may be predetermined by group membership and people who deviate from the norm are considered to have bad or weak character (Littrell, 2002). To what extent will this type of unique cultural environment affect employees' empowerment in China hotels? This present study will provide some insights which can assist in evaluating the extent of the influence of cultural factors and how these may affect the implementation of employee employment.

1. Research Questions:

The main research question for this study is: What factors affect employee empowerment practices in China hotels? The related sub-questions are:

1. How do hotel managers define empowerment?

2. Why should hotels and their managers apply empowerment?
3. Whom should managers empower?
4. Where or in what situations should empowerment be applied?
5. What support and training should accompany empowerment?
6. What limits should be applied to the extent of empowerment?
7. What are the factors which help or hinder the implementation/sustainability of empowerment?

2. Methodology

Primary data was collected from a classroom survey and two sessions of focus groups in Hangzhou, China on 1st and 2nd November 2008. Participants were students studying the Master of Science in Hotel and Tourism Management programme, all of them holding middle and senior management positions within the hotel industry in China. Open ended questions were used in the classroom survey questionnaire to gauge perceptions of employee empowerment and to seek wider opinions on this theme. The same set of questions was later used in the focus groups discussions, designed to tease out more in-depth responses. Themes in the questionnaire and the main topics discussed were: perceptions of the meaning of empowerment; the value and limitations in applying empowerment; whom, where, in what situations can empowerment be implemented; what policies are required to accompany the implementation of empowerment; and, finally, the obstacles to implementing or sustaining empowerment. The questions were designed, agreed upon and content validated by the team of researchers who have previous hotel and tourism related working experiences in China.

Recruited from the group of survey respondents, two groups of focus group participants, each comprised of 6 members, were invited to participate in the discussions. They were encouraged to discuss their attitudes, opinions and experiences in a comfortable and informal setting. Each session of the focus group lasted from one and a half to two hours. The sessions were facilitated and led by one of the research investigators. A postgraduate research student assisted the focus group discussion by means of co-ordination and notes taking during the sessions. The sessions were not audio-taped as respondents were assured of the confidentiality of the data collected. The data were transcribed two days after the interviews. Using a grounded theory approach, content analysis and interpretation were carried out by the researchers.

3. Findings and Discussions

Table 1 shows the demographic characteristics of the survey respondents. Altogether there are forty-five students; with a half male - female divide. Half of them are young in their twenties with a few years of hotel management experience and the other half are in their thirties and forties and have more than 10 years' hotel working experiences. More than 73% of the managers have monthly income of less than RMB 15000 and the other 27% have monthly income of over RMB 15,000.

Please insert table 1 here

3.1. How do hotel managers define empowerment?

While the answers from the survey in response to the question asked on the definition of empowerment varied, most hotel managers considered that it is the delegation of power and the willingness to entrust people with duties. Empowerment is seen to involve trust from the management as it allows more employees to make decisions. Situations to exercise empowerment are when dealing with difficult problems or to increase job efficiency. This enables employees to deal with problems flexibly and to solve problems immediately. When empowering employees of a lower rank, such staffs are expected to bear higher responsibilities resulting in higher job satisfaction. The process of empowerment helps employees to realize their full potential and at the same time provides solution to problems for the management. Such finding affirms Geralis and Terziovski's (2003) study on empowerment practices in Australian banks, when implemented, are associated with greater employee well being, productivity, performance, and service quality.

The decentralization of power is applicable to different hotel functions such as finance, operational management and sales. In other words, employees can deal with problems related to money, people or other physical resources in the hotel. In principle, hotel managers perceive empowerment to have a specific time frame and to be applicable in certain situations. The key is that there must be personal trust from the managers to the employees that they are empowering, especially where decision making is extended to financial and human resources issues.

Findings from the focus groups revealed senior management level empowerment, when hotel owners empower the hotel managers, the responsibilities must strictly follow the business development and expansion plans of the hotel. At the operational level,

when hotel managers empower their front line staff, usually the purpose is to meet the guests' needs. One of the respondents gave an example of empowerment at the operational level, when a receptionist quotes a cheaper room rate to a VIP or a long stay guest without seeking approval or permission from the hotel manager.

Two types of empowerment, namely structural empowerment and situational empowerment were both confirmed to exist in China hotels. One respondent gave an example of structural empowerment when a restaurant manager promoted a waiter to a team leader. Pre-specified situational empowerment was taken to mean empowerment that is based on contexts such as when the front desk assistant manager can deal directly with complaints about telephone fees. Examples of unspecified situational empowerment may relate to when hotel internal accounts need to be audited or inspected by the government and full power is granted to the accounts manager or an assistant manager. In some hotels, full power can be granted to staff that was more familiar with the government system and know how to cooperate with the government officials.

3.2. Why do hotels apply empowerment?

The hotel business is about service and high efficiency should be achieved and enhanced at all times. Empowerment is required under special circumstances to reduce the customers' waiting time. At the front desk, very often when front line staff members have to seek management instructions and approval to deal with customer problems or requests, the waiting times create inconvenience for other customers. In hotel service management, dealing with the problem promptly through empowerment is the key to enable effective management.

When employees are empowered, they are seen to be more eager to serve the customers. According to one of the respondents, “The more that my staffs get involved, the more opportunities are provided for them to use their wisdom so that they can achieve their personal goals faster. Empowerment allows us to nurture and develop the personal strengths of our staff.”

From the hotel managers’ viewpoint reflected from the collected data, empowerment is associated with trust such as “empowerment implies trust”, “empowerment is a symbol of trust”, and ‘empowerment spreads the ideology of the managers to the employees and is a way to develop trust’. In Chinese culture, a distinct social phenomenon called *guanxi* means personal relationship exists in the Chinese business world (Davies, 1995). According to a previous study on the foundation of *guanxi*, “personal trust” is found to be one of the key mechanisms in the operation of effective businesses (Davies et al., 1995). Crucially, in the context of empowerment, it appears that staff members who are to be empowered have to be personally known by the managers or be recommended by a person whom the manager trusts.

A significant finding that emerges from the focus group discussion is that empowerment allows senior Chinese hotel managers to spend more time on external affairs such as networking or self development. Internal affairs can be managed by their subordinates most of the time. They emphasized that senior hotel managers have a wide range of external matters to attend to and are frequently away from the hotel premises. One of the respondents commented on the nature of the hotel industry as different from

manufacturing industry, more flexibility should be allowed in managing a service industry.

3.3. Who should hotel managers empower?

A majority of the hotel managers believe that responsible and reliable staff should be empowered. In terms of job positions, responses from head of departments, managers, supervisors, team leaders, front desk clerks, and technicians to everyone in the hotel within his/her scope of duties and abilities. Nevertheless, they mention that in hotels that employ western management, empowerment has to follow rules and policies and particular attention is given to job positions and duties.

From the focus group discussion, respondents believe that reliable employees, especially family relatives, can be empowered. Under the influence of Chinese culture, high value is placed on the relationship or bond of relatives. Therefore, important departments will be entrusted to the closest relatives. There is a Chinese proverb that says, “To war the father and son, and to battle brothers alike”, it implies that in difficult times, it is ones closest relative that would be the most helpful in times of danger. Traditional Chinese cultural values were found to have strong influences on empowerment. One respondent used another Chinese proverb to explain the nature of the employees to be entrusted, which says “In-group member need to look for his/her virtue, out-group member need to look for his/her competences”. The “In-group” and “Out-group” concept is embedded in the leader-member exchange theory. In individualist countries, “leaders are expected to select their own in-groups based on the members’ competence and

contribution to the organization. Appointing family and friends would be regarded as exhibiting favouritism or nepotism.”(Avery, 2004).

Two hotel departments, namely the purchasing department and the finance department are considered to be sufficiently important to have entrusted relatives working there. One of the respondents gave examples of a purchasing manager who was not a relative of the general manager, claimed RMB 70,000 for air conditioning fees for his own use; in another instance, a finance manager whom was not a relative to the general manager reported accounting problems and the general manager was penalized by the hotel owner. The respondent believed that this would not happen if the purchasing manager and the finance manager had been relatives of the general manager or the owner of the hotel. It seems that business ethical behavior among hotel employees in China needs to be further encouraged. For the benefit of the organization, Gordon and Miyake (2001) advocate that codes of conduct or ethics developed should be used to influence and control employees’ business behavior. Moreover, Wong (1998) suggests that Hong Kong hotel employees require clear ethical policies to guide their behavior.

3.4. Where and in what situations should empowerment be applied in hotels?

When asked about where and in what situations empowerment should be applied, some managers expressed preference for busy periods when tasks need to be shared by all staff members. A few mentioned that when the manager is absent or is not in the hotel premises and someone needs to replace him to make decisions or under certain special and emergency situations. One of the respondents gives an example of when the government visit the hotel to check on a hotel’s safety, a manager who is not familiar

with the procedures may empower an employee who is more knowledgeable to handle the visit.

An interesting finding that emerges from the discussion was that one respondent reported situations where employees' talent is under-valued; they should be empowered with more responsibilities. For instance, a restaurant manager who performs brilliantly in managing one of the restaurants was then asked to manage seven restaurants within the group. In this way, empowerment can extend employees' responsibilities and at the same time have their potentials realized.

One of the hotel managers said that as long as the image, the goal and strategy of the hotel remain unaffected, empowerment can be implemented. In contrast, one manager said empowerment should be implemented to improve the image of the hotel. Along these lines, some hotel managers do not attempt to use empowerment as a management strategy to improve service performance. Empowerment is used only as an external marketing promotion strategy.

3.5. What kind of human resources practices should accompany empowerment?

Four major human resources practices are suggested by the respondents. First, a majority of the respondents suggested training employees on how to empower, the degree of empowerment and how to use the delegated power. Second, a reward or incentive system should be used to motivate empowerment. Third, an inspection system could be implemented to allow management to measure the effectiveness of empowerment. An evaluation of feedback of the system could take place by conducting customer

satisfaction surveys and employees' satisfaction surveys. Finally, job rotation is suggested to permit staff from different departments to rotate duties while enhancing better communications and solving problems together.

It appears that to promote a culture with job responsibility is considered to be vital to accompany empowerment. One respondent suggested that each front line employee should be entrusted with RMB1000. If guests left their belongings in the hotel and had already checked out, the employee should use the money to send back the guests' belongings. Furthermore, if an employee is able to use the money for the guests then they should be rewarded with a holiday. The example given by the respondent reveals empowerment as a means to promote service culture that has to be reinforced by a reward system.

3.6. What are the factors that hinder the implementation or sustainability of empowerment?

Most of the respondents stated that the obstacles to empowerment are lack of trust, lack of clear policies and guidelines on how to implement empowerment and lack of ability and quality employees to be empowered. They emphasized that employees need to know the right person to empower in addition to the right amount of power to delegate. It appears that the major concern for hotel managers to implement or sustain empowerment is lack of staff understanding of the meaning and value of empowerment. In China hotels, the driving force for empowerment should be the managers' effort to educate the staff on how to implement empowerment. Similarly when compared to a study in the UK, hotel managers there emphasized the need for commitment as a key driving force of

empowerment and such commitments come from all levels of the organisation's hierarchy (D'Annunzio-Green and MacAndrew, 1999).

3.7. Key Themes arising from the findings

As a result of analyzing the collected data, five key themes emerge from the survey and focus groups results. The themes are summarized and presented in the form of a web as shown in Figure 1, the framework is similar to the models presented by Hendry and Hope (1994) and D'Annunzio-Green and MacAndrew (1999).

Please insert Figure 1 here

Empowerment is in the center of the web, the influences of the empowerment practices in China can be individual-based as well as family based. Individual based are employees' virtue, skills and competency. Family or in-group based is the family relationship between the managers and employees, trusting relationship and the commitment from the managers. From the results of the study findings, family based empowerment practices are significantly dominant in China hotel.

4. Discussion and Conclusions

This exploratory study addresses managerial perceptions of employee empowerment in the hotel sector in China. Drawing on the views of a group of middle and senior managers in the industry, working in both international chain hotels and properties that are Chinese owned and managed, the study points to an understanding of empowerment that shows some common ground with "conventional" interpretations of the concept in the western-centric literature and some significant divergences.

It is clear that the basic notion of workplace empowerment, the practice of delegating power and authority to junior and front-line staff in the hotel industry is well understood and its implementation, in theory at least, presents few real problems. The contexts in which empowered behavior may be expected from such staff are also familiar with what might be expected elsewhere. Much application of empowerment in the western-centric literature recognizes the widespread practice of “ring fencing” empowerment, generally on financial rather than contextual grounds. Limitations on empowerment addressed by respondents to this study are based on rather different criteria that are rarely financial. The key features of the Chinese hotel managers’ interpretation of empowerment where these differ from those elaborated in the western literature can be identified as:

- Whereas empowerment in western contexts is organizational in focus and is seen as a general managerial tool, applicable throughout organizations, in China empowerment is seen to relate much more to the individual and the merits or otherwise of that person. Empowerment in western contexts is generally linked to the status of the post or the job description that is attached to it, in other words it is independent of the specific post holder and the ability to take aboard empower responsibility is a key selection criterion for the post. By contrast, the understanding of empowerment by hotel managers in China is individually based and relates to the extent to which the responsible manager has personal trust for that employee.

- A general acceptance of non-financial conditionality for the application of empowerment, based on situational factors relating to need – high pressure situations, crises, absence of key managerial staff, superior technical competence. The power delegated in these situations is, therefore, withdrawn at the closure of each situation which may have demanded its application.
- Limitations on empowerment imposed by personal trust for those to be empowered. The role of family relationships or nepotistic management in the appointment of staff to key posts and the delegation of empowered authority within the hotel sector is acknowledged in a manner which would rarely be the case in the sector in western countries, except within the micro-business context. This is clearly closely related to the role of trust in empowerment on the basis that trust can much more readily be accorded to close family members or the “in-group” than to “strangers” who form the “out-group”.
- Empowerment as a reward for good performance is also seen as a criteria for justifying the application of empowered authority to staff, reemphasizing the notion of selective empowerment on an individualistic basis.

In a wider sense, the findings of this study raise questions about the applicability of ‘universal’ management theories and business practices across different cultural contexts. It questions the value of such uncritical transfer within multinational organizations and also raises issues with respect to the teaching of organizational and human resource areas within the business (and hotel management) curricula of

universities worldwide, where the use of culturally imported theory, knowledge and textbooks in an uncritical manner is widespread.

This study, therefore, provides tentative indicators of significant culturally-driven differences in the understanding and application of empowerment between the western-centric contexts, both in research and practitioner terms, and those perceived to apply in China. These findings could have major implications for international hotel companies located or planning to locate in China and seeking to apply established empowerment policies within the China hotels. They are also of importance to expatriate managers working in China and to Chinese managers aspiring to work overseas within their hotel management careers. Implications discussed in the following sections, in turn, provide strong justification for further and more widespread research into the concept and its application in China.

4.1. Theoretical implications

The research approach of this study, using focus group interviews, provides a setting to access to China hotel managers' actual meaningful interactional experiences. China's hotel industry is different from hotel industries in other more developed countries due to fierce competition, multiform ownership and management systems, coupled with China's unique society and culture that requires a dynamic research approach (Kong and Cheung, 2009). Focus group interviews supplemented by survey evidence can be seen to be a viable method to diagnose the application of empowerment in China hotels. In particular, focus groups discussions provide naturally arising glimpses into managers' experiences which are deemed necessary for interpretive interactionism (Denzin, 1989).

The concept of “trust” in the study finding has emerged as a key factor underpinning the Chinese way of empowerment. This is consistent with results from other “empowerment” research in the Chinese context (Aryee and Zhen, 2006). Another interesting area for further exploration is into the in-group and out-group of Chinese behaviour. It seems that the relationship between managers and subordinates is based on trust. An in-group member is highly preferred when she/he is a family member. In the Chinese context, “Teamwork is easily achieved only where personal trust relations are high between individuals who have ‘family-like’ relations between them” (Hollows and Lewis 1995, p. 276). To understand the Chinese dynamic of trust formation in interpersonal network (Luo, 2005) will be a useful element to enable further understanding of empowerment in the China context.

4.2. Managerial implications

For expatriate managers trying to implement or exercise the tool of “empowerment”, there is a need to understand that not only the organizational context but also the national cultural context is also important. The local cultural values might impact on the individual level as how, whom and where the concept of “empowerment” can be applied. Local managers need to understand that the western practices of international corporations have their merits too. To adopt the western concept of empowerment is to accept that decisions should be based on the members’ competence and contribution to the organization. Reward systems and performance appraisal systems should consider one’s competence and contribution to the organisation rather than one’s trust and family status.

4.3 End word

This study is important because it contributes to debate on the uncritical application of management theory across cultures and contexts. This practice, perpetuated by business schools the world over and reinforced through the use of western centric text books and an inherent bias towards western sources in the research literature, requires serious challenge in the context of major emerging economic and business powers such as China. In a sense, we have seen the analysis and absorption of aspects of Japanese management practice on a global basis. The time has surely arrived for there to be wider recognition of how businesses in China operate and the extent to which theories and practices, espoused in the west, have value in a Chinese cultural and commercial context. Empowerment in a low skills industry such as the hotel sector is a particularly valuable starting point for this discussion.

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Table 1: Demographic profiles of the respondents (N=45)

Demographic Data	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Gender		
Male	23	51.1
Female	22	48.9
Age		
18-29	14	31.1
30-39	21	46.7
40-49	10	22.2
Hotel working experience (years)		
0-2	9	20.0
3-5	4	8.9
6-10	10	22.2
11-15	11	24.4
16-20	7	15.6
21+	2	4.4
Missing data	2	4.4
Income per month (RMB) ((US\$1 = RMB 6.80)		
Below 5000	13	28.9
5001-10000	10	22.2
10000-15000	10	22.2
15000-20000	3	6.7
20001+	7	15.6
Missing data	2	4.4

Figure 1: Key themes arising from the findings

