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The influence of the Viveza in the Latin American Business Environment:

Exploring and
mapping a regional psychological construct

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ABSTRACT

Reported news on high-profile business-people engaging in unethical acts frequently headlines Latin American media. Local individuals agree that the Viveza, a Latin American indigenous phenomenon based on prioritizing individual benefits over the ethicality of the acts, promotes dishonest behaviors in the Latin American business environment. Despite its importance for Latin American Societies Despite its importance for individuals who want to conduct business in Latin America, there is a lack of empirical research about the Viveza phenomenon. Through 45 semi-structured interviews with native individuals from 20 Latin American countries who have lived in Japan in the past two years, this study aims to explore and map the Viveza construct and its consequences for Latin American individuals. This research reveals that the Viveza is an institutionalized behavioral pattern in Latin American societies that shapes local social norms, allowing individuals to justify unethical behaviors easily. Moreover, this research also reveals that Viveza significantly influences the daily social interactions between Latin American individuals and the Latin American business environment. This study contributes to the literature by establishing a common ground for a relevant factor in the studies of Latin American societies. In addition, this study provides useful insights for non-Latin American practitioners who engage in business in the Latin American region.

INTRODUCTION

"In Latin America, you can do these unethical acts freely because there are no consequences; the system allows it. If you stay waiting in line, you are a Gil because you are not skipping it. The rule is that the law is there to be broken." (P3/28-F/Argentina)

Past research has revealed that the impact of corruption in most Latin American countries is high (see Jones and Comunale, 2018). The harsh socioeconomic state in Latin America provides a suitable environment for the emergence of corrupt practices. The negative consequences of corruption can devastate individuals' and communities' well-being. The deviation of necessary resources to develop the regions can be detrimental to the enhancement of the individual's life quality (Azfar, Lee, and Swamy, 2001). Many Latin American individuals relate the occurrence of unethical practices with the existence of an indigenous phenomenon addressed as "Viveza". Previous studies have defined the Viveza as "artful lying or cheating" (France, 1999: 27) and "native wit" (Wilson, 2007: 37). As Hein (2020: 36) explains, the Viveza is spread in all the layers of Latin American society and influences the behavior of the individuals.

The influence of the Viveza on Latin American social norms has a significant impact on the Latin American business environment. For example, Daly (1965: 323) suggests that one of the problems of the Uruguayan economy is "a widespread custom of cheating, which is often considered as much an act of cleverness as of dishonesty... (that)... has won the euphemism of "la viveza criolla"". Consequently, Latin American individuals from different regions understand that Viveza's behavior influences many cases of unethical practices (i.e., Soto, 2012; Primicias, 2019). Past research suggests that unethical practices are frequently found in the Latin American business environment (Arruda, 1997). Furthermore, Chandan (2016) revealed that the influence of Viveza in the Latin American culture could affect the stakeholders' trust level. The influence of the Viveza does not only negatively influence micro business transactions but also can significantly affect the whole economy at a national level (see Fernandez Roich, 2017). Moreover, Viveza also influences the emergence of corrupt practices in Latin America. Prior research suggests that the Malandragem behavior -a Brazilian term for Viveza- is positively correlated with corruption (see Ferreira et al., 2012).

However, despite the big influence on Latin American individuals, there is a lack of empirical research about this topic in the international business field. Past research has emphasized the role of culture on the international business field (i.e, Shenkar et al., 2022). For example, Hofstede (1994) questioned the legitimacy of management theories in the international business contexts, as the local culture can limit their application. Furthermore, while the literature on international business is wide, the representativeness of the field is at stake. Prior research suggests that an overwhelming majority of researchers, frequently assuming a small variation across human populations, compose the samples of their studies on participants who belong to WEIRD -western, educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic- societies (Arnett, 2008). We believe that Latin America constitutes one of the regions suitable for emerging phenomena that could be categorized as indigenous and, therefore, challenge the validity of past management theories. Based on the Cultural Dimension Theory (Hofstede, 2011; Hofstede Insights, 2022), the Latin American region presents a lower level of individualism, a higher level of uncertainty avoidance, a lower level of long-term orientation, and a higher level of indulgence (see Table 1). These characteristics among Latin American individuals can generate an environment whose conditions differ greatly from the WEIRD societies' environment.

INSERT TABLE 1

This study enlarges the current literature on international business by adding a new phenomenon which can limit the efficacy of current managerial theories. In addition, this research aims to contribute to the Latin American social research literature by conceptualizing and exploring the influence of the Viveza, a Latin American indigenous phenomenon, on local identity and cultural practices. Following the explanation of the methodological aspects of the research, the results section will be divided as it follows. into several chapters. First, we will explore the terminology and concepts of Viveza, Vivo, and Gil. Second, we will look at the dynamics of the relationship between the two main roles of the Viveza: the Vivo and the Gil. Third, we will study the influence of the Viveza in Latin American society. Fourth, we will analyze the Viveza concept from an ethical perspective. Fifth, we will elaborate on the influence of Viveza on the Latin American business environment. Discussion,

implications, research limitations, and future considerations will be assessed at the end of this research.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The Viveza can be described as a way of life in Latin American societies. Through the Viveza, an individual takes advantage of a situation in which, behaving unethically, they can pursue their goals and avoid the normal amount of effort required. Since there is no clear definition of Viveza, the acts included within the category are large.

"For example, two people share a Spotify account, and one does not pay because the other does not keep a clear payment record. So, this person says, "well, I am not going to tell him anything." It is taking advantage of the fact that the other person is not careful." (P24, Male, 23, El Salvador)

Past studies have explored other indigenous phenomena in which individuals bend the rules to achieve self-benefits. In China, Guanxi is a pragmatic way to solve problems based on the principle of long-term equity. Guanxi relationships are based on loyalty, obligation, and mutual commitment between individuals (see Chen and Chen, 2004). In Arab countries, Wasta is a phenomenon in which individuals rely on their relational contacts to achieve benefits. Prior research revealed that Wasta has a high impact on the daily activity of Arab individuals (see Ramady, 2016). Jeitinho is a Brazilian behavior in which individuals use their social skills to solve problems and achieve goals without considering the behavior's legality (Pilati et al., 2011). However, the Viveza presents different characteristics compared to the previously defined phenomena (see Table 2). While Guanxi, Wasta, and Jeitinho acts can be understood as Viveza acts, some extreme Viveza behaviors cannot be addressed as other indigenous phenomena:

"When we bought our first used car with my family, my dad checked it with his mechanic. Since everything was perfect, they closed the deal. However, I do not know why they had to pick it up the next day. The following day they changed all the parts inside; they put in an old battery and other parts. They took the opportunity to change things overnight" (P43, Male, 35, Chile)

INSERT TABLE 2

The Viveza implies the interaction between two main roles. The individual who behaves according to the Viveza rule is usually known as Vivo, a ruthless individual who establishes the achievement of self-benefit as their most important goal. Vivo will always prefer the easiest way to accomplish its goals, even if it implies making unethical decisions. As Mafud explains (1965: 109), Vivo individuals have a utilitarian mindset in which other societal actors will be relevant only if they are useful for achieving their goals. On the other hand, the affected person is addressed as Gil, although this nomenclature can vary in each country. This character is depicted as a "stupid individual who suffers the attacks of the Vivo or retaliates in a novice way -according to the Viveza logic-" (Aguinis, 2007:82). Gil is an innocent individual with no speed or malice to detect the real Vivo's intentions. Every person who acts against the Viveza logic can be categorized as a Gil, including individuals who engage in ethical behaviors. Supporting this claim, prior literature suggests that honesty is perceived as a boring attribute in Latin America (Barros, 2017).

The Viveza influence in society results in a system of values characterized by self-interest, falsehood in relationships, and the permissiveness of acts that contradict societal moral and ethical standards. While most Latin American individuals recognize these behaviors as unethical, society perceives the Vivo as a role model of success. At the same time, the strong influence of Viveza within society leads to a negative perception of Gil. Even those who do not agree with the practices of the Vivo, due to the powerful effect on the culture, prefer not to be regarded as a Gil. The Viveza mentality in Latin America contradicts prior research, suggesting that Latin American individuals tend to have a higher valuation of group interests' values than individual interests (Lenartowicz and Johnson, 2003).

Since there is no clear parameter to evaluate whether a behavior can be categorized as Viveza, the concept is fluid, and its definition depends on the experiences of the individuals. The lack of objectivity and consensus about what is and what is not a Viveza act prevents the individuals from discussing this mentality's positive and negative consequences. However, the negative impact of the Viveza upon the Latin American region can be visible. Some authors consider that engaging in Viveza behaviors attempts against the development of society (see Mafud, 1965: 131; Flores, 2020). To

address this lack of consensus, this research will explore the underlying psychosocial processes of Viveza to understand how it affects the business environment in Latin America. This research analyzes how Latin American individuals understand the Viveza and identifies its most salient characteristics using a qualitative approach. Furthermore, this study will aim to account for the following research questions:

Research Question #1. How do Latin American individuals understand the Viveza phenomenon?

Research Question #2. How is the interaction between the Viveza roles in Latin America?

Research Question #3. How does the Viveza influence the daily activities of Latin American individuals?

Research Question #4. How is Viveza perceived in Latin America from an ethical perspective?

Research Question #5. How does Viveza influence the Latin American business environment?

METHODOLOGY

A total of 45 participants (M(age): 30, Female: 33%), native Latin American individuals, have participated in the main study. This study includes at least one native participant from each Latin American country. Each participant participated in a semi-structured interview lasting one hour on average. The participants could select the time and location most convenient for them. Due to the conditions generated by the COVID-19 pandemic, most participants preferred to participate in the study through videoconferences means (i.e., ZOOM). Prior research supports the viability of ZOOM as a useful tool for collecting data in qualitative research projects (see Archibald et al., 2019).

Because Viveza behaviors are perceived as a local phenomenon, this study focused on native participants who lived in Japan for the past two years. Individuals who emigrate to other culturally distant societies must learn new skills to cope with the unfamiliar cultural environment (Ward and Szabó, 2019). The cultural distance can reflect differences in language, social structure, religions, wealth and lifestyle, and values between societies (Triandis, 1998). Exposure to distant cultural standards can provide individuals with a more objective view of this phenomenon and strengthen the study results. Consequently, the result of this study can be replicable with Latin American participants who live in similar culturally distant societies.

The participants were recruited through contacts using a snowball sampling strategy. The structure of the interview was divided into five different blocks of questions. The first set of questions aimed to understand the participants' terminology, definition, and opinion on the Viveza phenomena. The second set of questions is based on the dynamics of the roles participating in Viveza's acts and their most salient characteristics. The third set of questions is focused on the impact and implications of the Viveza in the Latin American region. The fourth block of questions explores the participants' opinions about the ethicality of the Viveza acts. Lastly, the fifth set of questions is based on the relationship of the Viveza acts with money and the impact on the Latin American business environment. All the replies were manually codified and divided into categories corresponding to each chapter of this study. To reduce a subjective bias in the categorization, the codification was anonymously assessed by five Latin American individuals who did not participate as an interviewee in this research.

This study followed the Ethical Principles in the Conduct of Research with Human Participants established by the American Psychological Association (see APA, 1973). All the participants received in advance a consent letter that explained the objectives of the research, what the researchers would expect from them in case of taking part in the study, the risks involved in their participation, the possible benefits for them or others, and the confidentiality and anonymity of the participants. In addition, the participants were informed about their freedom to quit their participation at any moment in the study. The participants accepted their participation in the study via oral communication (for interviews conducted via the internet) or by signing the consent letter (for interviews conducted in person). The consent forms were collected before starting the recording of each interview. In order to preserve the anonymity of the participants, no personal information was collected.

RESULTS

Viveza: Definitions and Characteristics

In concordance with the lack of consensus in the Introduction, there are no unique criteria of what is and what is not Viveza for the participants. However, the definitions stated by the participants share some common characteristics (see Table 3). First, the Viveza can be understood as an

unorthodox way to achieve things, originating from the daily heavy bureaucratic procedures that Latin American individuals face. Second, Viveza is perceived as bending the rules and using legal loopholes to obtain self-benefits. While many participants agree that the lack of an ethical perspective is a key part of the Viveza logic, the moral boundaries that determine whether an act is ethical to depend on each personal experience and interpretation. Third, the participants relate Viveza with an extreme individualistic mindset which can motivate egoist behaviors. Lastly, the Viveza act is tied to a specific situation in which individuals take advantage of the context by developing a cunning strategy.

While the term Viveza is used in Argentina, Paraguay, Ecuador, Venezuela, and Uruguay, participants from other countries could easily understand its meaning. The participants used the term Viveza to categorize actions from crossing a street with a red traffic light to demanding a bribe. The terminology for this behavior can also vary across countries (see Table 3) and regions. For example, in Argentina, the term differs in Buenos Aires (Viveza) and other provinces (Viveza Porteña).

INSERT TABLE 3

INSERT TABLE 4

INSERT TABLE 5

Table 4 shows the terminology used to address the Viveza roles in each country. The Vivo is the principal representative of the Viveza, an individual who adopts its most distinctive principles as a way of life. Table 5 reveals the personal characteristics of the Vivo according to the participants. A successful Vivo must be skillful at dealing with difficult situations, taking risks, and mitigating possible negative outcomes. Due to the proliferation of Vivo individuals in Latin America, Vivo individuals need to be constantly alert and act fast, both for-profit and to protect from negative outcomes. Furthermore, when Latin American individuals try to defend themselves against the acts of other Vivo individuals, they must follow the Viveza logic and become a Vivo.

Compared with the Vivo, the Gil accumulates more negative attributes when its characteristics are described (see Table 5). The participants have defined Gil mainly in three different ways. First, as an innocent person who cannot see and take advantage of the opportunities in the same way as the

Vivo. Second, as an introverted and boring person who is constantly fooled by others and cannot learn how to prevent these acts from that experience. Lastly, as an ethical person who decides not to engage in Vivo acts. The negative image of being categorized as an ethical person might increase the likelihood of individuals engaging in unethical behaviors.

INSERT TABLE 6

The roles within the Viveza

As the most representative role of the Viveza, the Vivo occupies a preponderant role within Latin American society. Most of the powerful positions in Latin American individuals are occupied by individuals perceived as Vivo. The Vivo might commit crimes and harm other individuals to get what it wants. Since the Vivo only instrumentally considers other individuals, the lack of consideration can be a differential characteristic of the Viveza and the Latin American culture. The Vivo prioritizes the ends and will only consider whether the means are cunning. This behavioral pattern is influenced by the Viveza environment, which generates Vivo's conditions to act and justify unethical behaviors.

Two categories of Vivo can be defined according to their motivation. This study defines the instrumental Vivo as the individual who applies the Viveza to achieve self-benefits only when the situation requires it. This category includes individuals who behave as Vivo motivated by survival purposes. The instrumental Vivo will not damage other individuals unless it is the only way to achieve its objectives. On the other hand, the sadistic Vivo will be mainly motivated by the pleasure of occupying the role of Vivo to ensure its privileged position within society. Consistently, the sadistic Vivo will often behave without considering the well-being of other individuals.

The range of Viveza's behaviors is broad. Due to the lack of discussion and consensus about the phenomenon's characteristics, the limits on whether a Vivo act is acceptable are diffuse and depend on each individual. Nonetheless, while the instrumental Vivo is widely positively appreciated, the sadistic Vivo has a negative image. These Vivo categories are dynamic, and the Vivo individuals might have mixed characteristics. Whether the main motivation to act is the final benefit or the pleasure derived from the act can determine the categorization of the Vivo individual. However, some participants

suggested that the hedonistic component is always present, even if the ultimate goal is to achieve a concrete benefit.

The Viveza roles are tied to developing a specific activity between individuals. The person who outsmarts others will be the Vivo of the situation, while the damaged will be the Gil. Table 7 reveals the participants' perception of the dynamism of the roles within the Viveza. 64% of the participants agree that the roles are contextual due to the impossibility of always behaving according to a role. Whether an individual occupies the Vivo or the Gil role will be evaluated by external individuals who will categorize the participants of the situation according to the results and the craftiness of the Viveza.

INSERT TABLE 7

Although continuous repetitive action patterns can forge a personality in individuals, the roles are dynamic and can be exchanged despite the personal characteristics of the individuals. For example, the Vivo, whom another Vivo outsmarts, will be considered a Gil. Being perceived as a Gil by other members of society is a humiliation for Latin American individuals. In the local context, not taking advantage of the presented opportunities is a Gil behavior since another Vivo will obtain those benefits. This can be perceived as a lost opportunity and generate a feeling of regret. Failing to take advantage of the opportunities might result in a benefit loss and a considerable impact on Vivo's reputation.

INSERT TABLE 8

Impact of the Viveza in Latin America

Table 9 reveals Viveza's influence on the participants' daily activities when they lived in Latin America. While most participants considered that the influence was strong, other participants considered that it mainly depended on the context of the situation (i.e., performing activities in the street). Also, some participants suggested that workers interacting directly with customers were more likely to face Viveza acts (i.e., clerks and nurses). Table 9 also shows how frequently the participants

encountered Viveza acts while living in Latin America. Many participants suggested that the high frequency of the Viveza acts is a unique regional characteristic.

Due to the high frequency of these acts, Latin Americans develop a certain degree of tolerance for the dishonest behaviors of the Vivo. Living under the Viveza logic makes Latin American individuals engage in a continuous high-alert state to be cautious about the actions of other Vivo individuals and normalized to the point where it becomes like breathing. In this sense, the Viveza affects the Latin American individuals who engage in a continuous high alert state to be cautious about the actions of other Vivo individuals and about possible opportunities that might arise from the environment. Because individuals need to protect themselves, the continuous high alert state is perceived as a positive ability. The state gradually gets normalized to the point where it becomes like breathing. In this sense, the Viveza affects Latin American individuals in their social interactions, but they are not always aware of it.

The prevalence of the Viveza within Latin American societies is reflected in the participants' opinions. 60% of the participants asserted that the Viveza could generate positive and negative outcomes (see Table 9). Some participants suggested that sometimes the Viveza can be used not to obtain a self-benefit but to help other individuals. Furthermore, many participants consider that the cunningness forged by the Viveza can be useful for expatriates when adapting to new environments. Latin American individuals feel that losing the skills in the Viveza might be detrimental to their aspirations. Moreover, using the Viveza can give Latin American individuals hopes to advance and achieve a better life quality.

INSERT TABLE 9

However, Viveza has more negative consequences than positive outcomes. While the Viveza can be an effective way to acquire the necessary resources to survive, it can be very harmful to society due to its long-lasting negative effects. For example, the Viveza generates an environment characterized by distrust in other members of the society and reduces the empathy of the individuals. The feeling of mistrust and the inefficiencies of the social system make the individuals feel alone in

their strive for survival. Consequently, individuals can stop caring about others because nobody cares about them in the first place. The exposure to a high frequency of cases gradually erodes the social sensibility of Latin American individuals, leading to an increased engagement in hazardous behaviors. Moreover, the inadaptability of this system has encouraged many Latin American individuals to emigrate to other societies.

INSERT TABLE 10

Viveza from an Ethical Perspective

Despite being considered unethically, the lack of negative consequences and the high success rate in achieving benefits drive Latin American individuals to accept Viveza as an effective social mechanism. Table 11 shows the participants' appreciation of Viveza from an ethical perspective. While 76% of the participants consider that the Viveza is non-ethical, the remaining 24% consider the Viveza acts as an ethical gray area. Many participants who understand that Viveza is a non-ethical phenomenon stated that they do not agree with Viveza. However, they cannot condemn it because they understand the performers' motivations. None of the participants categorized Viveza as an ethical phenomenon.

INSERT TABLE 11

The overestimated positive attributes of the Vivo and the lack of discussion about the negative outcomes lead to a romanticization of the Viveza in Latin America. Latin American individuals think that the pressure to behave as a Vivo is also normal in other cultures. Consistently, many of the participants stated that their ethical appreciation of the Viveza phenomenon changed after arriving in Japan. However, some Latin American participants confessed that it is difficult to stop behaving as a Vivo, implying that even the localization in a distant culture cannot completely mitigate the Viveza outcomes.

While most participants consider that Viveza's acts do not match the moral behavioral

standards of society, the positive societal approval works as a valid justification to engage in unethical behaviors while avoiding the negative. When Latin American individuals perform unethical acts under the parameters of the Viveza, they obtain benefits and positive approval from society. In a counter-wise sense, Latin American individuals respect the Vivo for not respecting others. Consequently, it is reasonable that individuals keep behaving as a Vivo until it becomes normalized.

The Viveza can generate a moral dichotomy in the Latin American individual between being ethical while respecting the formal norms and following the informal rules based on the Viveza. Since the Viveza standards are accepted as a valid social mechanism, behaviors that contradict formal norms can be performed without negative consequences if these acts are coherent with the informal rules. Moreover, some participants stated that behaviors based on formal rules which contradict the informal rules might be negatively perceived within society. In this sense, behaviors under normal conditions that would be considered a crime can be justified as mere Viveza acts to avoid potential negative consequences.

Questioning the Viveza logic implies questioning the traditional ways of action of society. A call to stop the Viveza is dangerous for individuals from a status perspective. This mindset also undermines the possibility of a change because no one wants to be the first individual to stop behaving as a Vivo since it could be perceived as a Gil. Since Latin American individuals need to apply this mindset continuously, it is understandable why many self-perceived ethical individuals commit daily unethical behaviors under the Viveza rules. Because nobody plays fair, individuals cannot allow themselves to be fair if they want to progress in society. Since Latin American individuals must act according to the Viveza not to be excluded from society, there is no reward for behaving honestly.

The socioeconomic status of individuals can influence the ethical perception of their behaviors. The same Viveza act can be condemned or justified depending on the performer and the victim. The bigger the socioeconomic distance in favor of the Vivo, the more condemnable the act will be. Consequently, the bigger the distance in favor of the victim, the more justifiable the act will be. Under these circumstances, unethical behaviors can be justified and accepted as part of the rules. The popular perception of high socioeconomic state individuals in Latin America living at the expense of low socioeconomic state individuals inhibits the constraint that disadvantaged individuals should have

when taking advantage of those who occupy powerful positions. Furthermore, some participants suggested they do not feel a big burden on scamming other societal actors whose financial position will not be compromised after the act. Many participants feel that nobody is damaged when Vivo acts are performed against a company based on its powerful position and can even praise Vivo's behaviors against big institutions.

INSERT TABLE 12

Viveza and the Business Environment

Latin American businesses are not exempt from the Viveza influence. While the Viveza can emerge in every institution, the situation is worsened in the informal area, where the lack of regulations makes all the actors increase their high alert state when conducting business. Small companies participating in the informal market are expected to be more unprotected than big companies, which can take measures to prevent economic risks. Furthermore, big companies can exert pressure to modify the formal norms and benefit from them. Consequently, small business people feel that the formal norms are not adapted to their reality, making it impossible for them to be ethical under these conditions.

Business involves money, one of the most desirable outcomes for the Vivo. However, 41% of the participants stated that the emergence of Viveza acts is not influenced by money and can be observed in various situations (see Table 13). Moreover, some participants understand that performing Viveza acts in non-money-related activities is easier due to the reduced attention individuals pay. On the other hand, 59% of the participants understand that obtaining money can constitute one of the main motivations for individuals to behave as Vivo. Some participants suggested that money can be a motivation to push the individual's ethical boundaries due to its tangibility. Since it represents a physical value; it is something whose value can be quickly identifiable. Due to the importance of money as a desired element, all the societal actors in the Latin American environment should be extremely cautious when engaging in business transactions.

91% of the participants suggest that Viveza significantly influences business transactions in Latin America (see Table 13). This way of conducting business can confront the standard business ethics and good practices. Vivo acts are a constant threat in Latin American business, and the Viveza acts can be present in every daily transaction. Because the Viveza is widely spread across all the layers of Latin American societies, the attention that individuals who engage in business transactions are focused on the buyer and seller roles and external parties. The importance of acting according to the Viveza logic in Latin American societies can heavily affect consumers, workers, and companies. Furthermore, individuals who conduct business in Latin America should also be alert to possible unethical behaviors from governmental agencies and intermediaries. However, if big companies engage in Viveza acts, they have to weigh the unethicity degree in the act. Consumers will require companies to behave ethically due to power asymmetries. A highly damaging ethical transgression could generate a boycott among its consumers and compromise the company's financial position.

INSERT TABLE 13

The institutionalization of the Viveza reaches a point in which behaviors perceived as unethical in other regions are considered common standards of conducting business in Latin America. Moreover, these unethical practices reinforce mistrust in the environment. This mistrust is not only focused on the business actors but also on the quality of the products. Due to the normalization of mistrust in others, Latin American individuals are not surprised when services do not work properly, or products do not meet quality standards. This environment can generate several negative consequences for all the business actors in society.

However, Viveza can also generate profits for companies in Latin America. Even at the cost of facing unethical behaviors, many companies prefer to hire Vivo employees than Gil employees. Some companies understand that having Vivo employees could allow them to benefit from the employees' cunningness and generate financial returns. Furthermore, managers who want to hire Vivo employees expect them to use their abilities to improve the company's results, even at the expense of engaging in

unethical activities. Also, the sense skill of detecting possible Vivo behaviors can help companies to protect themselves against Viveza acts performed by clients and other business actors.

Since Vivo individuals are continuously looking for opportunities, the companies might benefit from this ability if the employees are keen on detecting new profitable activities. Furthermore, the "strike first or lose" mindset in the Latin American business environment makes Vivo individuals more suitable for certain job positions. The assertive and charismatic personality of the Vivo can be a useful resource to attract new clients to the companies and to negotiate deals. Also, individuals possessing Vivo abilities are more likely to successfully navigate the Latin American heavy bureaucratic processes and provide the company with a significant competitive advantage. Moreover, since Vivo is considered a "role model of success," companies which employ Vivo individuals are likely to be perceived as successful too.

Latin American individuals can be benefited from applying Viveza techniques during all the recruitment processes. The charming personality of the Vivo can increase its social capital and allow individuals to establish a relational network. Having contacts in the business area becomes a substantial advantage for active individuals in the job market. As Latin American managers appreciate Vivo's abilities positively, job candidates must behave as a Vivo during the selection processes to demonstrate added value for the company. Furthermore, some participants suggested that Vivo abilities are required to be promoted to higher managerial positions.

However, Viveza can suppose many risks for the companies. Since showing off Vivo skills is important during a job interview, job candidates can include fake desirable abilities that might not be checked (i.e., language skills) in their resumes. Furthermore, the selfish behavior of the Vivo individuals might generate tight relationships among the team members, which might be detrimental to achieving group-based targets. Moreover, the managers could face a dichotomy between punishing the Vivo for its behavior -and risking the Vivo's desirable skills- and not punishing the Vivo for its unethical practices -and risking legitimizing unsafe practices on other members of the team-.

INSERT TABLE 14

DISCUSSION

The goal of the present study was to explore the influence of the Viveza in Latin American society with the objective of providing theoretical and practical implications for international business. This research contributes to the literature by establishing a background for a significant Latin American phenomenon. First, based on the characteristics described by the participants, this study defines the Viveza as a Latin American indigenous phenomenon in which individuals, through unethical means, obtain benefits by taking advantage of situations cunningly. Additionally, this study provides empirical support for the similarity of the concept across all of Latin America. These findings contradict past literature which identifies the Viveza concept as a unique characteristic at a national level (i.e., Flores, 2020; Aguinis, 2001: 82). The lack of scope of the Viveza as a regional phenomenon can be detrimental to the discussion about the topic's characteristics due to a perceived lack of relevance and the development of further research. Furthermore, establishing the Viveza as a broader phenomenon can raise its awareness for non-Latin American individuals about its relevance when doing business in the region.

This research also contributes by showing the characteristics of the two main roles within the Viveza (Vivo and Gil) and the interpersonal relationship dynamics between both characters. This research defines the Vivo as an individual who, according to the Viveza logic, will prioritize the achievement of benefits over the well-being of other individuals. This definition contradicts prior literature suggesting that, while individuals act egoistically by pursuing the maximization of self-benefits, they care about the possible negative outcomes on other individuals (Gneezy, 2005). Furthermore, individuals can be categorized as Vivo if they apply the Viveza logic to protect themselves against other Vivo individuals. Additionally, this study defines Gil as an individual who decides not to follow the Viveza logic in their daily social interactions. The broad categorization of the Gil role implies that ethical individuals are perceived as non-intelligent in Latin American society.

Due to the high impact of the Viveza in Latin American society, understanding the dynamics between the Vivo and the Gil is important to appreciate how Latin American individuals interact in society. In particular, since the business relationships in Latin America are influenced by the performance of the Vivo individuals, we believe that getting insights about the Vivo personality is

relevant for the international business field. This research contributes to the literature on Latin American individuals by suggesting a spectrum of the Vivo personality and defining the extreme categories (Instrumental Vivo vs. Sadistic Vivo). This is consistent with prior research, suggesting that individuals occupy several roles that can be adapted according to the contextual situation but that sometimes do not reflect their real social identity (Erickson, 1995). Since the roles in the Viveza are dynamic, the Vivo individuals need to be keen on their environment to not become a victim and be categorized as Gil. The Vivo cannot allow any risky situation that might disrupt its perfect image (Salazar Bondy, 1964: 23). Because being categorized as a Gil can damage their status, the Vivo is incapable of admitting wrongdoing or a mistake and will always try to blame another person for it (Aguinis, 2001: 81) or discredit the accusations (Mafud, 1965: 112).

Moreover, this study expands the literature on dishonesty by adding a phenomenon from a non-conventional region. This research understands that an ethical decision is a concordant decision with the moral behavioral standards of a community (Jones, 1991). The adoption of the Viveza logic as informal rules by Latin American individuals is consistent with prior research. Lauth (2000) suggests that individuals who do not act following formal regulations follow norms from informal institutions. The difference between formal and informal norms in Latin America can be observed in the lack of enforcement of the authorities related by the participants, who avoid penalizing individuals who follow the Viveza logic over the formal rules. The tolerance of the Viveza behaviors by the societal actors is significant for the international business field, since international managers expects others to behave according to formal rules when establishing trade relationships.

The lack of questioning over the Viveza ethical aspects and the positive societal approval of the Vivo can lead individuals to a contradiction between the relation of the Viveza with descriptive norms and injunctive norms (see Cialdini, Reno, and Kallgren, 1990). This conflict makes Latin American individuals ambiguous when categorizing an act as ethical or unethical. Individuals can easily justify their unethical behavior by prioritizing the positive approval of descriptive norms over the negative approval of injunctive norms. Prior research also establishes a link between the dichotomy between descriptive and injunctive norms to justify potential dishonest acts (see Pilati et al., 2011). Moreover, this research provides evidence about the lack of uniform criteria to evaluate the ethical degree of the

Viveza acts (i.e., differences in the justification of acts according to the individual's socioeconomic status). The duality in the criteria to justify the acts according to external factors can broaden the categorization of the acts (Mazar, Amir, and Ariely, 2008) and make individuals more tolerant of dishonest behaviors. This socioeconomic criteria to justify unethical acts is particularly relevant for the international business field, as companies who decide to conduct business in Latin America should expect to be a target of these behaviors.

Massiani (1959) states that individuals have lost their moral sensibility because ethical behavior has lost its value in society. In this context, unethical behaviors are justified and become the standard according to the informal rules, triggering a moral disengagement state (see Bandura, 1999) in individuals. Moral disengagement can be defined as "an individual difference in the way people process decisions and behaviors cognitively with ethical relevance that allows those inclined to decompensation of the morality to behave unethically without feeling guilty" (Moore et al., 2012; 2). A strong moral disengagement in individuals could increase the risk of unethical behavior at an individual level and reinforce the distrust between community members. Furthermore, the distrust environment in the Latin American business environment can increase hindrances in international negotiation processes.

Lastly, this research reveals the relevance of money as a strong extrinsic motivation for the Vivo and the impact of the Viveza in the Latin American environment. Since the Vivo individuals are lured by situations where money is involved, it is expected for the Viveza to become an influential factor in the way in which business are conducted in Latin America. In this sense, this study provides useful, practical insights for non-Latin American managers who conduct business in Latin America. Latin American individuals need to behave as Vivo to obtain better benefits when engaging in business-related activities. For example, prior research suggests that, in Uruguay, 70% of young, employed individuals access their first job opportunity through influential interpersonal contacts (Racioppi, 2017: 83). Moreover, this study's results suggest that managers who hire Vivo employees can expect them to commit unethical pro-organizational behavior, a category of unethical behavior in which the employee commits ethical transgressions to benefit the company (see Umphress, Bingham, and

Mitchell, 2010). This research can help practitioners better understand a fundamental part of the Latin American business culture and provide an advantage when negotiating with local business actors.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

This study has limitations that can be addressed in future research. First, while the methodological design is appropriate for studying indigenous phenomena, adding other techniques can enlarge the results. Future research on this topic could mix information obtained from interviews and reinforce the findings with information obtained from archival data, as the prevalence of the Viveza has been documented in popular Latin American movies, literature works, song lyrics, and other locally produced cultural products (i.e., *Tío Conejo* in Venezuela, *Pedro Urdemales* in Chile and *Guatemala* and *Tango Cambalache* in Argentina and Uruguay). In addition, future research could focus on developing an indigenous psychometric scale to determine the position of Latin American individuals within the Vivo spectrum.

Also, although the snowball strategy has been positively evaluated by prior research in cases of hard-to-reach populations (see Parker, Scott, and Geddes, 2019), one of the major limitations is the high risk of sampling bias. Since the strategy is based on recruiting participants through interpersonal contacts, the individuals referred by the participants may share the same values and beliefs, putting at risk the representativity of the sample. While the low population of Latin American native individuals in Japan and the difficulty of establishing contact between them helped mitigate the risk, the current dataset presents limitations. Future research should include a proportional number of employees according to the population of each Latin American country. Furthermore, since many Latin American countries are large, future research should also seek regional representation. Also, 80% of the participants in this dataset hold a bachelor's degree, while the world average of individuals with finished tertiary education is 39% (see OECD, 2021: 42).

This research also presents several research opportunities to develop in the future. While the Viveza can significantly affect the way in which business are conducted in Latin American, the way in which the Viveza affects the trade relationships is unclear. Future studies could engage in a cross-cultural comparison to better understand the consequences of conducting business according to the

Viveza logic, in order to provide clear expectatives for non-Latin American companies when conducting business in the region. Future research could also aim to deeply investigate the factors which generate mistrust in Latin American society, in particular in the business environment. While the Viveza can influence the mistrust environment, other causes might also have influence (i.e., historical reasons). Understanding these factors can provide an advantage to non-local managers, in order avoid the distrust of Latin American business-people and mitigate the negative consequences of the Viveza.

Moreover, future research can explore the influence of the Viveza culture on gender equality in the region. Prior studies have suggested a positive relationship between the Vivo and the Macho personality (see Mafud, 1965: 106; Barros, 2007). Consequently, future research could examine how the Viveza practices affect the gender gap in the Latin American business environment. Exposing the negative effects of the Viveza on the Latin American gender-gap could not only provide useful theoretical foundations for the study of the gender equality in the region, but also provide practical contributions to diminish the differences. Lastly, future research can enlarge the literature in the IHRM field by exploring the consequences of the Viveza on expatriates and inpatriates employees. In particular, future research could explore the way in which expatriates and inpatriates from culturally-distant societies cope with the Viveza standards when they are transferred to Latin America, and how to prevent potential negative consequences for the companies.

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TABLE 1 - Comparison of Hofstede's Cultural Values (Hofstede Insights, 2022) between Latin America and the World

Dimension	Latin America (Avg.)	World (Avg.)	Difference
<i>Power Distance</i>	70	67	3
<i>Individualism</i>	21	37	-16
<i>Masculinity</i>	48	47	1
<i>Uncertainty Avoid</i>	78	67	11
<i>Long-Term Orient.</i>	21	44	-23
<i>Indulgence</i>	69	46	23

TABLE 2 - Comparison between the Viveza and other indigenous phenomena

	Guanxi	Wasta	Jeitinho	Viveza
<i>Relies on interpersonal relationships</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Not necessarily
<i>Based on honor principles</i>	Yes	Yes	Not necessarily	No
<i>Societal perception of the phenomena</i>	Positive	Mostly Negative	Positive	Mostly Negative

Table 3 - Summary of Quantitative Findings for Viveza: Definitions and Characteristics

	Bending the rules for Self- Benefit	An unorthodox way of achieving things	Individualistic Mindset	Alert about taking opportunities
<i>Definition of Viveza</i>	0.44	0.40	0.13	0.51
	Viveza	Other	No Terminology	
<i>Terminology</i>	0.31	0.80	0.02	

Table 4 - Terminology for the Viveza roles per country

Findings	Vivo	Gil	Findings	Vivo	Gil
<i>Argentina</i>	Vivo	Boludo, Sonso	<i>Honduras</i>	Vivo	Dejado
<i>Bolivia</i>	Vivo	Victima, Pendejo	<i>Mexico</i>	Vivo	Pendejo
<i>Brazil</i>	Malandro	Mane, Trouxa	<i>Nicaragua</i>	Vivo	Honesto
<i>Chile</i>	Vivo	Weon	<i>Panama</i>	Vivo	Congo
<i>Colombia</i>	Vivo	Dar papaya	<i>Paraguay</i>	Vivo, Letrado	Sonso
				Vivo,	
<i>Costa Rica</i>	Vivo	Pollo	<i>Peru</i>	Pendejo	Monse
<i>Cuba</i>	Vivo, Pillo	Punto	<i>Puerto Rico</i>	No term.	Pendejo
			<i>Dominican</i>		
<i>Ecuador</i>	Vivo, Sapo	Quedado	<i>Rep.</i>	Vivo, Tigre	Palomo
<i>El</i>					
<i>Salvador</i>	Vivo, Vivian	Te bajaron	<i>Uruguay</i>	Vivo	Gil, Boludo
	Vivo,				
<i>Guatemala</i>	Cabron	Mula	<i>Venezuela</i>	Vivo	Aguevoneado

Table 6 - Summary of Qualitative Findings for Viveza: Definitions and Characteristics

Findings	Exemplary Quotations
The Viveza is defined as an unorthodox way to achieve things.	<i>"Let us say one has to be "vivo" because something does not work in a certain way. There is a problem in the system that hinders you from reaching your goal. Then it is your turn to go through unorthodox ways" (P6/29-F/Ecuador)</i>
The Viveza is defined as bending the rules to obtain self-benefits.	<i>"It is someone who uses the same system to his advantage, the system has faults, and it takes advantage of these failures to get the most out of it." (P27/24-M/Guatemala)</i>
The Viveza is defined as an individualistic mindset.	<i>"It is like... It is first me... I will eat first, and after me, the others will eat. If I can excel, then everything is fine. To some extent, it is like pure individualism." (P8/30-M/Mexico)</i>
The Viveza is defined as taking advantage of the context.	<i>"Vivo is a person who sees an opportunity and takes it, but it does not matter if it affects another person directly or indirectly." (P25/29-M/Guatemala)</i>
The Viveza terminology varies across countries and regions.	<i>"I understand that term as "Malicia Indigena", or at least that is what we use here in Costa Rica." (P26/34-M/Costa Rica)</i>
The Vivo is defined as an individual who seeks to obtain self-benefits.	<i>"For example, 20 patients and two doctors are in a hospital. So, the first one arrives and looks for the medical records of the easiest or quickest patients, maybe it will pick ten patients, but these are the easiest... it is going to finish faster, it is going to finish easier. Then that person would classify as a Vivo individual." (P30/28-F/Colombia)</i>

Table 6 - Summary of Qualitative Findings for Viveza: Definitions and Characteristics

Findings	Exemplary Quotations
Vivo is defined as a person who protects themselves against other Vivo individuals.	<i>"In Latin America, the environment is already full of Vivo, so you have to be Vivo and know how to defend yourself to a certain extent" (P36/37-M/Panama)</i>
Gil is defined as an innocent person.	<i>"I had a Mexican friend who was like that. A person comes to him, cheats on him, and then, as a philanthropist, he helps it. He admits that it is his personality. People would have addressed him as a gil because he allows it. More than unintelligent or slow, Gil is a good person." (P38/29-M/Cuba)</i>
Gil is defined as an introverted person.	<i>"For example, the Gil can be a person who is generally very naïve, who is not very aware of what is going on, trying not to bother anyone, not to be bothered, people who are shy." (P34/28-F/Dominican Republic)</i>
Gil is defined as an ethical person.	<i>"I remember in high school, once a teacher graded a test wrong, and I said, "teacher, you were wrong....". My friend told me, "What a Gil, why are you telling her? ". " (P9/20-M/Mexico)</i>

Table 7 - Summary of Quantitative Findings for Roles within the Viveza

	Dynamic roles	Static roles
<i>Behavior of the roles</i>	0.64	0.36

Table 8 - Summary of Qualitative Findings for The roles within the Viveza

Findings	Exemplary Quotations
The Vivo occupies a preponderant role within Latin American society.	<i>"Culturally, most people think it is preferable to be a Vivo. They are not badly perceived because they have fancy houses and boast about that. Socially is important to have a house, not how you got it." (P14/34-M/Mexico)</i>
The Viveza environment generates the conditions for the Vivo to act and justify the behavior.	<i>"When I lived in Chile, I did not question this issue. Now I live in a country where everything works efficiently, where if I go to a public bathroom and leave the bathroom clean, the bathroom will be clean later. The problem is that I do not have that certainty in Chile. Then, why am I going to be careful and be clean?" (P5/29-F/Chile)</i>
The motivations to engage in the Viveza vary depending on the Vivo individual's characteristics.	<i>"In Cuba, we separate the Viveza into good and bad. An individual can be Vivo but not bad. In that case, it is a benevolent Viveza where there are limits. There is also a Viveza with fewer limits, which goes beyond the rules or empathy with other people." (P38/29-F/Cuba)</i>
The Instrumental Vivo will apply Viveza to achieve self-benefits only when the situation requires it.	<i>"The system makes you be a Vivo. I was a Vivo too. For example, the supplies in the national hospitals run out very quickly, so on the first day, we got together with my workmates or took a block, and there we put all the supplies we could because we knew that in the middle of the month, we were not going to have supplies. Maybe we had to cut our gauze in half and put it on the patients, or we would not have tubes to extract blood. So, it was like stealing, but we did it because we had to help our patients. It was a way to survive." (P45/40-F/Guatemala)</i>

Table 8 - Summary of Qualitative Findings for The roles within the Viveza

Findings	Exemplary Quotations
The Sadistic Vivo is mainly motivated by the pleasure of occupying the Vivo role.	<i>"I believe that the most important that I get personal satisfaction from acknowledging that I am scamming you or getting money." (P4/31-F/Argentina)</i>
The Instrumental Vivo is positively appreciated, while the Sadistic Vivo has a negative image.	<i>"I feel it is not bad to have some malice in this world. You need it to defend yourself. However, some people abuse it. It is wrong to abuse too much, right? You become an unscrupulous person. You do not care whom you hurt" (P36/37-M/Panama)</i>
The Viveza roles are tied to the development of a specific activity.	<i>"For example, many people are stealing from a bar, except one person. Then this person asks why they are doing that, and they reply, "oh, you can get a drink for free...." Then, this person will say, "I know I can, but I do not want to". So, at first sight, everybody will think, "oh, those are all Vivo, and this guy is a Gil". However, if there was a camera there, and this guy realized it, then he is the Vivo, and the others are the Gil." (P29/34-M/ Brazil)</i>
A Vivo whom another Vivo outsmarts will be considered a Gil.	<i>" I feel that my dad is very smart. We went on a trip and got into a car that we were told was an Uber, but it did not have any sign to confirm it. After a 20-minute ride, the driver wanted to charge us 200 dollars. My father had no choice; he had to pay him, and when he paid him, the driver quickly changed one of the 100 dollars bills for a 10-bill and said, "you gave me 110". Then he gave him another 100, and when we got out of the car, he checked his wallet and said, "ah... I was a Gil. I</i>

Table 8 - Summary of Qualitative Findings for The roles within the Viveza

Findings	Exemplary Quotations
	<i>gave him a 100-dollar bill". He charged 300 dollars for a trip that would not have cost more than 30 dollars." (P22, Female, 27, Mexico)</i>
Being perceived as a Gil is a humiliation for local individuals.	<i>"It is impossible that people will aspire to be a Gil, or their sons to be a Gil. Like no one would like to be one." (P29/34-M/Brazil)</i>
Not acting following the Viveza logic implies a feeling of regret.	<i>"I went to a store to buy corn tortillas, made a quick math sum to know if I had enough money to pay and was short, so I went to the ATM to withdraw extra money. I returned, picked up the goods, and went to pay. The clerk told me "It is 1500 yens". I knew something was wrong, so I said, "excuse me, is that the correct amount?". After that, the clerk said, "thank you for telling me. It was a mistake. The right amount is 4100 yen." Technically, I lost. I came out of the store thinking, "what a Gil I am. Why did I tell her that? ". (P8/30-M/Mexico)</i>

Table 9 - Summary of Quantitative Findings for Impact of the Viveza in Latin America

	Strong Influence	Mild Influence	No Influence	
<i>Influence of Viveza Acts</i>	0.91	0.09	0.00	
	Daily	Very Frequent	Not so Frequent	Never
<i>Frequency of Viveza Acts</i>	0.76	0.20	0.04	0.00
	Negative outcomes	Positive outcomes	Mixed outcomes	
<i>Appreciation of the Viveza</i>	0.31	0.09	0.60	

Table 10 - Summary of Qualitative Findings for the Impact of the Viveza in Latin America

Findings	Exemplary Quotations
The influence of Viveza in daily activities was strong	<i>"Yes, because, of course, you must deal with that daily to a greater or lesser extent. For example, sometimes a colleague calls and says, "I do not feel like working, and I am going to call in sick for today". Of course, you have to work more because the workload is the same, and it has to be done." (P33/31-F/El Salvador)</i>
The influence of the Viveza depends on the context	<i>"It depends on where you are. I am not going to tell you always because it is not true. There are situations where people go into this mode. Especially if you are on the street." (P27/24-M/Guatemala)</i>
The tolerance to dishonest behaviors allows the institutionalization of the Viveza as social norms.	<i>"The Viveza is something that is there, that it is inherent to the society, and... of course, we are sometimes idealistic... we want to change, and we want it not to be that way, but sooner or later, one realizes that it is more practical to stick with the system." (P1/34-M/Paraguay)</i>
Latin American individuals engage in a continuous high alert state to be cautious about the actions of other Vivo.	<i>"You have to be vigilant. The moment you return to Mexico, you feel that at any moment, something is going to be stolen. Someone can steal from you wherever you are, and you must be cautious always." (P22/27-F/Mexico)</i>
Vivo skills facilitate the integration of individuals into society.	<i>"Not being a Vivo is boring, and it will be difficult to participate in society. It can be a difficult life. Being Vivo has several advantages in certain contexts, such as having more friends in society and easily being accepted as a part of it." (P23/26-M/Bolivia)</i>

Table 10 - Summary of Qualitative Findings for the Impact of the Viveza in Latin America

Findings	Exemplary Quotations
Sometimes the Viveza can be used to assist other individuals.	<i>"In the hospital, I saw many times colleagues and superiors do acts of Viveza for a patient, which did not harm anyone, but which were unthinkable and succeeded." (P33/31-F/El Salvador)</i>
The Viveza can provide benefits to expatriates.	<i>"I came to Japan thanks to my Viveza. Without Viveza, I would not have been anything in this life. I would never have achieved anything. I would not have been able to move forward without my Viveza. My family position is greatly explained by acts in which I had to use my Viveza." (P38/29-M/Cuba)</i>
The Viveza environment is characterized by distrust in other members of society.	<i>"When someone is doing you a favor, you ask yourself "why is this person doing me that favor?" Here we handle it from both sides. It is like having the malice that maybe there is a motive behind everything." (P26/34-M/Costa Rica)</i>
The inadaptability to the Viveza has encouraged many Latin American individuals to emigrate.	<i>"The Viveza is one of the reasons why I decided to emigrate. I decided like... well, let us see how the world works in other places because I did not like how it worked." (P20/29-M/Venezuela)</i>

Table 11 - Summary of Quantitative Findings for Viveza from an Ethical Perspective

	Non-Ethical	Ethical	Ethical Gray Area
<i>Ethical Appreciation</i>	0.76	0.00	0.24

Table 12 - Summary of Qualitative Findings for Viveza from an Ethical Perspective

Findings	Exemplary Quotations
Some individuals understand that the Viveza is non-ethical but cannot condemn it.	<i>"It is compromising. Because half of me is like we do not have to be Vivo, and that is why the country is like this, but then I go and do acts of Viveza. I cannot condemn it." (P6/29-F/Ecuador)</i>
For some individuals, their ethical boundaries changed after they arrived in Japan.	<i>"There are many things in which I thought my ethical limit was one, and when I arrived in Japan, I realized that it was another. Some things that seemed normal to me would be perceived as horror here." (P3/28-F/Argentina)</i>
The positive societal approval of the Viveza acts is a valid justification to engage in unethical behaviors.	<i>"Here in Nicaragua, people are Vivo because it is well perceived to achieve a fortune in just one day. So, people can do a Viveza act to achieve that, and they do not care how they do it. They just want to achieve that." (P32/25-M/Nicaragua)</i>
It is difficult for Latin American expatriates to stop behaving according to the Viveza logic.	<i>"In Japan, people are so considerate to others in every way. In the hotel where I work, we get the food for free, which is usually served in a buffet style. One day I saw that they offered ten strawberries. Japanese people arrive at the buffet table and take out only one to leave something to the others. I think, "Wow, there are strawberries! It is the first day there are strawberries here, and strawberries are expensive," so I take... I do not take 10, but I take seven, leave about 3 for the rest, and so on." (P5/29-F/Chile)</i>
Individuals can have double standards regarding Viveza.	<i>"For example, I want a traffic cop to accept a bribe from me, but I want the traffic policeman to be very strict with the others." (P7/30-M/Ecuador)</i>

Table 12 - Summary of Qualitative Findings for Viveza from an Ethical Perspective

Findings	Exemplary Quotations
Individuals can find a justification for unethical behaviors by prioritizing social norms over formal norms.	<i>"If someone finds a wallet with money here, it is common to leave it where it is and not touch it until the owner reappears. It will be a miracle in Argentina if that wallet returns to you. The prospect in Argentina would be that if I return it to you with half of the money, at least I am returning something to you, which is something good. Who else would return a wallet to you in Argentina? There is no such thing; nobody gives it back to you. You can get loose documents, which would be an act of equal kindness. In Argentina, if you return a complete wallet, you are a Gil; if not, it is only a typical act of Viveza." (P3/28-F/Argentina)</i>
A call to stop the Viveza can be dangerous for individuals in terms of status.	<i>"Vivo people are going to think that a person who calls for a change is a coward person or very Gil. I mean, those words that we use to insult people." (P27/24-M/Guatemala)</i>
Ethical behavior has lost its value in the Latin American society	<i>"Society does not give value to ethics. They know that being ethical is part of being a Gil, so being ethical does not make sense. Since ethics has no value in society, there is no questioning whether the acts are ethical." (P18/28-M/Venezuela)</i>
The same Viveza act can be condemned or justified depending on the performer and the victim.	<i>"If a rich man performs a Vivo act against a poor man, he is the worst kind of person, and if a poor man does it to a rich man, he is going to be just a thief." (P2/27-F/Argentina)</i>
The Viveza is positively appreciated when it is	<i>"I think the most emblematic case is the guy from Argentina who... when the domain of the Google Argentina website expired... bought it before Google. Everyone applauded him because it was like,</i>

Table 12 - Summary of Qualitative Findings for Viveza from an Ethical Perspective

Findings	Exemplary Quotations
performed against a big institution.	<i>"amazing mate, you scammed Google! ". In that case, the benefit was the personal satisfaction of feeling like you are scamming Google." (P4/31-F/Argentina)</i>

Table 13 - Summary of Quantitative Findings for Viveza and the Business Environment

	No Influence	Influence	
<i>Influence of Money on the Frequency of Viveza acts</i>	0.42	0.60	
	Strong	Mild	No
	Influence	Influence	Influence
<i>Influence of Viveza on Business</i>	0.91	0.07	0.02

Table 14 - Summary of Qualitative Findings for Viveza and the Business Environment

Findings	Exemplary Quotations
Obtaining money can constitute one of the main motivations for the Vivo to act.	<i>"Money is too tempting, especially in Latin countries where people have so little. So, when there is money involved, I think there is a much higher chance of finding Vivo individuals."</i> (P25/29-M/Guatemala)
The amount of money can influence the likelihood of Viveza in a transaction	<i>"Depending on the amount of money involved, the ethical justification that someone can give for a Viveza act is completely different."</i> (P4/31-F/Argentina)
Business actors in Latin America usually behave as Vivo individuals	<i>"I sell cars. In the sales world, the Viveza is just around the corner. Customers come wanting to take advantage, and as a salesman, sometimes you also have to take advantage of people, so I live it daily. (P32/24-M/Nicaragua)</i>
The Viveza can affect consumers, workers, and companies	<i>"In Argentina, nobody pays the full monthly price of the cable television service unless you are officially a Gil. Every three months, you call the cable operator and ask why they are charging you more than at the beginning. When they tell you that you are running out of the affiliate promotional discount, you tell them that you cannot pay it and ask for the cancellation. Then they offer you a new pack of channels or updates to the plan you already have, and if you ask for the cancellation again, they offer you a similar discount for three months. Then every three months, people call to repeat the process and always pay at a discount. No human being in Argentina pays 100% of the price. You call, you say you leave, and that is it." (P3/28-F/ Argentina)</i>

Table 14 - Summary of Qualitative Findings for Viveza and the Business Environment

Findings	Exemplary Quotations
Many companies prefer to hire Vivo employees than Gil employees	<i>"There are jobs where you have to be "vivo" and know how to move, and I think those are almost the majority. (P31/25-M/Paraguay)</i>
Managers who hire Vivo employees expect them to use their abilities in favor of the company.	<i>"The personal benefit pursued by the Vivo can represent almost anything. For example, here is my company, I do not know, we also include the invoices of some purchases to lower the taxes. Maybe someone will try to take too much advantage and inflate their costs." (P37/28-M/Honduras)</i>
Vivo individuals can help companies to protect against Viveza acts performed by other business actors.	<i>"If you are looking for a formal job, people would be like "I do not want a Vivo here". But if you are running a restaurant and you need a waiter or a cashier, it is good to have a guy who has like a little of Viveza, so people do not take advantage of him." (P29/34-M/Brazil)</i>
Individuals can be benefited from applying Viveza during the recruitment processes	<i>"For example, if you want to get a good job, it does not depend on your skills but depends on your relationships with the boss, whether you are a friend, or you are a family member." (P18/28-M/Venezuela)</i>
Vivo abilities are required to be promoted to higher managerial positions	<i>"If you are not Vivo, you are always going to take the errand, and you are never going to manage people. You are always going to have to listen to people." (P23/26-M/Bolivia)</i>
It is expected that Vivo job candidates overstate their resumes	<i>"I used to work in a Human Resources department at a company. I used to get people's CVs, interview them, and send them to other companies to continue the process. And so many people lie. They overestimated their abilities in the CV but that happens</i>

Table 14 - Summary of Qualitative Findings for Viveza and the Business Environment

Findings	Exemplary Quotations
	<i>everywhere. It was so common. We had some ways of detecting this. For example, we had to ask for important dates people should know. These things are really common." (P29/34-M/Brazil)</i>
Vivo individuals might generate tight relationships among the team members.	<i>"I had a partner who was a Vivo. He arrived at the same time as everyone else, but he started working in a way that was not careful, but it was just what he had to do. Not a millimeter more, not a millimeter less. People were jealous because it was 5 p.m., and he was going home, and we had to continue. People tried to find mistakes in his work to get revenge on him for leaving early, but nobody could find anything. He was always perfect." (P33/31-F/El Salvador)</i>