Chapter 3

CROSS-CULTURAL ISSUES IN ORGANIZATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY: EMERGENT TRENDS AND DIRECTIONS FOR RESEARCH IN THE 1990s

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Cross-cultural and cross-national issues in the field of organizational psychology are rapidly becoming very important as we enter the remaining decade of this century. So far, the investigations dealing with cultural and national variations within the field have been of limited significance for shaping the paradigmatic developments in the more mainstream areas. Since the conceptual paradigms of the field have developed in North America and Western Europe—two regions of the world which are culturally similar—there has been relatively little need to examine the role of cultural and national variations. However, as we move closer to the realities of competing in the global marketplace, it becomes essential that

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we understand some of the dilemmas that are present when assumptions about how human nature functions in an individualistic culture clash with those of a collectivistic culture. Unexplained variances can no longer be quickly relegated to the error term, but indeed should be understood in terms of their true theoretical significance. Following Ilgen (1985), it can be argued that organizational practices developed with a strong individualistic orientation in a typical US or Western European type of organizational setting could indeed be dysfunctional in a collectivistic culture where group based incentives are much more salient. The rapid growth of international interdependence of national economies has created a growing demand for knowledge in international and comparative management as well as for managers skilled in making effective personnel and human resource decisions. In 1986, the USA’s trade deficit with Japan soared to $60 billion while Japan’s direct investment in the USA increased to around $27 billion. This investment by the Japanese alone into plant, equipment and real estate has created tens of thousands of jobs in the USA. According to some recent estimates, over 300,000 Americans now work for the Japanese multinationals in the USA, making Japan one of the largest and fastest growing employers. An additional 840,000 American jobs are likely to be created in the next decade if present trends continue. The composition of the expatriate workforce is also changing and the current expatriate workforce is more than 80,000 individuals located in over 130 countries in all continents around the world. These expatriates are required to make numerous adjustments in cultures which are dissimilar to their own home country cultures. These changes are significant and create opportunities for researchers to analyze the significance of cross-cultural issues in organizational psychology.

In this chapter we review recent developments in this field from empirical studies that go beyond the boundaries of a given culture or nation. Second, we discuss the nature of some specific strategies that are likely to enhance both theoretical rigor and methodological robustness of research in this evolving field of inquiry. Below we provide brief definitions of the concept of culture and of some important cultural variations which have important relevance for this chapter.

**DEFINITIONS**

Culture is an important concept in the social sciences and it has been defined in numerous ways. As a result, there is a relative lack of consensus among the investigators. Along with this conceptual difficulty, there has not been any systematic attempt to define 'culture' in most empirical studies. It is not clear as to whether findings could be as well attributed to cross-national as opposed to cross-cultural differences in the particular organizational phenomenon under investigation. In this chapter, we adopt the definition of culture as proposed by Triandis et al. (1972) in *The Analysis of Subjective Culture* to refer to those norms, roles, belief systems, laws and values that form meaningful wholes and which are interrelated in functional ways. It has been shown that elements of subjective culture and many facets of social (Triandis, 1980) as well as organizational (Bhagat and McQuaid, 1982) behavior are meaningfully related. While defining a culture, *language*, *time*, and *place* are important criteria to consider. Thus in order for a culture to exist, it is essential for its members to have the possibility of face-to-face interaction for a long period of time. If the members do not share a language, a time period and a physical location, a culture will not emerge. It is important for all of the members to share meanings, norms and values and also to know the 'rules of the game' so that their interactions are both meaningful as well as effective. Knowledge of a specific culture does not necessarily make us more accurate in predicting how a given member will behave in a given situation, but it does help in understanding the underlying pattern for the occurrence of a similar class of behaviors.

Examination of subjective culture based differences in organizational psychology involves differences in belief systems, attitude structures, motivational systems, stereotypes, norms, roles, ideologies, values, and task definitions. When the observed differences in a given phenomenon are systematically attributed to differences in any of these constructs, then it is possible to identify genuine cross-cultural, as opposed to cross-national differences. Most studies that compared differences across two or more nations in organizational psychology have done so without evoking the constructs of subjective culture in an explicit fashion. Cultural differences are recognized but one does not know for sure which facet of the culture is responsible for the observed differences.

It is important to specify the distinction between *etic* and *emic* approaches to culture at this point. An etic approach is an attempt to describe a given phenomenon in relatively culture-free and universal terms using constructs that can be generalized across cultures. In contrast, an emic approach is an attempt to describe a particular culture by examining its distinctive social and historical developments which have shaped its people and institutions specific to that culture (Pike, 1966; Triandis et al., 1972). A purely emic approach is by definition anthropological in scope and cannot be considered truly cross-cultural in scope. Yet it is quite possible that at times the most sophisticated analysis can only be provided by evoking constructs specific to a given culture—descriptive analyses of differing patterns of meaning of work (MOW) or organizational reward systems, for example, which could utilize this approach without necessarily grounding the analysis in strictly etic terms. We find this trend to be useful at this point in the development of theory in cross-cultural and cross-national analysis. There will be more about this in a later section.

**Dimensions of Cultural Variations**

Cultures differ in numerous ways. However, as Triandis and Albert (1987) have argued, one should focus on those variations that are more relevant for a given class of behaviors in a given situation and ignore some of the other subtle and less
important variations. Major dimensions of cultural variations that we believe are important to consider in understanding cross-cultural issues in human resource management are as follows:

1. Emphasis on people, ideas, or action (Glenn and Glenn, 1981).
2. Differences in work-related values (Hofstede, 1980a, 1983).
3. Emphasis on process versus goal (Glenn and Glenn, 1981).

**Emphasis on People, Ideas or Action**

With the first variation, we are concerned with the extent to which societies emphasize people, ideas, or actions. In societies where people are emphasized, the quality of interpersonal relationships is of crucial significance. In many of the nations around the Mediterranean, what one does is less important than whether one is a friend or an enemy. That is, the focus is not on the idea as much as it is on the specific nature of the relationship involved (Glenn and Glenn, 1981). In contrast, for an Indian from the continent of Asia as well as for members of the Communist party in the USSR, the idea (ideology) is of much more importance. It does not matter who the person is as long as he or she has the ‘right’ idea. Finally, in cultures such as the USA, action as opposed to reflection is of great significance. What a person does is of much greater significance than who the person is or what the person says.

In cultures that emphasize people, much time is spent in social interactions in organizations to consolidate social networks and in consensual decision making. In such cultures, long term employment contracts are more frequent. In cultures that emphasize ideas, ideology is more important than reality. If the reality is inconsistent with the favored ideology, then reality is presumed to be wrong and attempts are made to change the reality despite the consequences. In such cultures, industrial relations are often marked by patterns of long periods of unrest and strife, and benevolent paternalism may characterize employee–employer relationships. In contrast, some cultures emphasize action, pragmatism, and subjective expected utility in their organizational practices. Organizational processes in societies which emphasize action are different from those in organizations in societies that emphasize ideological considerations.

**Differences in Work Related Values**

This second variation is really composed of a set of four relatively independent conceptual dimensions (Hofstede, 1980a). Hofstede, based on a comprehensive study of work related values and attitudes from 114,000 respondents in forty countries, suggested four dimensions which are now widely known in the literature. They are individualism versus collectivism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance, and masculinity versus femininity. The dimension of individualism reflects the importance of the individual versus the collectivity in different societies. At the individualistic end, the ties between individuals are, indeed, very loose and people are supposed to look after their own self-interests in the domains of both work and nonwork. At the collectivist end are societies which put strong emphasis on social ties or bonds between individuals. People distinguish between their own ‘ingroups’ (e.g., immediate relatives, clans, and members of one’s organization) and ‘outgroups’ (e.g., members from a different community or foreign country or people with whom one has less frequent contact). Employees of individualistic countries are more inner-directed, whereas in collectivist countries, individuals are more traditional and other-directed. The USA, according to Hofstede’s data, is the most individualistic country in the world. Other individualistic countries are mostly from Western Europe (e.g., Great Britain, the Netherlands), or from countries of Anglo European origin (e.g., Canada, Australia, New Zealand). Countries in the Asia Pacific region (e.g., Singapore, Japan, South Korea) as well as many countries in South America (e.g., Colombia, Venezuela) are collectivist in their orientation.

The dimension of power distance reflects the extent to which powerful members of a society accept the unequal distribution of power and rewards as normal characteristics of their society. It reflects the amount of power or influence that superiors in an organizational hierarchy have over their subordinates. Hofstede (1980a, 1983) has shown that different societies exhibit different distributions of power in their organizational and social hierarchies and that one can use the power distance norm to characterize different societal cultures. Power distance scores differ by occupation as well. Nonmanagerial and less educated employees experience greater power distance with their superiors compared to the experience of managerial employees with their superiors. In their analysis of hierarchy in work organizations, Tannenbaum et al. (1974) found that differences in power are associated with significant differences in rewards, privileges, and opportunities among various ranks of management. Large power distance countries include the Philippines, Mexico, France, Peru, Turkey, Brazil, and India. Small power distance countries include Austria, Denmark, Sweden, and Israel.

The dimension of uncertainty avoidance refers to a society’s tolerance for uncertainties that arise in many situations and the extent to which they try to manage these situations by providing explicit and formal rules and regulations, by rejecting novel ideas and by accepting without question the superordinate goals in the organizational settings. In Hofstede’s (1980a) study, the highest scores on uncertainty avoidance were found in Greece, Japan, and in most of the Catholic countries in Latin America, whereas low scores were obtained for some of the countries in the Asia Pacific region (e.g., Hongkong, Singapore) and in the Scandinavian countries. In countries which are high on uncertainty avoidance...
avoidance, organizational and personnel practices tend to be characterized by explicit and written rules, more structure, and long term employment contracts.

*Masculinity* refers to the extent that dominant values in a society emphasize assertiveness, acquisition of money and status, and achievement of visible and symbolic organizational rewards versus an emphasis on quality of life, and other non-materialistic and less tangible outcomes. It reflects the extent to which employees of organizations in such cultures endorse goals emphasizing assertiveness (such as increased earnings) as contrasted to those emphasizing quality of work life and nurturance interests (such as friendly relations with superiors or cooperation with coworkers). Japan is the most masculine country in the world followed by many of the German-speaking countries: West Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. Moderately masculine are a number of Latin American countries, such as Venezuela and Mexico, and Italy. Some of the former colonies of the Anglo countries are also fairly masculine, for example, India and the Philippines. Multinational organizations in masculine cultures find it relatively easy to send expatriates to different parts of the world with higher earnings and advancements as incentives. Multinationals located in feminine cultures find it difficult to use earnings and advancements as effectively since employees are unlikely to take up assignments that might reduce their overall quality of life. Hofstede’s dimensions have provided an important theoretical framework for the prediction of many kinds of behaviors in cross-cultural organizational contexts (Hofstede, 1980a, 1983; Kedia and Bhagat, 1988; Triandis and Albert, 1987).

**Emphasis on Process Versus Goal**

Glenn and Glenn (1981) noted that societal cultures differ in terms of whether they emphasize process, or the ways to live, versus goals, or the ultimate purpose of human existence. Cultures which put emphasis on goals continuously search for best ways to reach the goals which can lead to considerable innovation and creativity in organizational contexts. On the other hand, in cultures which focus on here and now and on the best ways to live, such a search is unnecessary. The temporal orientation of people (Kluckhohn and Strodbeck, 1961) in process-oriented cultures is on the present whereas it is on the future in cultures which emphasize goals. Most traditional Chinese cultures are process-oriented whereas the dominant orientation of the majority of Western cultures is toward the goal. Organizational practices in a process-oriented culture are likely to be more concerned with appropriate norms and rules governing interactions among employees. In contrast, in a goal-oriented culture, continuous training of human resources is an important concern.

**Abstractive Versus Associative Modes of Information Processing**

In associative cultures, people process information utilizing associations among events that may not have much logical basis, whereas in abstractive cultures cause-effect relationships or rational Judeo-Christian type of thinking is of much importance. Associative communication is greatly dependent on the context and it occurs among individuals who share a good deal of common information and common ways of thinking. In traditional societies, context is used as a significant catalyst in enhancing processing of information. In contrast, in abstractive cultures, processing of information is relatively free of context. A vast amount of information is conveyed through mass media and related technological mechanisms that are not dependent on the context for effective processing of information. A factual-inductive approach to processing of information appears to be used more frequently in these cultures. People attempt to understand an argument by processing numerous facts and are not particularly sensitive to the context in which the communication takes place. In associative cultures, an affective-intuitive approach to processing information is the predominant norm. Switzerland, West Germany, the USA, France, and England are abstractive cultures. Japan, China, Greece, and Spain provide examples of associative societal cultures.

These dimensions of cultural variations, as we have noted earlier, have important implications for interpreting research in organizational psychology. We will now review the general trend of research in attitudes and values, motivation, job satisfaction, leadership, and interpersonal communication and conflict resolution. These are some of the mainstream areas in the field of organizational psychology. In conducting this review, the following decisions were made:

1. To review the empirical literature on values and attitudes, motivation and job satisfaction from 1980 since Bhagat and McQuaid had covered studies prior to 1980 in their detailed review monograph published in the *Journal of Applied Psychology* in 1982.
2. To review the empirical literature on leadership from 1970 since no comprehensive review of the cross-cultural literature on leadership process has been conducted.
3. To review also the empirical literature on interpersonal communication and conflict resolution from the 1970s.

While this review is not exhaustive, we have attempted to include most of the major studies representative of these topical areas that are published in the major journals in the field. After reviewing each of these topical areas, we then make recommendations for improving theoretical rigor and methodological robustness for future investigations in the 1990s.

**RESEARCH ON ATTITUDES AND VALUES**

Cross-cultural studies on attitudes and values from 1980 are the most numerous, continuing a trend found by Bhagat and McQuaid (1982). The approaches can
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Fruin and Bodin (1983)</td>
<td>Survey</td>
<td>Australia and China</td>
<td>People’s Republic of China</td>
<td>China</td>
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<td>Shapira and Steinberg (1983)</td>
<td>Survey</td>
<td>People’s Republic of China</td>
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<td>People’s Republic of China (1983)</td>
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<td>Shen and Steinberg (1983)</td>
<td>Survey</td>
<td>People’s Republic of China</td>
<td>163 respondents</td>
<td>China</td>
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<td>People’s Republic of China (1982)</td>
<td>Survey</td>
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<td>2200 students</td>
<td>China</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cheng and Hoog (1982)</td>
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<td>Hoog and Heselwood (1988)</td>
<td>Survey</td>
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<td>Chinese Culture Connection (1987)</td>
<td>Connection</td>
<td>Chen, China</td>
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<td>Becker (1988)</td>
<td>Survey</td>
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<td>Becker (1989)</td>
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Table 1—Research on Work Attitudes and Values
be categorized as emic, etc, or country-clustering, a subgroup of the etic studies. The research is summarized in Table 1.

Emic Studies

Bluen and Barling (1983) administered the Survey of Work Values to 273 white South African males and found that the resulting factor structure differed significantly from the factor structure obtained in the USA. In particular, the factor of social status was absent in the South African sample. The authors concluded that white South African males are favored with high job status under the current political system and therefore take the status of their jobs for granted. This study also explains the results of previous studies in which black South African males rated the importance of job status significantly higher than the South African whites. The notable absence of this work value in the white South African sample is in sharp contrast with the American sample.

On the basis of personal observations of work activity in the People's Republic of China, Sashkin (1980) noted that the Western type of quality of work life as exemplified in the team approach was not in operation in that country. He expected to find an emphasis on group-oriented activities but instead found an individualistic orientation in work activity preferences in the Chinese.

Three additional empirical studies were directed at Oriental value systems. Shenkar and Ronen (1987) surveyed 163 managers in the People's Republic of China in order to determine if their work attitudes were based on Chinese philosophies. Factor analysis resulted in four attitudinal dimensions associated with work goals: basic, progress, actualization, and team. The goal of efficiency was associated with the team factor, implying that efficiency was not due to individual achievements, but was rather a function of group goals. Individual earnings were not found to be intrinsic motivators, a finding which is consistent with a culture that follows Confucian and Maoist teachings. When rankings of work goals in the People's Republic and other Chinese countries were compared, only three work goals differed significantly: autonomy, cooperation, and opportunities for promotion. The differences relate to the fact that while these nations have a tradition of Confucianism, only the People's Republic has been heavily influenced by Maoist ideology. Maoist teachings emphasize autonomy in work habits and cooperation with fellow workers and deemphasize sycophancy. Promotion is not regarded as important in the People's Republic following Mao's prescription that the Chinese nations should place a high value on advancement while undermining hierarchy based patterns of advancement. The authors concluded that though the Chinese countries have some attitudes and values in common, the discrepancies that do exist are largely attributable to Maoist teachings.

In a similar vein, a team of international researchers attempted to identify unique patterns of Chinese values (Chinese Culture Connection, 1987) in contrast with earlier surveys which employed western concepts. Their objective was to discern Chinese culture in purely emic terms. Their sample consisted of nations representing the East, West, the Pacific, South America, and Africa. Factor analysis of their instrument resulted in four factors: integration, Confucian work-dynamism, human-heartedness, and moral discipline. Integration was related to tolerance of others, harmony and solidarity with others, and the absence of competition. The dimension of Confucian dynamism was developed from the concepts of thrift, orderliness, persistence, and a sense of shame. Kindness, patience, and courtesy loaded on the human-heartedness factor. The moral discipline factor was composed of virtues dealing with moderation, purity, and restraint. A further discussion of these values (Hofstede and Bond, 1988) comparing them with Hofstede's (1980a) dimensions revealed distinct Eastern and Western values. Integration, human-heartedness, and moral discipline correlate highly with power distance, individualism, and masculinity. However, uncertainty avoidance and Confucian dynamism show no relation to any other factors. Hofstede and Bond (1988) noted that if uncertainty avoidance were interpreted as the search for truth, this value had no meaning in the Chinese culture. Moreover, Confucian dynamism, a continuum of tradition orientation to future orientation, was found to be uniquely Eastern. In addition, the Confucian dynamism dimension was strongly correlated with the economic growth rate from 1965 to 1985. This value provided a plausible explanation for the recent economic success of the Five Dragons: Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan, South Korea, and Singapore. Their work also suggested that while the existence of some values could be generalized across cultures, some others were indeed culture-specific or emic in their orientations.

Hofstede and Bond (1984) also correlated power distance, uncertainty avoidance, masculinity, and individualism with the factors resulting from a study of nine Asia Pacific countries by Ng and his associates (Ng et al., 1982). Reanalysis of the data collected by Ng and his associates resulted in five factors. Four of the factors correlated significantly with Hofstede's four dimensions. The fifth factor was perhaps due to a response set: It should be remembered that both studies employed instruments developed in the west to measure Eastern values. However, the fact that the four dimensions were reproduced by an independent survey further lent credence to Hofstede's (1980a) dimensions.

Etic Studies

Luthans, McCaul, and Dodd (1985) surveyed employees of American, Japanese, and Korean firms to compare organizational commitment. Factor analysis resulted in one factor for Japan and the USA and two factors for Korea. The second Korean factor might have been due to the reverse scoring of the negatively worded items. Commitment was significantly greater for the Amer-
ican employees, although country as a variable contributed little to predicting commitment in the regression analysis. The authors concluded that organizational commitment is a universal work attitude.

In a sample of 10,000 employees of a multinational corporation over 20 countries (Gomez-Mejia, 1984), occupation was found to be the most important predictor of work orientation. The work orientation measure consisted of intrinsic and extrinsic factors and a job involvement scale. Cultural factors were least important for managerial levels. Other studies reviewed in this chapter indicate a strong effect for occupation, but Gomez-Mejia’s results showed that culture plays a secondary role in the formation of work attitudes and values. It must be remembered, however, that the sample was not representative of the national populations. Employees of a multinational corporation are subject to the effects of socialization, self-selection, and uniform organizational practices.

Two studies were done comparing work attitudes of US and Australian respondents. Jenner’s (1982) results were mixed with scores in over half of the attitudinal dimensions being identical for the two countries. Significant differences, however, were found in the attitudes towards unions, government intervention, corporate responsibility, organizational control, the role of managers, interpersonal relations, the right to privacy, attitudes toward minorities, and attitudes concerning advancement, conservatism, and protectionism. Jenner related the differences to American individualism and economic perspectives. The author noted that some of the discrepancies might be a matter of degree as opposed to a sharp cultural difference.

Dowling and Nagel (1986) surveyed American and Australian business students with similar results. Both groups held identical values, although the ordering of the values was at variance, with the Australians placing a higher ranking on the extrinsic values of steady employment and higher wages. The authors concluded that the presence of only a few significant differences is typical of US/Australian studies and leads to the common mistake of equating the two cultures. Dowling and Nagel (1982) agreed with Jenner that cultural variables contribute to some relatively minor attitudinal differences between the US and Australian employees.

Country Clustering

Griffith et al. (1985) administered a survey to 1768 employees of a multinational corporation in 15 Western countries in order to determine the formation of country clusters based on attitudes and values. Three clustering techniques were used. Two-dimensional Smallest Space Analysis resulted in four clusters: Germanic, Nordic European, Anglo, and Latin European. The three-dimensional solution gave vastly different results with only the Anglo group remaining the same. Cluster analysis grouped the nations into three clusters: Latin European, Anglo, and a joint Germanic–Scandinavian group. The authors concluded that the results of country clustering studies depend on the method of analysis and the interpretation of the configurations.

Eight country cluster studies were synthesized by Ronen and Shenkar (1985). Regroupings were based on similarities in geographic location, language, religion, level of technological development and the previous findings. Eight clusters resulted: Anglo, Germanic, Nordic, Near Eastern, Far Eastern, Arab, Latin American, and Latin European. Four independent nations remained unclassified: Brazil, Japan, India, and Israel. Various clustering techniques were used in the eight studies. Given the findings of Griffith et al. (1985), it is surprising that Ronen and Shenkar were able to arrive at the final clustering with such confidence. Ronen and Shenkar pointed out that clustering is a function of two variables, similarities between the nations in a cluster and their differences from other nations. Therefore, the number of nations in the sample affects the number of clusters that are found.

The Meaning of Working (MOW) Study

The Meaning of Working (1987) represents a truly ambitious cross-national study of work values conducted by the MOW International Research Team (1987) involving eight countries: the USA, Japan, Britain, West Germany, Belgium, Israel, the Netherlands, and Yugoslavia. Results are reported both for these countries and for age, sex, and occupational target groups within each country separately. Broadly stated, the goals of this research involved investigation into the meanings that working holds for individuals, groups, and societies. The model of the meaning of working proposed by these researchers involves three sets of variables: conditional, central, and consequence. Briefly, the three kinds of variables are explained as follows.

Conditional variables include personal and family circumstances: age, sex, occupational level, religion, upbringing, etc., while, job and career history variables include present situation, job level, career path, periods of unemployment. Finally social and economic variables are composed of legal and educational systems, unemployment levels, and affluence level of the society at large.

The central variables include work centrality—the degree to which working is considered to have central importance in one's life as compared to other domains; societal norms about working—whether working is viewed primarily as an obligation or as an entitlement; valued working outcomes—whether expressive or instrumental; the importance of work goals; and work role identification—personal definitions of working. Consequences involve expectations and future plans, and objective working outcomes. According to their model, the meaning of working for an individual is determined by the interaction of personal background, work experiences, and socio-cultural environment.
This study is characterized by its authors as cross-national rather than as cross-cultural. Attention was paid to country-specific differences rather than to cultural variables unique to each of the countries. It is a cross-sectional investigation which effectively employs multi-method based measurement techniques. Within each country, data were collected on specific target groups with regard to age, sex, occupation, education level, and career stage. Results for each of the target groups were reported at least as extensively as, if not more so, than results for the countries.

Work centrality is defined as the importance of work in an individual's life relative to other areas of life (i.e. family, church, play) at a given point in time. The MOW researchers have attempted to define and measure this variable as something distinct from involvement in one's present job. In doing this, they succeeded only partially, a fact to which they admitted. The results of the analyses of work centrality scores indicate that one's country of origin is somewhat more important than one's membership in a given target group. The Japanese were found to have the highest level of work centrality, with moderately high levels for Yugoslavia and Israel, average work centrality levels for the USA and Belgium, moderately low levels for the Netherlands and West Germany, and low levels for Britain. These results were merely reported and no attempt was made to interpret them in light of the various socioeconomic data collected on the countries involved. In fact, the researchers stated that they were unsuccessful in categorizing the countries using these data. Work centrality for occupation, age and sex groups was reported but is not broken down by country.

With regard to valued working outcomes and work goals, the study identified four dimensions: an expressive dimension involving interesting work, variety, autonomy, and a good person-job match; an economic dimension involving pay, promotion, and job security; a comfort dimension which includes physical working conditions and hours; and a learning/improvement dimension which includes the opportunity to learn new things and opportunity for promotion. The expressive dimension was found to be similar, but not identical, for each country. In the USA, West Germany, and Israel, learning and opportunity were included in the dimension; in Japan, good interpersonal relations were part of the dimension; and West Germany, Japan, and Israel had two expressive dimensions.

All countries except Yugoslavia were found to have similar economic dimensions. In Yugoslavia, good pay, good physical working conditions, and autonomy were part of the economic dimension. The comfort dimension also was similar in all countries except Israel, where this dimension was not identified. In Japan, the comfort dimension included opportunity for learning. Finally, the learning/improvement dimension was not found in the USA, West Germany, or Japan. Concerning the relative importance of each of the above work goal dimensions, the expressive dimension was high for all countries except Britain and Israel, where it was of moderate importance. The economic dimension was of high importance in Belgium, the USA, West Germany, and Britain, of low importance in the Netherlands, and of moderate importance in the remaining countries. The comfort and learning/improvement dimensions were of moderate to low importance in all countries. Again, results of the investigation into valued working outcomes and goals are reported for the various target groups, but are not reported separately for each country.

In attempting to ascertain differences in the definition of working across countries and target groups, the MOW research team identified four definitions labeled as concrete (you get money for it, you have to do it, you do it in a working place, you do it at a certain time, it is not pleasant), social (contributes to society, gives a feeling of belonging, others profit by it), duty (you have to account for it, it belongs to your task), and burden (physically and mentally strenuous). Each of the four definitions of working was found in all countries, although they were distributed differently. The distribution of the four definitions of working was found to be approximately equal in the USA, Belgium, and the Netherlands. The concrete definition was found in almost half of the Japanese and German samples, and in less than one-quarter of the Yugoslavian sample. The duty definition was found among about half of the Japanese and Yugoslavian sample. The social definition was used by a relatively small proportion of the Japanese and West German sample. The burden definition of working was found to be rare in all countries.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the meaning of working study was the development of MOW patterns composed of six indices: work centrality, entitlement norm, obligation norm, economic functions of work, expressive working outcomes, and social relations in a work setting. The four patterns which emerged were labeled as instrumental, characterized by the high importance of income and relatively low work centrality; expressive work centrality, characterized by high work centrality, the importance of individual expression through work, and the low importance of pay; entitlement and contact, characterized by feelings that working is a right rather than an obligation, and by the high value placed on social contacts; and the low entitlement pattern, characterized by a very low entitlement orientation and a moderate obligation orientation.

The modal pattern found for Israel and for the Japanese target group was expressive work centrality, and that for the USA and for the Yugoslavian target group was low entitlement. Distribution of the four MOW patterns was relatively uniform in the Belgian and Dutch samples, while the German sample was concentrated mostly in the instrumental and expressive work centrality patterns.

Probably the main shortcoming of the meaning of working study is the fact that differences, whether by country or by target group, are, on the whole, merely reported. There is no attempt to interpret them in terms of country or
cultural differences. Nevertheless, this study makes a major contribution to the field of cross-national research on work values.

England and Misumi (1986) analyzed the work centrality data to compare the USA with Japan. Work was chosen as most central more than twice as often by the Japanese than by Americans. Though work centrality scores are high for both of these nations, the difference between the two is, however, significant at the national and at the occupational level. Work centrality increases greatly for the Japanese in their 20s whereas American workers experience a steady increase. The authors postulate that the differences may be due to the socialization process of Japanese organizations, the collectivism of Japan, and the adaptation of the Japanese workers to their low level of natural resources.

Summary of Research on Attitudes and Work Values

1. The proportion of emic studies has increased threefold in the 1980s over the 1970s. Considerable advances have definitely been made in identifying non-American values. There have also been substantial additions to the literature on the universality of work values.

2. This area of research is still lacking in terms of its theoretical rigor. In addition the attitudes and values found to exist have not been related or were only weakly related to behavior in organizational contexts.

RESEARCH ON WORK MOTIVATION

In contrast with empirical research during the 1970s, none of the 1980s research investigations on motivation was based on McClelland’s achievement motivation theory. As summarized in Table 2, a wide variety of models was tested. All but one of the studies were etic in focus.

Valence–Instrumentality–Expectancy Theory

Ferris, Dillard, and Nethercott (1980) administered a questionnaire measuring the level of work motivation to a matched sample of US and Australian staff-level accountants from large accounting firms. The questionnaire consisted of rating job outcomes on desirability (valence) and relating those same job outcomes to improved performance (instrumentality). Expectancy was measured through the responses relating job effort to job performance. The authors found no significant differences between the US and Australian auditors. The measures were not consistent predictors of performance. These findings were not surprising. Australia and the USA have consistently grouped together in the Anglo cluster. A further confounding factor might be the subculture of the accounting profession. Through academic training, professional associations, and self-selection, accountants are socialized to develop similar attitudes. A
more worthwhile study would compare groups of accountants from more culturally diverse nations.

Achievement Motivation

Motivation cycles based on age and sex were found by Fyans and Machr (1982) in a study of US and Iranian students. A direct effect of culture was not significant, but interactions between age, sex, and culture were significant. This study affirms that Atkinson's theory is applicable across cultures. The concept of motivation cycles is universal, but the timing of the motivation cycle is culture specific.

Two-factor Theory

In a study of MBA students in the USA, Canada, Australia, and Singapore, Popp, Davis, and Herbert (1986) found no significant differences in the work-reward preference rankings by the four groups. In fact, the top three outcomes of growth, achievement, and responsibility had identical rankings across the sample. These constructs are fairly similar to Herzberg's satisfiers. Cultural variations were not found to be determinants of preference rankings.

Salient Needs

Misra et al. (1985) have developed a theory of motivation based on the level of salient needs, both intrinsic and extrinsic. Involvement in a particular job is contrasted with involvement with work in general. These authors tested the instruments developed by Kanungo based on his theory of salient needs with managers from India and West Germany in order to examine significance of the model in distinct cultures. Results were compared with a previous study completed in Canada to test for reliability and validity. The results showed that involvement with a particular job was different from involvement with work in general, thus indicating the relevance of the theory in cross-cultural contexts.

Culture-specific Motivation

In an attempt to isolate motivators unique to a particular nation, Machungwa and Schmitt (1983) developed a questionnaire based on themes derived from interviews. Six motivational factors resulted from a cluster analysis of the items made by independent judges. Five of the six factors appeared to be dimensions on a motivator–demotivator continuum: growth and advancement opportunity, work nature, material and physical provisions, relations with others, and fairness in organizational practices. The sixth factor, entitled personal problems, was interpreted as a demotivator. The authors related the factors to the theories of Maslow, Adams, Locke, and Herzberg. It would be of some value to determine if statistical factor analysis performed on the same data would validate the item clusters obtained by judgment tasks. The authors admit that the study was exploratory in nature.

An Evaluative Summary of Research on Work Motivation

1. Following the suggestions of Bhagat and McQuaid (1982), additional research on McClelland's theory has ceased. Only Machungwa and Schmitt (1983) attempted to define the meaning of motivation for a particular nation.
2. Taxonomic work on job outcomes based on cultural groupings is still lacking.
3. Validation of several more theories has been added to the literature including valence–instrumentality–expectancy, Locke's goal setting, Maslow's hierarchy, Herzberg's two factors, and Kanungo's salient needs. Social information processing theory and job design theory, which have guided some significant developments in the West, have not been examined in terms of their cross-cultural validity.
4. We are beginning to notice a healthy trend toward the comparison of cultures presumed to be distinct based on clustering of countries.

RESEARCH ON JOB SATISFACTION

Cross-cultural research on job satisfaction in the 1980s shows more of a theoretical orientation compared to earlier studies of the 1970s. A considerable portion of the current work has an emic focus when compared to the previous decade. The studies are outlined in Table 3. All five studies point to the generalizability of the job satisfaction construct.

Pascale and Maguire (1980) designed their sample by selecting American-owned firms located in both the USA and Japan as well as Japanese-owned firms in both locations. The design allowed for cross-comparisons by location and by country of ownership. Job satisfaction, work environment, supervisory methods, and absenteeism were measured. Job satisfaction was not found to be significantly different across the sample by ownership or by location. Their findings indicated that convergence of management practices as an explanatory factor was superior to cultural differences even after controlling for size and age of the organizations.

A further validation of the universality of job satisfaction is the application of the job characteristics model to Hong Kong (Birnbaum, Farh, and Wong, 1986). Their analysis of 57 jobs resulted in the dimensions of variety, identity, autonomy, and job feedback. The task significance measure failed to emerge from the data. These dimensions were correlated with job satisfaction. The
Table 3—Research on Job Satisfaction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Country/Culture</th>
<th>Sample size and type</th>
<th>Primary focus</th>
<th>Theoretical base</th>
<th>Research methodology</th>
<th>Sample size and type</th>
<th>Sample size and type</th>
<th>Sample size and type</th>
<th>Sample size and type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Birnbaum, Ernst, and Wong (1986)</td>
<td>Hong Kong, Japan</td>
<td>79 managers, 461 workers</td>
<td>Eric</td>
<td>Hackman and Oldham</td>
<td>Observation, Survey</td>
<td>79 managers, 461 workers</td>
<td>79 managers, 461 workers</td>
<td>79 managers, 461 workers</td>
<td>79 managers, 461 workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keller (1987)</td>
<td>Mexico, USA</td>
<td>311 married occupations</td>
<td>Emic</td>
<td>Quality of life organizations</td>
<td>Survey</td>
<td>311 married occupations</td>
<td>311 married occupations</td>
<td>311 married occupations</td>
<td>311 married occupations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orpen (1982)</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>90 black and 95 white clerks</td>
<td>Emtic</td>
<td>Social support and satisfaction</td>
<td>Survey</td>
<td>90 black and 95 white clerks</td>
<td>90 black and 95 white clerks</td>
<td>90 black and 95 white clerks</td>
<td>90 black and 95 white clerks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

authors concluded that job enrichment enhances job satisfaction in Hong Kong as well as the West.

Still another study which lends further credence to the idea that job satisfaction is determined uniformly across cultures was an investigation by Keller (1987). His sample consisted of 127 white, 30 Hispanic, 33 black American, and 121 Mexican employees in various occupations. Although the job satisfaction levels were higher for the Mexican group than for the Americans, the results indicated that the construct of job satisfaction had similar grounding in these ethnic cultures.

In a similar vein, Shamir and Drory (1981) surveyed three cultural groups in Israel: Druze, Jews of North African origin, and Jews of Georgian origin. The general job satisfaction scores for the individuals in these groups were not significantly different from each other. However, there were significant differences between the groups on satisfaction with the tedious tasks, satisfaction with the people, satisfaction with promotion, and satisfaction with pay. In conclusion, the authors find generalizability of job satisfaction across these ethnic cultures in Israel.

Orpen (1982) examined the relationships between role ambiguity, role conflict, job satisfaction, and job performance with perceived social support in a South African sample. No significant difference was found for job satisfaction between the white and black clerks. The effect of social support on job satisfaction and performance was more important for blacks than for whites. This difference relating to social support can be explained by the status distinctions between the white ruling minority and the black majority in South Africa.

An Evaluative Summary of Research on Job Satisfaction

1. Each of the five studies found support for the existence of a universal pattern of the job satisfaction construct across cultures.
2. Job satisfaction has been found to correlate with organizational variables such as styles of supervision, and work design related practices, etc.
3. Job satisfaction has been addressed as one of the major determinants of one's overall quality of life regardless of cultural differences.

RESEARCH ON LEADERSHIP

Research studies on Leadership from 1970 can be grouped into the following four categories: (1) studies testing specific American theories and measurement instruments in other countries and cultures, (2) attempts to discover implicit theories of leadership held by members of various cultures, (3) studies dealing with beliefs and attitudes of managers, and (4) studies dealing with the effects of
specific managerial or leadership styles. Most of the investigations in this area take an etic approach.

**Empirical Research on American Theories of Leadership**

Of the four studies in this category, three take an etic approach in terms of testing USA-based theories in dissimilar cultural settings or validating measurement instruments developed in the USA. Al-Gattan (1985) conducted a study of path-goal theory of leadership, which posits that the leader—subordinate relationship is moderated by characteristics of the subordinate, such as locus of control, ability, and growth need strength, and by characteristics of the environment, such as task, work group, and organizational policies (House, 1971). He used respondents from several countries working in Saudi Arabia. His findings were that, despite cultural differences among these respondents, all had similar attitudes toward supervisory style, and that subordinate characteristics, leadership style, and task characteristics did interact to affect subordinate performance and satisfaction in accordance with the postulates of path-goal theory.

Earley (1986) tested the effects of source and type of information on the success of goal setting programs intended to increase productivity in two tire manufacturing firms in the USA and in England. In a $2 \times 2$ design subjects were given either specific job training or rationale, and the information came from either a supervisor or a shop steward. As expected, subjects who performed better were given appropriate training. In England, a shop steward was a more effective source of information than was a supervisor, while no such difference was observed in the USA. Earley explains these results in terms of the values of English working class culture, which has a history of conflict between workers and their supervisors.

Studies done to test the efficacy of American measurement instruments include Evans and Sculli’s (1981) test of Ghiselli’s Self Descriptive Inventory (SDI), and a test of the adjective check list (ACL) for use in the military in Italy conducted by Gough et al. (1970). The Gough et al. study found the ACL to be a good instrument for assessing leadership capabilities in Italy, as it was in the USA. Evans and Sculli found a pattern of results on the SDI among Hong Kong managers that was similar to results obtained in the USA and concluded that the instrument does indeed discriminate in Hong Kong. Differences in Chinese and American scores (Hong Kong managers scored lower than Americans) were noted, and the authors concluded that these differences could be explained in terms of relative levels of development and cultural variations in these two countries. They suggested that minor modifications of the SDI might be needed to make it an effective instrument for use in other cultures. Though Evans and Sculli noted that analyses of individual word pairs appear to evoke different responses in Hong Kong managers and refer to the oriental concept of ‘face’ as a
possible explanation, the study must be considered etic, as the main objective was to examine universal applications for the instrument.

### Studies of Implicit Theories of Leadership

An emic study of subordinate perceptions of leadership styles was conducted in Iran by Ayman and Chemers (1983). Subjects were Iranian workers in a large manufacturing company who were administered a modified version of the Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire (LBDQ) developed by Stogdill (1963). Two new, culturally relevant items were included in this version of the instrument. Factor analysis revealed that Iranians perceived two styles of leadership, labeled as ‘Benevolent Paternalism’ and ‘Domineering Behavior’.

This is quite different from results obtained in the USA and Western Europe, where the two factors are typically termed ‘Consideration’ and ‘Initiating Structure’. Ayman and Chemers suggested that these results could be explained either in terms of different styles of leadership, as practiced by Iranian managers, or a different implicit theory of leadership held by Iranian workers.

Another study in this group with an emic orientation was conducted by Sullivan, Suzuki, and Kondo (1986) to identify differences in theories of performance control held by American and Japanese managers. They found that fundamentally different conceptions of groups are held by Americans and Japanese. Whereas in the USA, work groups are a convenient management tool, Japanese value the work group as a fundamental work unit. Results of this study indicated that both Japanese and American managers hold a rational view of managing individual performance, but they indeed differ in how groups influence individual performance. Japanese managers saw the group as more responsible for performance than did American managers. Overall, it appears that American managers reward a successful person working alone, while Japanese managers are more likely to reward the successful person working in a group.

Tscheulin (1973) conducted a replication of Fleishman’s (1951, 1953, 1957) factor analysis of ‘Consideration’ and ‘Structure’ for supervisory behavior in West Germany. He concluded that these two factors are as relevant in West Germany as they are in the USA and other European countries.

Van Fleet and Al Tuhaih (1979) conducted a study to determine if more agreement existed across countries on perceived leader behaviors as opposed to desired leader behaviors. Their results indicated that desired leader behaviors did vary across ethnographic regions grouped as relatively homogeneous cultures, but there was very little difference in perceptions of how leaders actually behaved. This was contrary to Ayman and Chemers (1983), who found perceptions of actual leader behaviors to be quite different in the USA and Iran. It should be noted that Van Fleet and Al Tuhaih’s subjects were students from

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Country/culture</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sample size and type</th>
<th>Research methodology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ayman and Chemers</td>
<td>USA, Japan</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>100 US and 266 Japanese senior managers</td>
<td>Questionnaire scenario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sullivan, Suzuki, and Kondo</td>
<td>USA, Japan</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>183 employees of a profit-making firm and a nonprofit research firm</td>
<td>Questionnaire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tscheulin</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>188 foreign students in US universities</td>
<td>Questionnaire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Van Fleet and Al Tuhaih</td>
<td>Central and South America, South East Asia, Arabian, African, European</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>110 foremen</td>
<td>Questionnaire</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
various countries attending American universities who probably had little, if any, actual working experience.

Studies of Managerial Beliefs

Of the five studies included in this category, three were done to determine whether results of the study on managerial beliefs and attitudes toward subordinates reported by Haire, Ghiselli, and Porter (1966) would be found in other countries or cultures. The Haire et al. study involved managers from 14 countries and it was found that managers in all countries believed that a democratic style of management was preferable to an autocratic style, yet managers gave subordinates very little credit for having the capacity for leadership and initiative. Though results were similar for all samples, Haire et al. (1966) found that responses from different countries tended to form 'clusters'. The clusters they identified were Anglo-Saxon (the USA and England), Continental (Latin), European (France, Spain, Belgium, and Italy), Northern European (Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Germany), and Japan, which was 'independent' and did not cluster with any other country. The researchers concluded that the clusters were ethnic, or cultural, rather than industrial.

Cummings and Schmidt (1972) tested Haire et al.'s (1966) findings in Greece. They noted that Greece would cluster culturally with the Latin European countries and that it falls somewhere between the developed and developing countries. Results were consistent with the findings of Haire et al. (1966), in that Greek managers espouse democratic management practices, while doubting the capacity of subordinates for leadership and initiatives. More specifically, Greece was similar to the Latin European countries in basic administrative beliefs (capacity for leadership and initiative, internal control), and similar to developing countries in sharing information and participation. These authors believed that their results indicated the importance of both culture and degree of industrialization in explaining managerial beliefs.

A similar study conducted in Israel was done by Vardi, Shirom, and Jacobson (1980), who found that Israeli managers experienced the same belief conflicts reported by Haire et al. (1966). They reported that Israeli managers perceived themselves to be acting democratically on the job. However, since all of the respondents were managers, we cannot be certain from this study per se, as to whether Israeli employees perceived their managers to be democratically oriented.

Clark and McCabe (1970), in a study of Australian managerial beliefs, hypothesized that Australia would cluster closely with the USA and England. The expected results were confirmed. Again, managers indicated a belief in the efficacy of democratic leadership, yet did not believe their subordinates to have much capacity for participation and initiative.

Bottger, Hallein, and Yetton (1985) sought to explore the effects of task
structure and leader power on participative leadership, using the Vroom-Yetton model (Vroom and Yetton, 1973), which views participation as instrumental, rather than cultural. They expected that managers would use participation to the extent that they believed their subordinates to be capable of making useful contributions, and that this would largely depend on the level of development of the country. They found that, when leader power was high, all managers in their study endorsed low participation and that on relatively unstructured problems, Australian managers were more participative than managers from the less developed countries of Africa, Papua New Guinea, and the Pacific Islands. They concluded that functional specialization was the basis of higher participation in more developed countries where the general level of education is higher than in less developed countries, and that leadership styles develop from instrumental, rather than cultural, considerations.

Peterson (1972) used questionnaire data obtained from 177 top executives to test for a 'universal' management style. He reasoned that chief executives would have greater influence on the management philosophy of a particular organization than would the middle management personnel used by Haire et al. (1966). He employed the country clusters of the USA, Western Europe, Latin America, the Commonwealth countries, and Asia. His findings were that Asian and Latin American executives favored a more autocratic style, as indicated by their belief that subordinates should be given very specific task instructions; while managers from the other clusters were more democratic in orientation. In addition, Asian and Latin American managers were more supportive of participative decision making.

**Studies of Effects of Leadership Styles**

The only emic study in this group was conducted by Anderson (1983) to determine whether various leadership styles were differentially effective with culturally heterogeneous, as opposed to culturally homogeneous, work groups. This study was conducted in New Zealand. The questionnaire administered to managers included items from scales developed in the USA as well as items from interviews with New Zealand employees. Factor analysis of scores revealed five leadership styles: patriarchal consideration, structuring for surveillance, friendship control, egalitarian participation, and power aggrandizement. Results indicated no moderating effects of cultural composition of the work group on the relationship between leadership style and leader effectiveness. Effective first line managers provided structure and participation, while, for mid-level managers, patriarchal consideration and power aggrandizement were found to be associated with lower performance.

Bennett (1977), in a study of Philippine and Hong Kong junior and mid-level managers, found differences in the two groups which he attributed to cultural differences. Task orientation was found to correlate with high performance for
Philippine managers and with low performance for Chinese managers. Working-class affinity and maturity were correlated with low performance in the Philippine sample and with high performance among the Chinese in Hong Kong. In both samples, high performance was correlated with certain personal traits, such as intelligence, self-assurance, and self-actualization. Bennett concluded that the relationship of these personal attributes to managerial effectiveness may not be culturally specific, while dimensions such as 'consideration' and 'initiating structure' may be differentially effective, depending on cultural norms.

In a study of the relationship between leader behavior and effectiveness conducted in Israel, Fleishman and Simmons (1970) found that foremen, as rated by their supervisors, were most effective when they scored high on both 'consideration' and 'initiating structure'. They concluded that the two dimensions were relevant to Israeli perceptions of leadership. In a study involving the same two dimensions conducted with American and Turkish first line supervisors, Kenis (1977) found that American managers were more participative, as rated by their employees. American employees rated their managers as more considerate than did Turkish employees. Americans preferred participative leaders, while the Turkish subjects were indifferent, and Turkish leaders displayed more authoritarian tendencies. Kenis concluded that the positive effects usually associated with participative leadership may not apply in all cultures. A weakness of this study was that no attempt was made to determine whether consideration and structure are meaningful dimensions of leadership in the minds of Turkish employees.

Meade (1970) studied the effects of democratic, authoritarian, and laissez-faire leadership styles on group cohesion of judgement in a sample of Chinese students in Hong Kong and Hawaii. Among the Hong Kong Chinese, authoritarian leaders were most effective, while the results for the American Chinese showed that democratic and authoritarian leaders were both effective. In both samples, male leaders were more successful than female leaders. Meade interpreted these results to mean that American Chinese are more adaptive to democratic and authoritarian leaders, because they have experienced both kinds of leadership, while the Hong Kong Chinese students came from a more authoritarian culture.

Thiagarajan and Deep (1970) studied the effects of interactions between different leader and subordinate styles. Their sample consisted of US, Italian, Belgian, and UK managers. Their results indicated that authoritarian supervisors were most influential, participative supervisors being the least influential, with persuasive leadership style falling in the middle. The only exception was found with Italian managers, where the participative style was as influential as the persuasive style. Involved subordinates were most influential with supervisors, and subordinates preferred participative supervisors most and authoritarian supervisors least. The authors concluded that there were similarities in patterns of supervisor–subordinate relationships across cultures.

An Evaluative Summary of Studies on Leadership Effectiveness

1. Theories and instruments originating in the USA are often tested for their applicability in other countries and cultures without taking into account the fact that members of dissimilar cultures could hold implicit theories of leadership that are at variance with American notions of effective leadership. For instance, the factors of 'consideration' and 'initiating structure' from the Ohio State Leadership studies are extensively used, often with the assumption that these factors apply to the country being investigated.

2. Our review indicates that the well known dimensions of 'consideration' and 'initiating of structure' are not as appropriate in non-Western cultures as they are in the USA, indicating that persons from different cultures hold different implicit theories of leadership.

3. The belief conflict originally reported by Haire et al. (1966)—managers' belief in democratic leadership, yet lack of belief in subordinate capacity for self-direction and initiative—is applicable in all cultures where it has been tested.

RESEARCH ON INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION (Table 8)

A well known study by Triandis (1967) investigated three hypotheses concerning the difficulties in interpersonal relations between members of two cultures which would occur in the event that a visitor to a country was perceived by himself and by members of the host country to have higher status, by virtue of his native culture, than the members of the host culture with whom he came into contact.

Participants were Americans and Greeks working in Athens, Greece and Americans living in the USA. The American employees were interviewed regarding their perceptions of Greek culture and their Greek coworkers. In addition, one Greek coworker of each of the respondents was also interviewed if it were feasible. A questionnaire was constructed based on these interviews which was administered to the same sample of Americans and Greeks and to a sample of male respondents living in the USA who had had no contact with Greeks. Results indicated that the Greeks and Americans living in Athens expressed a great deal of criticism of one another, while the Americans living in the USA had less negative stereotypes of Greeks than did Americans living in Athens. In addition, Americans living in Athens held a more positive stereotype of Americans in general than did Americans living at home.

These results were interpreted as supportive of the hypotheses. The author suggested that training in intercultural situations which includes appreciation of the host country could help to alleviate some of the problems which frequently occur when members of different cultures interact in organizational contexts.
Triandis and Vassiliou (1972) studied the effects of interpersonal influence on employee selection in Greece and in the USA. They argued that in traditional societies, such as Greece, one's ingroup consists of those people with whom one has face-to-face relationships, family and close friends, while in more modern societies, such as the USA, ingroups consist of persons who are cognitively similar. Participants in this study, Greeks and Americans employed in Athens, were asked to complete a questionnaire which described 16 hypothetical job applicants with regard to school grades, interview impressions, and sources of personal recommendations (relative, close friend, unknown neighbor, stranger). It was hypothesized that Greeks would pay more attention to an applicant who was recommended by a close friend or relative while Americans would pay attention to the recommendations of an unknown neighbor or even an unknown person.

They found that recommendations by ingroup members were more important to the Greeks than were objective criteria such as school grades. Americans gave more weight to recommendations by a neighbor than to recommendations by an unknown person. However, a person recommended by two unknown persons would still have a chance of being hired by an American, while the same person would have little chance of being hired by a Greek. Also, American employers put great emphasis on excellent grades even when the applicant was described as making only an adequate impression in interviews; Greeks rejected those applicants who did not make good interview impressions. This study shed important light on the role of ingroup–outgroup in organizational decisions.

A study utilizing a nonzero-sum bargaining simulation was conducted by Porat (1970) in order to examine the effects of cultural differences on bargaining behavior in management—union conflict situations. Groups of middle level managers from Spain, Denmark, Switzerland, and the UK were divided into groups in which half the members acted as company representatives and the other half acted as union representatives. Group members received written information about a textile firm and its union, which was due to strike, and about the issues involved in negotiating a new contract between union and management. The groups were given deadlines by which they had to reach a settlement.

Spanish negotiators who reached a settlement did so in the shortest length of time. However, they also had the highest percentage of deadlocks. It was concluded that Spanish negotiators tended to turn the bargaining situation into a zero-sum situation in which both sides lost when they could not reach an agreement.

Sullivan et al. (1981) investigated the effects of conflict resolution on future trust in a sample of American and Japanese managers. Participants read a scenario describing a Japanese–American joint venture in which a conflict occurred between the American and Japanese representatives of the partners. The researchers were interested in the effects of method of conflict-resolution on

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Countries/cultures</th>
<th>Sample size and type</th>
<th>Research methodology</th>
<th>Primary focus</th>
<th>Sample-size and type</th>
<th>Research methodology</th>
<th>Primary focus</th>
<th>Sample-size and type</th>
<th>Sample-size and type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Triandis and Vassiliou (1972)</td>
<td>Greece, USA</td>
<td>58 Americans, 16 Greeks</td>
<td>Questionnaire</td>
<td>Triandis and Vassiliou (1972)</td>
<td>Greek, American</td>
<td>43 American and 43 Greek managers in Athens</td>
<td>Triandis and Vassiliou (1972)</td>
<td>Greek, American</td>
<td>43 American and 43 Greek managers in Athens</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
future trust. They found that Japanese managers preferred binding arbitration when the scenario described an American as being in charge of operations. In contrast, when a Japanese was president, Japanese respondents showed no particular preference for either binding arbitration or conferral, though they believed that conferral was more conducive to future trust. Japanese managers did not always prefer to rely on their traditional means of conflict resolution. Their preferred method of dispute settlement depended on the nationality of the individual who was in charge of operations. American and Japanese managers were found to define trust similarly; however, the Americans were less tolerant of ambivalent behavior than were the Japanese. The Americans saw consistency as important to the development of future trust, while the Japanese did not.

Lincoln, Hanada, and Olson (1981) conducted a study of Japanese-owned firms in the USA which included an investigation of the effects of organizational structure on personal ties and job satisfaction in the Japanese, Japanese-American, and American employees. They hypothesized that the high degree of vertical differentiation and paternalistic practices of Japanese organizations would have different effects on these three cultural groups. Japanese employees were expected to be more closely integrated into a network of personal association with their fellow employees compared to the Americans. However, this notion was not supported. Vertical differentiation had a positive effect on Japanese and Japanese-Americans' personal ties and job satisfaction, while the effects of horizontal differentiation were in the opposite direction. Horizontal and vertical differentiation had no effects on Americans' personal ties or job satisfaction. The authors attributed these findings to the fact that the Japanese are more comfortable with hierarchical organizations and paternalistic practices.

Earley (1984) conducted a field study of social interaction among workers in the USA, England, and Ghana. He expected that the frequency and importance of social interaction on the job would be a function of culture. Subjects were observed in their place of work and asked to complete a questionnaire. Ghanaian workers engaged most frequently in social interaction and rated it as most important, followed by the Americans, and finally the English. Earley concluded that the use of social interaction to facilitate changes in work behavior will be differentially effective in different cultures.

An Evaluative Summary of Studies of Interpersonal Communication and Conflict Resolution

1. The general trend of research in this area indicates that Triandis' (1967) early observation that ingroup–outgroup orientation is one of the distinctive dimensions of cultural differences is indeed an insightful one. We recommend future studies to be more careful in their design so as to incorporate the significance of this notion.

2. While a vast number of studies have been done involving students, housewives, tourists, relatively few studies have been conducted in real organizational settings. In order to make significant advances in this topical area in organizational psychology it is crucial that we search for real organizational events which create conflicts, and then examine the role of cultural references in the interpretation and management of such conflicts.

3. Additional research in this area will have the added advantage of increased understanding of multicultural relations in international organizations. When we begin to fully fathom the intricacies of nonisomorphic attributions which are present in such situations, we should then be able to eradicate conflicts in work organizations which have roots in cultural differences as opposed to differences in mere task definitions.

AN OVERALL SUMMARY AND DIRECTIONS FOR RESEARCH IN THE 1990s

Cross-cultural research is difficult to conduct and researchers encounter a series of methodological pitfalls which go beyond the ones normally encountered in research involving one national or cultural context. Demonstration of cultural differences is complicated by the fact that there are many rival or alternative hypotheses that should be carefully examined in order to be confident that the observed differences are indeed due to cultural variations and not due to factors which are economic or historical in their origins.

Bhagat and McQuaid (1982) noted that while cross-cultural research had progressed during the 1970s, several theoretical and methodological difficulties were still present in the studies that they reviewed. These difficulties were (1) inappropriate adoption of research instruments developed in the west (particularly in the USA) in cultures being studied, (2) inadequate theoretical justification for selection of the nations or cultures, (3) lack of suitable emic content, (4) static-group designs, and (5) lack of rigorous theory and methodological robustness in guiding the investigations.

We review the progress in this field in terms of these five criteria.

Adoption of Research Instruments

While there has been some progress in adopting instruments developed in the West in conducting research in other cultural or national contexts, a majority of the studies still used instruments which were distinctly Western in orientation. Kanugo (1982, p. 130) in addressing this problem stated 'the cultural bias inherent in the Western models has caused problems of measurement. Such problems are of two types: those relating to the cultural validity of the measuring instruments, and those relating to interpretation of the results of studies that use those instruments.' Studies on Chinese work culture by Hofstede and his associates (Chinese Culture Connection, 1987; Hofstede and
significant emic contents. We strongly encourage such endeavors in future investigations.

Static-group Design

As noted in the earlier review by Bhagat and McQuaid (1982), static-group designs present a serious methodological difficulty in most cross-cultural investigations in organizational psychology when respondents are not randomly assigned to different levels of a treatment variable, and if the independent variable is simply culture it becomes difficult to discern the exact influence of the treatment variable. This problem can be resolved to a satisfactory extent by designing studies which select individuals as randomly as possible in different cultures or nations and by delineating the dimensions of cultural variations that one is considering as treatment variables. There has been relatively little progress in this area even though there are some encouraging signs. Studies on Meaning of Work are notable exceptions to the general trend.

Lack of Rigorous Theory and Methodological Robustness

Research on all of the topical areas has improved by developing reasonable bases on specific theory and theoretical frameworks. There is a general trend of debate over the applicability of theories developed in the USA to other nations. Hofstede (1980b, 1981) stated that American theories can be applied to countries in the Anglo cluster but not necessarily to other clusters which differ in terms of the composition of implicit cultural dimensions. Countries in Scandinavia, for example, significantly differ from those in the Anglo clusters in terms of participation in decision making, which is mandated by law in these countries (Gardell and Gustavson, 1980).

The tendency on the part of cross-cultural researchers to compare mean group differences without grounding such differences in more ecological terms has caused the knowledge in this area to be somewhat nonaccumulative in nature. However, there are signs that in some studies, at least, improved conceptualizations have significantly aided in advancing the precision with which findings are interpreted. We would like to see more advances in this direction of improving rigor of conceptualizations that go into cross-cultural investigations.

In terms of methodological robustness, there has been some improvement in back translation procedure. However, more precision following the recommendations of Candell and Hulin (1986) is necessary if we are to avoid numerous artifacts that are present in the collection of data across diverse cultures. While there has always been and will be an over-reliance on self-report based methodologies for collecting cross-cultural data, we should note emphatically that no single method is perfect. Each method has its advantages and disadvantages.
MULTIMETHODOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS WHICH HELP TO ELIMINATE ALTERNATIVE INTERPRETATIONS OF THE FINDINGS ARE ALMOST NON-EXISTENT. CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH IS A METHODOLOGICALLY DIFFICULT Endeavor and multimethod based cross-cultural research is even more so. However, within the limitations of one's resources adoption of multimethod based research investigations coupled with sound theoretical conceptualizations will help advance the cause of cross-cultural organizational psychology in the 1990s.

REFERENCES


