

Job Satisfaction: A Cross-Cultural Review

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This chapter considers research and theory concerning job satisfaction, perhaps the most widely studied concept in organizational psychology. The chapter begins with consideration of the concept of job satisfaction, and then reviews theories of job satisfaction that have attracted the most attention. These theories include situational theories, which argue that job satisfaction results from aspects of the job or work environment (Herzberg's two-factor theory, social information processing theory, job characteristics model), dispositional approaches, which assume that job satisfaction results from the personality of the individual, and interactive theories, which consider job satisfaction to be a function of situational influences and individual differences (Cornell integrative model, Locke's value-percept theory). After reviewing these theories, we conclude that the job characteristics model, dispositional approaches, and Locke's value-percept theory have garnered the most support. Next, several important areas are reviewed, including measures of job satisfaction, the relationship of job satisfaction to several critical outcomes, and how job satisfaction is treated in organizations. A major section of the study is devoted to comparing the previous research literature, largely conducted in the USA, to that in international contexts. In reviewing this literature, although the level of support and frequency of investigation has varied, most findings appear to generalize across international contexts. Finally, an agenda for future research investigating international aspects of job satisfaction is presented.

INTRODUCTION

There are few, if any, concepts more central to industrial/organizational psychology than job satisfaction. In this century, the advent of the human relations movement is credited with emphasizing the importance of workplace attitudes. Indeed, the pioneers of the movement – Likert (1967), Maslow (1965), McGregor (1966), and Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939) – are credited with raising the field's consciousness with respect to workplace

morale. Hoppock's (1935) landmark book roughly coincided with the Hawthorne studies that were the origin of the human relations movement. Hoppock's opening to his book aptly describes the emphasis that scholars of the time placed on job satisfaction, 'Whether or not one finds his employment sufficiently satisfactory to continue in it ... is a matter of the first importance to employer and employee' (p. 5).

From this auspicious beginning, the job satisfaction literature has had its ebbs and flows. In his influential review, Locke (1976) estimated that over 3300 studies on job satisfaction had been conducted

up to 1973. Using the PsycINFO database, we were able to find references to another 7856 studies on job satisfaction published since 1973, making job satisfaction perhaps the most widely studied topic in all of industrial/organizational psychology. Yet, currently, research on job satisfaction appears to be on the decline. As Figure 2.1 reveals, across all journals in the PsycINFO database, the rate of publications on job satisfaction has declined since the nirvana of the 1980s. As Figure 2.2 shows, in the top industrial/organizational psychology journals, the rate of publications has declined precipitously since the 1970s. Whether this is a long-term trend of short-term fluctuation is a question this chapter cannot answer.¹ We review research on job satisfaction, despite this apparent decline in research interest, for four reasons: (1) job satisfaction may be the most widely researched topic in the history of industrial/organizational psychology; (2) even if research is declining in a relative sense, job satisfaction still is among the most frequently investigated constructs in industrial/organizational psychology; (3) job satisfaction occupies a central role in many theories and models of individual attitudes and behaviors; and (4) job satisfaction research has practical application for the enhancement of individual lives and organizational effectiveness.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a review of job satisfaction research as it has been conducted in the USA and internationally. Specifically, we will describe what we know about the nature, causes, measurement, and consequences of job satisfaction based on previous, largely American-based, research. Then, we summarize cross-cultural and international job satisfaction research, paying particular attention to research conducted in the last 20 years. Finally, partly based on discrepancies between US and international research, we lay out an agenda for future research that would provide greater understanding of the international aspects of job satisfaction.

WHAT IS JOB SATISFACTION?

Locke (1976) defined job satisfaction as '... a pleasurable or positive emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one's job or job experiences' (p. 1304). It is important to note the use of both cognition (appraisal) and affect (emotional state) in Locke's definition. Thus, Locke assumes that job satisfaction results from the interplay of cognition and affect, or thoughts and feelings. Recently, some organizational scholars have questioned this view, arguing that typical measures of job satisfaction are more cognitive than affective in orientation (e.g., Organ & Near, 1985). Brief (1998) comments,

'... organizational scientists often have been tapping the cognitive dimension while slighting or even excluding the affective one' (p. 87). In support of this argument, Brief and Roberson (1989) found that a purported measure of work cognitions correlated more strongly with job satisfaction than did positive and negative affectivity (PA and NA). The limitation with this study exposes the problem with the argument – it seems likely that job beliefs (cognitions) are as influenced by affect as is job satisfaction itself. Indeed, Brief and Roberson's results show that PA correlated more strongly with their purported measure of cognitions than it did with job satisfaction itself! In this study, as well as others, *both* cognition and affect contribute to job satisfaction. A recent study (Weiss, Nicholas & Daus, 1999) revealed that when cognitions about the job and mood were used to predict job satisfaction in the same equation, both were strongly related to job satisfaction, and *the relative effects were exactly the same*.

Thus, in evaluating our jobs both cognition and affect appear to be involved. When we think about our jobs, we have feelings about what we think. When we have feelings while at work, we think about these feelings. Cognition and affect are thus closely related, in our psychology and even in our psychobiology. Evidence indicates that when individuals perform specific mental operations, a reciprocal relationship exists between cerebral areas specialized for processing emotions and those specific for cognitive processes (Drevets & Raichle, 1998). There are cognitive theories of emotion (Reisenzein & Schoenpflug, 1992), and emotional theories of cognition (Smith-Lovin, 1991).

Let us be clear here. We do not mean to suggest that researchers should not investigate the roles of affect and cognition in judgments of job satisfaction. We believe the Weiss et al. (1999) study, for example, has revealed important insights into the psychological processes underlying judgments of job satisfaction. On the other hand, we do not believe it is productive to classify or characterize measures of job satisfaction as either cognitive or affective. Nor do we believe there is a need to develop new, affectively laden measures of job satisfaction, or to replace measures of job satisfaction with 'work affect' measures. Cognition and affect can help us better understand the nature of job satisfaction, but we do not believe bifurcation in the measures of job satisfaction, after more than 70 years of research, will prove fruitful.

Most scholars recognize that job satisfaction is a global concept that also comprises various facets. The most typical categorization of facets (Smith, Kendall & Hulin, 1969) considers five: pay, promotions, coworkers, supervision, and the work itself. Locke (1976) adds a few other facets: recognition, working conditions, and company and management. It is common for researchers to separate

Number of studies on job satisfaction

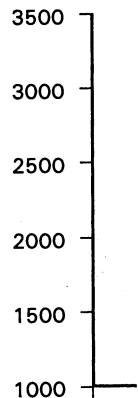


Figure 2.1 Number database as a function of time

Number of studies on job satisfaction

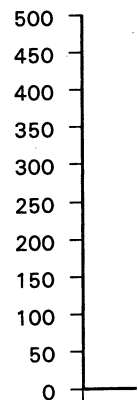


Figure 2.2 Number database – top-tier journals (*Academy of Management Journal*, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, and *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*)

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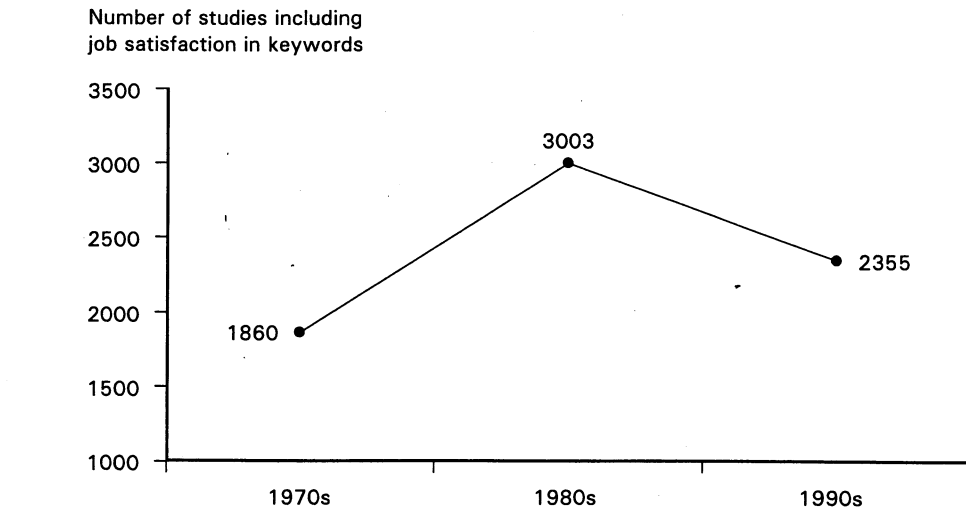


Figure 2.1 Number of studies including 'job satisfaction' in keywords of PsycINFO database as a function of date of the study

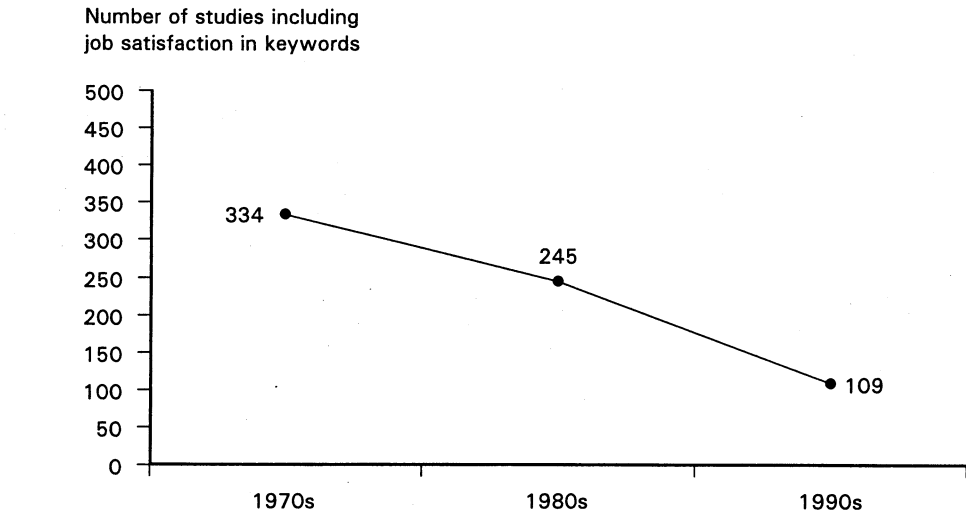


Figure 2.2 Number of studies including 'job satisfaction' in keywords of PsycINFO database - top-tier industrial/organizational psychology and organizational behavior journals (Academy of Management Journal, Journal of Applied Psychology, Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, Personnel Psychology)

job satisfaction into intrinsic and extrinsic elements where pay and promotions are considered extrinsic factors and coworkers, supervision, and the work itself are considered intrinsic factors. Such an organizational structure is somewhat arbitrary; other structures were offered by Locke (1976), such as

events or conditions versus agents (where agents are supervisors, coworkers, and company or management), or work versus rewards versus context. Another definitional issue is whether job satisfaction and dissatisfaction are polar opposites (exist on opposite ends of a bipolar continuum) or are

separate concepts. The answer to this issue is closely bound up in Herzberg's two-factor theory, which will be reviewed shortly. Suffice it for now to conclude that satisfaction and dissatisfaction appear to lie at opposite ends of the same continuum and thus do not represent separate concepts (see Locke, 1976).

THEORIES OF JOB SATISFACTION ANTECEDENTS

Many theories concerning the causes of job satisfaction have been proposed. They can be loosely classified as falling into one of three categories: (1) situational theories, which hypothesize that job satisfaction results from the nature of one's job or other aspects of the environment; (2) dispositional approaches, which assume that job satisfaction is rooted in the personal make-up of the individual; and (3) interactive theories, which propose that job satisfaction results from the interplay of the situation and personality. To be sure, this is a gross categorization. For example, need theories could be argued to be situational or interactive (or perhaps even dispositional). However, since the main practical implications of need theories lie in changing the context of the job, we classify need theories as situational theories.

Situational Theories

Although many situational theories of job satisfaction have been proposed, we believe three stand out as most influential: (1) Herzberg's two-factor theory; (2) social information processing; (3) job characteristics model. Below we provide a review of each of these theories.

Two-Factor Theory

Herzberg (1967) argued that the factors that lead to satisfaction are often different from those that lead to dissatisfaction. This conclusion was based on a series of interviews of workers. When asked to consider factors connected to a time when they felt satisfied with their jobs, individuals generally talked about intrinsic factors such as the work itself, responsibilities, and achievements ('motivators'). Conversely, when workers were asked to consider factors that led to dissatisfaction, most individuals discussed extrinsic factors such as company policies, working conditions, and pay ('hygiene factors'). Herzberg further found that intrinsic factors were more strongly correlated with satisfaction, while extrinsic factors were more strongly correlated with dissatisfaction. Based on these findings, Herzberg argued that elimination of hygiene factors from a job would only remove dissatisfaction, but not

bring satisfaction. To bring out job satisfaction, then, the organization must focus on motivator factors, such as making the work more interesting, challenging, and personally rewarding.

Despite its intuitive appeal, the two-factor theory has been roundly criticized by researchers. There are many logical problems with the theory, and many flaws in Herzberg's methodology (see Locke, 1969). One of the main problems is that most of the support of the theory comes from Herzberg's samples and methodology. Numerous empirical studies have attempted to replicate and test Herzberg's findings with independent data and methods, with little success (e.g., Hulin & Smith, 1967). Contrary to Herzberg's claim, research has consistently shown that intrinsic and extrinsic factors contribute to both satisfaction and dissatisfaction (Carroll, 1973; Wernimont, 1966). Thus, though the theory continues to be advocated by Herzberg and recommended for further study by others (Brief, 1998), these attempts at resurrecting the theory run against considerable scientific evidence. As Korman (1971) noted, disconfirming evidence has 'effectively laid the Herzberg theory to rest' (p. 179). Given the virtual absence of tests of the two-factor theory since 1971, we find Korman's comment a suitable epitaph.

Social Information Processing

Social information processing approaches to job attitudes argue that job satisfaction is a socially constructed reality (Salancik & Pfeffer, 1977, 1978). According to the theory, individuals do not really form judgments of job satisfaction until they are asked and, when they are asked, they rely on social sources of information such as interpretations of their own behavior cues by their coworkers, or even the way survey questions are posed. Substantively, the theory holds that individuals are apt to provide the responses they are expected to, and then seek to rationalize or justify their responses. As Hulin (1991) notes, one piece of evidence against the social information processing perspective is that the same job attributes appear to predict job satisfaction in different cultures, even though the social environments, values, and mores in these cultures often are quite different. Stone (1992) provides an in-depth, and fairly devastating, review and critique of the social information perspective. Although the theory continues to be brought up and occasionally endorsed, interest in it appears to have waned in the same way that exclusively situationalist explanations for attitudes and behaviors have declined.

Job Characteristics Model

The job characteristics model (JCM) argues that jobs which contain intrinsically motivating

characteristics will lead to higher levels of job satisfaction, as well as other positive work outcomes, such as enhanced job performance and lower withdrawal. The model, introduced by Hackman and Oldham (1976), but derived from earlier work by Hackman and Lawler (1971), focuses on five core job characteristics:

Task identity - degree to which one can see one's work from beginning to end;
Task significance - degree to which one's work is seen as important and significant;
Skill variety - extent to which job allows employees to do different tasks;
Autonomy - degree to which employees have control and discretion for how to conduct their job;
Feedback - degree to which the work itself provides feedback for how the employee is performing the job.

According to the theory, jobs that are enriched to provide these core characteristics are likely to be more satisfying and motivating than jobs that do not provide these characteristics. More specifically, it is proposed that the core job characteristics lead to three critical psychological states - experienced meaningfulness of the work, responsibility for outcomes, and knowledge of direct - which in turn lead to the outcomes.

There is both indirect and direct support for the validity of the model's basic proposition that core job characteristics lead to more satisfying work. In terms of indirect evidence, first, when individuals are asked to evaluate different facets of work such as pay, promotion opportunities, coworkers, and so forth, the nature of the work itself consistently emerges as the most important job facet (Jungersen, 1978). Second, of the major job satisfaction facets - pay, promotion opportunities, coworkers, supervision, and the work itself - satisfaction with the work itself is almost always the facet most strongly correlated with overall job satisfaction (e.g., Kentsch & Stuel, 1992). Thus, if we are interested in understanding what causes people to be satisfied with their jobs, the nature of the work (intrinsic job characteristics) is the first place to start.

Research directly testing the relationship between workers' reports of job characteristics and job satisfaction has produced consistently positive results. There have been several quantitative reviews of the literature indicating positive results (Fried & Ferris, 1987; Lohar, Noe, Moeller, & Frutgerald, 1985). Recently, Frye (1996) provided an update and reports a true score correlation of .50 between job characteristics and job satisfaction. This provides strong support for the validity of the job characteristics model.

Although the model did not explicitly acknowledge individual differences in receptiveness to

job characteristics in its original formulation, early on the model was modified from a purely situational model to more of an interactional model. According to Hackman and Oldham (1976), the relationship between intrinsic job characteristics and job satisfaction depends on employees' Growth Need Strength (GNS), which is employees' desire for personal development, especially as it applies to work. High-GNS employees want their jobs to contribute to their personal growth, and derive satisfaction from performing challenging and personally rewarding activities. According to the model, intrinsic job characteristics are especially satisfying for individuals who score high on GNS. In fact, research supports this aspect of the theory. Across the 10 studies that have investigated the role of GNS in the relationship between intrinsic job characteristics and job satisfaction, the relationship tends to be stronger for employees with high GNS (average $r = .68$) than for those with low GNS (average $r = .38$) (Frye, 1996). However, it is important to note that intrinsic job characteristics are related to job satisfaction even for those who score low on GNS.

There are some limitations to the theory. First, most of the studies have used self-reports of job characteristics, which has garnered its share of criticisms (Roberts & Glick, 1981). It is true that subjective reports of job characteristics correlate more strongly with job satisfaction than do objective reports. However, objective reports, even with all of their measurement imperfections, still show consistently positive correlations with job satisfaction (Glick, Jenkins & Gupta, 1986). Second, the relationship between perceptions of job characteristics and job satisfaction appears to be bidirectional (James & Jones, 1980; James & Tetrick, 1986). Thus, it cannot be assumed that any association between job characteristics and job satisfaction demonstrates a causal effect of job characteristics on job satisfaction. Third, there is little evidence that the critical psychological states mediate the relationship between job characteristics and outcomes as proposed. Finally, the formulaic combination of the five core characteristics has not been supported. Research indicates that simply adding the dimensions works better (Arnold & House, 1980). This limitation does not seem to be a serious problem with the theory, as whether an additive or multiplicative combination of job dimensions works best does not undermine the potential usefulness of the theory.

Dispositional Approaches

Of the three principal approaches to studying job satisfaction, the dispositional approach to job satisfaction is the most recently evolved and, perhaps as a result, the most poorly developed.

However, there has been recognition of individual differences in job satisfaction for as long as the topic of job satisfaction has been studied. For example, Hoppock (1935) found that workers satisfied with their jobs were better adjusted emotionally than dissatisfied workers. It was 50 years later, though, beginning with the publication of two influential studies by Staw and colleagues (Staw & Ross, 1985; Staw, Bell & Clausen, 1986), that the dispositional source of job satisfaction came into its own as a research area. Indeed, since the Staw studies, it has become one of the most popular areas of inquiry in the job satisfaction literature. Although, early on, this literature had its critics (Croppanzano & James, 1990; Davis-Blake & Pfeffer, 1989; Gerhart, 1987; Guetk & Winter, 1992), these criticisms have waned. Few scholars would dispute the contention that job satisfaction is, to a significant degree, rooted in individuals' personalities.

In reflecting on this literature, it appears there are two broad categories of studies. The first group, which we will call *indirect studies*, seek to demonstrate a dispositional basis to job satisfaction by inference. Typically, in such studies, disposition or personality is not measured, but is inferred to exist from a process of logical deduction or induction. Staw and Ross (1985), for example, inferred a dispositional source of satisfaction by observing that measures of job satisfaction were reasonably stable over a two-year ($r = .42, p < .01$), three-year ($r = .32, p < .01$), and five-year ($r = .29, p < .01$) period of time. Staw and Ross further discovered that job satisfaction showed significant stability under situational change — even when individuals changed both employers and occupation over a five-year period of time ($r = .19, p < .01$), though this stability is much less than for individuals who changed neither occupation nor employer ($r = .37, p < .01$). Another indirect, albeit provocative study, was authored by Arvey, Bouchard, Segal and Abraham (1989), who found significant similarity in the job satisfaction levels of 34 pairs of monozygotic (identical) twins reared apart from early childhood.

Though this series of indirect studies can be credited for establishing interest in the dispositional perspective, they have an obvious limitation — they cannot demonstrate a dispositional source of job satisfaction. For example, stability in job satisfaction over time can be due to many factors, only one of which is due to the personality of the individual (Gerhart, 1987; Guetk & Winter, 1992). Similarly, since babies have no jobs they cannot be born with job satisfaction. Thus, evidence showing similarity in twins' job satisfaction levels is indirect evidence, since the similarity must be due to other factors (i.e., personality).

The other group of studies, which we will term *direct studies*, relate a direct measure of a construct

to assess a personality trait to job satisfaction. The specific traits that have been investigated have varied widely across studies. Staw et al. (1986), for example, utilized clinical ratings of children with respect to a number of adjectives assumed to assess affective disposition ('cheerful', 'warm', and 'negative'). Judge and Hulin (1993) and Judge and Locke (1993) used a measure, adapted from Weitz (1952), assessing employees' reactions to neutral objects common to everyday life. Despite the predictive validity of these measures for job satisfaction, most research has focused on other measures. These are reviewed below. Before proceeding, we should note that Ganzach (1998) has related general mental ability or intelligence to job satisfaction. However, this research is not reviewed beyond here because intelligence is not a personality trait and, further, the two concepts were virtually uncorrelated, $r = -.02$.

One group of studies has focused on positive and negative affectivity (PA and NA). According to Watson, Clark and colleagues, PA is characterized by high energy, enthusiasm, and pleasurable engagement, whereas NA is characterized by distress, unpleasurable engagement, and nervousness (Watson, Clark & Tellegen, 1988). An interesting finding in the literature supporting the distinction between PA and NA is that they appear to display different patterns of relationships with other variables (Watson, 2000). The general trend seems to be that PA more strongly relates to positive outcomes whereas NA is more strongly associated with negative outcomes. Several studies have related both PA and NA to job satisfaction (Agho, Mueller & Price, 1993; Brief, Butcher & Robinson, 1995; Brief, Burke, George, Robinson & Webster, 1988; Levin & Stokes, 1989; Neocowitz & Roznowski, 1994; Watson & Slack, 1993). Thoresen and Judge (1997) reviewed the 29 studies that have investigated the PA-job satisfaction relationship and the 41 studies that have investigated the NA-job satisfaction relationship and found true score correlations of .52 and -.40, respectively. Thus, it appears that both PA and NA are generally related to job satisfaction.

Recently, Judge, Locke and Durham (1997), drawing from several different literatures, introduced the construct of core self-evaluations. According to Judge et al. (1997), core self-evaluations are fundamental premises that individuals hold about themselves and their functioning in the world. Judge et al., argued that core self-evaluation is a broad personality construct comprising several more specific traits: (1) self-esteem; (2) generalized self-efficacy; (3) locus of control; (4) neuroticism or emotional stability. Two primary studies have related core self-evaluations to job satisfaction. Judge, Locke, Durham and Kluger (1998) analyzed data across three samples, found that core self-evaluations had a true score (real effect of .78 on job satisfaction when both constructs were

self-reported by employees and .37 when core self-evaluations were measured independently by a significant other). Judge, Bono and Locke (2000) found that core self-evaluations correlated .41 ($p < .01$) with job satisfaction when both constructs were self-reported and .19 ($p < .05$) when core self-evaluations were reported by significant others. Judge and Bono (2001) have completed a meta-analysis of 169 independent correlations (combined $N = 59,871$) on the relationship between each of the four core traits and job satisfaction. When the four meta-analyses were combined into a single composite measure, the overall core trait correlated .37 with job satisfaction.

Although research on the dispositional sources of job satisfaction has made enormous strides, considerable room for further development exists. Early in this research stream, Davis-Blake and Pfeffer (1989) criticized dispositional research for its failure to clearly define or carefully measure affective disposition. To some extent, this criticism is still relevant. As the above review attests, even those that have directly measured affective disposition have done so with fundamentally different measures. What traits and measures are best suited to predicting job satisfaction? Despite many studies on job satisfaction, there have been very few efforts to compare, contrast, and integrate these different conceptualizations and measures of affective disposition. Brief, George, and colleagues focus on mood at work as having used positive and negative affectivity as dispositional constructs. Weiss, Cropanzano and colleagues emphasize affective events at work and the emotions and cognitions these events produce. Judge, Locke, Erez and colleagues focus on core self-evaluations. The differences in these approaches are important. However, we should not assume that they are oriented toward different objectives — all seek to better understand the dispositional source of job attitudes. The approaches may not even be competitors. We view these different approaches as signs of a healthy area of scientific inquiry.

An equally important research need is to uncover the processes by which personality influences job satisfaction. This need has been voiced repeatedly in the literature (Brief, 1998; House, Shane & Herold, 1996; Judge, 1992; Judge et al., 1997; Spector, 1997). Given these repeated calls, it is amazing how little progress has been made in understanding psychological processes underlying the dispositional source of job satisfaction. Although the exceptions are noteworthy (Brief, 1998; Motowidlo, 1996; Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996), it remains a relatively atheoretical area of research.

Interactive Theories

Interactive theories of job satisfaction are those that consider both person and situation variables.

Though there are many such theories, we will focus on two: the Cornell integrative model and Locke's value-percept theory.

Cornell Model

Hulin, Roznowski and Hachiya (1985), subsequently elaborated upon by Hulin (1991), proposed a model of job satisfaction that attempted to integrate previous theories of attitude formation. According to the model, job satisfaction is a function of the balance between role inputs, what the individual puts into the work role (e.g., training, experience, time, and effort), and role outcomes, what is received (pay, status, working conditions, and intrinsic factors). The more outcomes received relative to inputs invested, the higher work role satisfaction will be, all else equal. According to the Cornell model, the individual's opportunity costs affect the value individuals place on inputs. In periods of labor oversupply (i.e., high unemployment), the individual will perceive their inputs as less valuable due to the high competition for few alternative positions, and the opportunity cost of their work role declines (i.e., work role membership is less costly relative to other opportunities). Therefore, as unemployment (particularly in one's local or occupational labor market) rises, the subjective utility of inputs falls — making perceived value of inputs less relative to outcomes — thus increasing satisfaction. Finally, the model proposes that an individual's frames of reference, which represent past experience with outcomes, influence how individuals perceive current outcomes received. The fewer, or less valued, the outcomes received in the past and as current employment opportunities erode, the same outcomes per inputs will increase job satisfaction (i.e., more was received than had been in the past). Again, the reverse scenario is also true. Although the breadth and integration of the Hulin model is impressive, direct tests of the model are lacking. One partial test (Judge, 1990) of the model was not particularly supportive. More research on it is needed.

Value-Percept Theory

Following his definition of values as that which one desires or considers important, Locke (1976) argued that individuals' values would determine what satisfied them on the job. Only the unfulfilled job values that were valued by the individual would be dissatisfying. Accordingly, Locke's value-percept theory expresses job satisfaction as follows:

$$S = (V_c - P) \times V_i \text{ or} \\ \text{Satisfaction} = (\text{want} - \text{have}) \times \text{importance}$$

Where S is satisfaction, V_c is value content (amount wanted), P is the perceived amount of the value provided by the job, and V_i is the importance of the value to the individual. Thus, value-percept theory

predicts that discrepancies between what is desired and received are dissatisfying only if the job facet is important to the individual. Individuals consider multiple facets when evaluating their job satisfaction, so the satisfaction calculus is repeated for each job facet.

One potential problem with the value-percept theory is that what one desires (V , or want) and what one considers important (P , or importance) are likely to be highly correlated. Though in theory these concepts are separable, in practice many people will find it difficult to distinguish the two. For example, why should I desire a great deal of pay if pay is not important to me? Indeed, one study dropped the discrepancy, simply investigating the moderating effect of facet importance on the relationship between facet amount and satisfaction. Despite this limitation, research on Locke's theory has been supportive (Rice, Phillips & McFarlin, 1990). Rice, Gentile and McFarlin (1991) found that facet importance moderated the relationship between facet amount and facet satisfaction, but it did not moderate the relationship between facet satisfaction and overall job satisfaction. This is exactly what Locke predicted in his theory, as he argued that facet satisfactions should additively predict overall satisfaction because facet importance was already reflected in each facet satisfaction score.

Summary and Integration

Of the job satisfaction theories that have been put forth, it appears that three have garnered the most research support: Locke's value-percept theory, the job characteristics model, and the dispositional theories. It is interesting to note that one of these theories is, essentially, a situational theory (job characteristics model), another is a person theory (dispositional approach), and another is a person-situation interactional theory (value-percept model). Although this may lead one to assume that these theories are competing or incompatible explanations of job satisfaction, this is not the case. Judge et al. (1997), in seeking to explain how core self-evaluations would be related to job satisfaction, proposed that intrinsic job characteristics would mediate the relationship. Indeed, Judge et al. (1998) showed that individuals with positive core self-evaluations perceived more intrinsic value in their work. Judge et al. (2000) showed that the link between core self-evaluations and intrinsic job characteristics was not solely a perceptual process — core self-evaluations was related to the actual attainment of complex jobs. Since job complexity is synonymous with intrinsic job characteristics, this shows that part of the reason individuals with positive core self-evaluations perceived more challenging jobs and report higher levels of job satisfaction is that they actually have obtained more complex (and thus challenging and intrinsically enriching)

jobs. The work of Judge and colleagues thus shows that dispositional approaches and the job characteristics model are quite compatible with one another.

What about the relationship between the job characteristics model and value-percept theory? If most individuals value the nature of the work itself more than other job facets, and evidence indicates that they do (Jurgensen, 1978), then Locke's theory would predict that increasing the level of intrinsic job characteristics (thus reducing the have-want discrepancy with respect to intrinsic characteristics) would be the most effective means of raising employees' job satisfaction. Thus, although the job characteristics model and Locke's value-percept model present different perspectives on job satisfaction, their implications may be the same — as long as employees value intrinsic job characteristics (which they appear to), both would suggest, for most people, the most effective way to increase job satisfaction would be to increase intrinsic job characteristics.

MEASUREMENT OF JOB SATISFACTION

Perhaps the two most extensively validated measures are the Job Descriptive Index (JDI; Smith et al., 1969) and the Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire (MSQ; Weiss, Dawis, England & Lofquist, 1967). The JDI assesses satisfaction with five different job facets: pay, promotion, coworkers, supervision, and the work itself. The JDI is reliable and has an impressive array of validation evidence behind it. The MSQ has the advantage of versatility — long and short forms are available, and faceted and overall measures that have been widely used in research, though these measures do not carry with them validation evidence as impressive as the JDI or MSQ. Another good measure is the Brayfield and Rothe (1951) job satisfaction measure, an 18-item measure of overall job satisfaction. In some of our research (e.g., Judge et al., 2000), we have used a reliable (i.e., internal consistencies [α] at .80 or above) five-item version of this scale. The five items are:

I feel fairly satisfied with my present job.
Most days I am enthusiastic about my work.
Each day at work seems like it will never end.
I find real enjoyment in my work.
I consider my job to be rather unpleasant.

There are two additional relevant issues. First, some measures of job satisfaction, such as the JDI, are faceted, while others are global. If a measure is facet-based, overall job satisfaction is typically defined as a sum of the facets. Scarpello and Campbell (1983) found that individual questions about various aspects of the job did not correlate well

with a global measure of overall job satisfaction. Based on these results, the authors argued that faceted and global measures do not measure the same construct. In other words, the whole is not the same as the sum of the parts. Scarpello and Campbell conclude, "The results of the present study argue against the common practice of using the sum of facet satisfaction as the measure of overall job satisfaction" (p. 595). This conclusion is probably premature. Individual items generally do not correlate highly with independent measures of the same construct. If one uses job satisfaction facets (as opposed to individual job satisfaction items) to predict an independent measure of overall job satisfaction, the correlation is considerably higher. For example, using data one of the authors has collected, if one uses the JDI facets to predict a measure of overall job satisfaction, the combined multiple correlation is $R = .87$. If this correlation were corrected for unreliability, it would be very close to unity. As has been noted elsewhere (e.g., Judge & Hulin, 1993), the job satisfaction facets are highly enough correlated to suggest that they indicate a common construct. Thus, there may be little difference between measuring general job satisfaction with an overall measure and measuring it by summing facet scores.

Second, while most job satisfaction researchers have assumed that single-item measures are unreliable and therefore should not be used, this view has not gone unchallenged. Wanous, Reichers and Hudy (1997) found that the reliability of single-item measures of job satisfaction is .67. For the G.M. Faces scale, another single item measure of job satisfaction that asks individuals to check one of five facets that best describes their overall satisfaction (Kunin, 1955), the reliability was estimated to be .66. Though these are respectable levels of reliability, it is important to keep in mind that these levels are lower than most multiple-item measures of job satisfaction. For example, Judge, Boudreau and Bretz (1994) used a three-item measure of job satisfaction that was reliable ($\alpha = .85$). The items in this measure were:

1. All things considered, are you satisfied with your present job (circle one)? YES NO
2. How satisfied are you with your job in general (circle one)?

Very Dissatisfied Somewhat Dissatisfied Neutral Somewhat Satisfied Very Satisfied

3. Below, please write down your best estimates on the percent your present job on average. The three figures should add-up to equal 100%. ON THE AVERAGE:
The percent of time I feel satisfied with my present job (note: only this response is scored) _____ %

The percent of time I feel dissatisfied with my present job _____ %
The percent of time I feel neutral about my present job _____ %
TOTAL _____ %

When used in practice, these items need to be standardized before summing. Although this measure is no substitute for the richness of detail provided in a faceted measure of job satisfaction, we do believe it is a reasonably valid measure of overall job satisfaction, and more reliable than a single-item measure.

OUTCOMES OF JOB SATISFACTION

Given the centrality of the construct to industrial/organizational psychology, job satisfaction has been correlated with many outcome variables. The relationship of job satisfaction to the most frequently investigated and important outcome variables is reviewed below.

Life Satisfaction

Researchers have speculated that there are three possible forms of the relationship between job and life satisfaction: (1) spillover, where job experiences spill over onto life, and vice versa; (2) segmentation, where job and life experiences are balkanized and have little to do with one another; (3) compensation, where an individual seeks to compensate for a dissatisfying job by seeking fulfillment and happiness in his or her nonwork life, and vice versa. Judge and Watanabe (1994) argued that these different models may exist for different individuals and that individuals can be classified into the three groups. On the basis of a national stratified random sample of workers, they found that 68% of workers could be classified as falling into the spillover group, 20% of individuals fell into the segmentation group, and 12% fell into the compensation group. Thus, the spillover model appears to characterize most individuals.

Consistent with the spillover model, a quantitative review of the literature indicated that job and life satisfaction are moderately strongly correlated — a meta-analysis revealed the average "true score" correlation of +.44 (Tait, Padgett & Baldwin, 1989). Since the job is a significant part of life, the correlation between job and life satisfaction makes sense — one's job experiences spill over onto life. However, it also seems possible the causality could go the other way — a happy nonwork life spills over onto job experiences and evaluations. In fact, research suggests that the relationship between job and life satisfaction is reciprocal — job

satisfaction does affect life satisfaction, but life satisfaction also affects job satisfaction (Judge & Watanabe, 1993).

Job Performance

The relationship between job satisfaction and performance has an interesting history. The Hawthorne studies are credited with making researchers aware of the effect of attitudes on performance. Shortly after the Hawthorne studies, researchers began taking a critical look at the hypothesis that a happy worker is a productive one. Most of the qualitative reviews of the literature suggested a weak, positive, and somewhat inconsistent relationship among the constructs. In 1985, a quantitative review of the literature suggested that the true correlation between job satisfaction and performance was .17 (Iaffaldano & Muchinsky, 1985). These authors concluded that the presumed relationship among the constructs was a 'management fad' and that the correlation was 'illusory'. This study has had an important impact on researchers. Most industrial organizational psychologists who write on the topic conclude that the relationship among the constructs is trivial. Relying on Iaffaldano and Muchinsky, the satisfaction-performance relationship has been described as 'meager' (Brief, 1998: 42), 'negligible' (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996: 51), and 'bordering on the trivial' (Landy, 1989: 481).

Not everyone agrees with this conclusion. Organ (1988) suggests that the failure to find a relationship between job satisfaction and performance is due to the narrow means that is often used to define job performance. Organ argued that when performance is construed to include many constructive behaviors not generally reflected in a performance appraisal instrument, such as organizational citizenship behaviors, its correlation with job satisfaction will improve. Research tends to support Organ's proposition in that job satisfaction correlates reliably with organizational citizenship behaviors (Organ & Ryan, 1995).

There is another perspective. Perhaps researchers have been wrong to dismiss the relationship between job satisfaction and performance. We have completed a study that represents a much more comprehensive review of the literature than has been the case in previous research, identifying 311 independent correlations (Judge, Thoresen, Bono & Patton, in press). When the correlations are corrected for the effects of sampling error and measurement error (based on interrater reliability for job performance and composite reliability for job satisfaction), the average true score correlation between overall job satisfaction and job performance is .30. This value is considerably higher than Iaffaldano and Muchinsky's (1985) estimate because these authors

inappropriately corrected estimates based on internal consistency, rather than interrater, estimates of reliability, and because they mostly analyzed correlations at the facet (as opposed to overall) satisfaction level. (The average uncorrected correlation was .18; the corrected correlation is much higher because performance ratings are notoriously unreliable. See Viswesvaran, Ones & Schmidt, 1996.)

The correlation between job satisfaction and performance was considerably higher for complex jobs than for less complex jobs, indicating that complex jobs may afford greater autonomy, thus giving individuals greater latitude to act on their satisfaction (or dissatisfaction). Thus, contrary to previous reviews, it does appear that job satisfaction is moderately correlated with performance. It also appears that the relationship between satisfaction and performance generalizes to the organizational level of analysis (Harter & Creglow, 1998). Although the correlation between overall job satisfaction and overall job performance could be argued to mask potential relations with dimensions of job performance, this is not a serious issue as performance dimensions tend to be strongly inter-correlated and, furthermore, Judge et al. (in press) note that correlating overall job satisfaction with facets of job performance would violate the principle of correspondence as the concepts would no longer be matched in terms of their generality.

Withdrawal Behaviors

Job satisfaction displays relatively consistent, negative, and weak correlations with absenteeism and turnover. The average correlation is generally in the -.25 range. Job satisfaction also appears to display weak, negative — but significant — correlations with other specific withdrawal behaviors, including unionization, lateness, drug abuse, and retirement. Hulm et al. (1985) have argued that these individual behaviors are manifestations of the underlying construct of job adaptation. Hulm et al. proposed that these individual behaviors can be grouped together as manifestations of job adaptive proclivities. Because the base rate of occurrence of most single withdrawal behaviors is quite low, aggregating across a variety of adaptive behaviors, as Hulm (1991) demonstrated, improves both the distribution and the theoretical basis of the withdrawal construct. Rather than predicting isolated behaviors, withdrawal research would do better, as this model suggests, to consider individual behaviors as manifestations of an underlying adaptive construct. Several studies have been supportive of Hulm's approach, finding that isolated withdrawal behaviors can be grouped into one or more behavioral families, and job satisfaction better predicts these behavioral families than the individual behaviors constituting these families.

HOW JOB SATISFACTION IS VIEWED AND TREATED IN ORGANIZATIONS

Assuming correlations in the area of .30 are important (if such correlations are not important, the field of industrial/organizational psychology is dominated by unimportant correlations), the correlations of job satisfaction with behaviors such as job performance and withdrawal are not to be dismissed. Accordingly, one would expect that job satisfaction is in the forefront of employers' minds. Interestingly enough, however, the extent to which organizations have adopted the term and institutionalized interventions based on job-satisfaction-related theory and research is mixed at best. Job satisfaction, for example, is rarely included as part of an organization's key values, basic beliefs, core competencies, or guiding principles, nor is the topic given much direct exposure in popular business books. Judge and Church (2000) conducted a survey of practitioners (most of whom were employed in the human resource area) regarding their organization's general perception of job satisfaction, its relative importance, and the use of the term in their organizations. Roughly half of the practitioners indicated that job satisfaction as a term and singular construct was rarely if ever mentioned or considered in their organizations. When asked next about the utilization of current theory and research on job satisfaction, the results were even less optimistic. Most practitioners indicated that research was rarely, if ever, consulted or valued in their organizations.

To some degree, this appears to be skeptical about the value of the research process, but also about the importance and relevance of the construct itself. For example, some of the practitioner comments included:

'There is some questioning of whether job satisfaction is desirable anyway.'

'Many feel that there are more serious, real issues to address.'

'Our employees are very busy, we have grown considerably during the last few years and have a relatively inexperienced workforce, our organization is quite decentralized, and there can be a lack of resources. All of these make it difficult to address job satisfaction issues as extensively as we would like to.'

'Timeframes — no CEO here deers to initiate a project with a 2-3 year or longer return on investment time frame.'

As one can see from these statements and the prior review of the literature, there is a real gap between how important job satisfaction is viewed by researchers and organizations. As was noted earlier, job satisfaction may be the most widely studied topic in industrial/organizational psychology, with important implications for job performance, yet organizations do not seem to place much credence in the construct. We are uncertain how this

research-practice gap can or should be resolved. We would think it healthy for researchers to become more familiar with how job satisfaction is viewed and treated in organizations, and for managers to better acquaint themselves with research findings. In our view, the research-practice gap has less to do with job satisfaction research *per se* than with the broader issue of why research findings in many areas of industrial/organizational psychology fail to be adopted by organizations (see Church, 1997). Thus, resolution of the issue is beyond the scope of this chapter, but we would be remiss to fail to acknowledge the issue.

INTERNATIONAL JOB SATISFACTION RESEARCH

Most (though certainly not all) of the research studies that provided the foundation for the foregoing review were carried out by American researchers studying American workers. In order to determine whether this research literature generalizes to a global context, we conducted a literature review. In the first step of the literature review, we used the PsycINFO database (1980-present) to search for studies with 'job satisfaction' as a keyword and one of the following keywords: various country names (e.g., 'Israel', 'China', 'nationalities (e.g., 'French', 'Korean') or 'international'. Second, we manually searched the following journals for articles on job satisfaction that either were completed by international (non-US) researchers, or were based on international (non-US) samples: *Academy of Management Journal*, *Applied Psychology*, *An International Review*, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *Journal of Management*, *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, and *Personnel Psychology*. Once we had obtained the articles produced by these searches, we classified them according to our previous review. Thus, below we provide a review of this research, organized in the same manner as our previous review.

There are limitations to this review. In cases where we located no international research (e.g., social information processing models), no review is provided. By the same token, international research that focused on isolated variables not considered in this review (e.g., age and job satisfaction; Clark, Oswald & Warr, 1996) is not reviewed. The latter exclusionary criteria omits numerous studies. For instance, some studies have compared the effect of socio-demographic variables on job satisfaction, such as social mobility and status inconsistency, across countries or between subpopulations based on nationality (Hawkes, Gaugriano, Acredolo & Helmick, 1984; Marshal & Firth, 1999). Other research has

investigated the effects of organizational climate variables (e.g., leadership style, innovation and change, etc.) on job satisfaction across countries (Krishnan & Krishnan, 1984).² Most of these studies are unique in the sense that one set of results is rarely subsequently replicated in another study, nor is there a theoretical framework that would integrate them. Thus, because it is virtually impossible to assimilate these results, they are not reviewed here. However, it should be recognized that many international studies on job satisfaction fall into this broad category.

Theories of Job Satisfaction

Two-Factor Theory

Studies testing Herzberg's two-factor theory using international samples have been no more supportive of the theory than studies conducted in the USA (Hines, 1973). Critiques of Herzberg's theory have proposed alternative explanations for his findings. According to Schneider and Locke (1971) and Locke (1973), intrinsic factors are related to job satisfaction and extrinsic factors are related to job dissatisfaction because employees see themselves as responsible for their satisfaction and blame others for their dissatisfaction. Adler (1980) found support for this explanation using an Israeli sample. Adler asked subjects to recall both a satisfying and a dissatisfying incident and to evaluate the importance of various agents in causing each incident. Subjects saw external agents as more responsible for dissatisfying incidents than for satisfying incidents.

Adigum and Stephenson (1992) compared critical incidents related to job satisfaction/dissatisfaction reported by small samples of British and Nigerian ($N = 31$ and $N = 42$, respectively) living in England. The authors concluded that the responses of the British sample were more in accordance with predictions from Herzberg's theory than were the responses of the Nigerian sample. That is, the British sample was more prone than the Nigerian sample to identify content (intrinsic) and context (extrinsic) factors with satisfaction and dissatisfaction, respectively.

Job Characteristics Model

Based on research conducted in the USA, intrinsic job characteristics have emerged as the most consistent situational predictor of job satisfaction. The relationship between intrinsic job characteristics and job satisfaction has been supported in international samples as well. The majority of the research used the job characteristics model (JCM; Hackman & Oldham, 1976) as a framework. In addition to examining the validity of the JCM outside the USA, these studies also suggested additional intrinsic job characteristics that may be related to job satisfaction, examined the dimensionality of a common measure

of the core job characteristics, and examined the form of the relationship between job satisfaction and job characteristics.

Research examining the validity of the JCM using international samples has generally found support for the relationships tested. Using an Israeli sample, Fox and Feldman (1988) found that, with the exception of task identity, the core job characteristics (skill variety, task significance, autonomy, and feedback) were significantly correlated with job satisfaction. However, the mediating properties of the three critical psychological states were not supported. The relationships specified by the JCM were also tested in a study of Canadian schoolteachers (Barnabe & Burns, 1994). In this study, support was found for the proposed relationships between the five core job characteristics and the psychological states and between the psychological states and job satisfaction. The mediating properties of the psychological states were also supported. In a study of Chinese employees, Xie (1996) found that high job autonomy and high demands were associated with job satisfaction.

Although studies using Israeli and Canadian samples generally supported the JCM, similar results were not found in a study of the nursing staff at a Malaysian hospital (Pearson & Chong, 1997). For this sample, the core job characteristics were not significantly related to job satisfaction; however, feedback from others, an interpersonal dimension of social information, was significantly related to job satisfaction. According to Pearson and Chong (1997), these results were expected based on the tradition of role compliance which results in lower initiative, discretion, and self-actualization among the workforce; therefore, the core job characteristics identified in the JCM are less likely to increase job satisfaction in this culture. In a study of black South Africans, Open (1983) directly tested the moderating effects of the degree of Westernization on the job characteristics-job satisfaction relationship. For subjects with a low degree of Westernization, skill variety, task identity, autonomy, and feedback had nonsignificant relationships with job satisfaction; however, for subjects with a high degree of Westernization, both autonomy and task identity were significantly related to job satisfaction.

In addition to testing the relationships proposed by the JCM, several studies have suggested additional intrinsic job characteristics that may be related to job satisfaction. Jans and McMahon (1989) included a self-expression scale as a measure of person-task fit in their study of Australian public sector employees. The scale measured the degree to which the job allowed learning, the extent to which previous learning was used, and the degree to which tasks performed were interesting. Self-expression made a unique contribution to the variance explained in job satisfaction beyond that explained

by the five core job characteristics in one of the two samples surveyed. Baba and Jamal (1991) conceptualized the five core job characteristics as non-routine job content. Employee participation in routine or nonroutine work shifts was included as a measure of routinization of job content. In a sample of Canadian nurses, higher job satisfaction was found when job content was nonroutine and when job context was routine.

Kiggundu (1983) proposed including initiated and received task interdependence as core job characteristics. Initiated task interdependence was defined as the degree to which other positions relied on work performed by the employee and was expected to be positively related to job satisfaction, while received task interdependence was defined as the extent to which the employee was reliant on work inputs from other positions and was expected to be negatively related to job satisfaction. In a study of the Canadian life insurance industry, a positive relationship was found between initiated task interdependence and job satisfaction; however, the relationship between received task interdependence and job satisfaction was near zero. Corbett, Martin, Wall and Clegg (1989) found that technological coupling, or the degree of integration between advanced manufacturing technology (AMT) applications, had a significant negative relationship with job satisfaction controlling for the five core job characteristics for employees at a computer manufacturing company in the United Kingdom.

Two studies of Australian workers found that employees in autonomous or self-managing work groups had higher levels of job satisfaction than those in traditionally designed jobs (Cordery, Mueller & Smith, 1991; Wright & Cordery, 1999). Significantly, Wright and Cordery (1999) further showed that this relationship was moderated by production uncertainty such that the relationship was positive at high levels of uncertainty and negative at low levels of uncertainty. In a study designed to determine the relative effects of objective monotony (measured as repetitive work and work underload) and subjective monotony on job satisfaction for a sample of blue collar workers in Israel, Melamed, Ben-Avi, Luz and Green (1995) found that subjective monotony partially mediated the relationship between objective monotony and job satisfaction.

Two other studies have also found relationships between a number of intrinsic job characteristics and job satisfaction similar to those found in US samples. For army officers in Sweden, leader support, coworker support, job characteristics (autonomy and variation), workload, role explicitness, human resource management, and career possibilities were found to be positively related to job satisfaction, while role conflict, mental fatigue, and psychosomatic symptoms were found to be negatively related to job satisfaction (Nystedt, Sjöberg, &

Hägglund, 1999). Similarly, the job satisfaction of nurses in the Netherlands was shown to be correlated with job complexity and difficulty, feedback and clarity, work pressure, autonomy, promotional and group opportunities, patient attending and caring, social leadership, and the nursing care system structure (Laneweerd & Boumans, 1994).

Several studies using international samples have examined the form of the relationship between job characteristics and job satisfaction. Using a sample of employees in Hong Kong, Wong, Hui and Law (1998) examined the causal direction between perceptions of job characteristics and job satisfaction. This study found that overall and intrinsic job satisfaction are reciprocally related to perceptions of job characteristics. Extrinsic job satisfaction had causal effects on the perception of job characteristics; however, the reciprocal relationship was not supported. In a second study of the relationship between job characteristics and job satisfaction, De Jonge and Schaufeli (1998) tested Warr's (1987) vitamin model, which proposes nonlinear relationships between job characteristics and job satisfaction. In a sample of Dutch health care workers, both job demands and job autonomy were linearly related to job satisfaction, while social support had a nonlinear relationship. When considering the effects of all three variables on emotional exhaustion, anxiety, and job satisfaction, a nonlinear model provided a better fit than the linear model.

Overall, the results of research examining the relationship between intrinsic job characteristics and job satisfaction in international samples are similar to those found in US samples. It is important to note, however, some divergent results and that many of the samples in these studies come from cultures that are similar to the USA. More research on samples whose culture is more divergent from the USA is needed.

Dispositional Approaches

Most of the international research on the dispositional source of job satisfaction that we located comprised direct studies. These studies investigated a large variety of specific traits (e.g., individualism-collectivism, core self-evaluation construct and components, human needs). In fact, we were able to locate only two indirect studies (Hershbarger, Lichtenstein & Knox, 1994; Newton & Keenan, 1991). Newton and Keenan (1991) investigated the stability of job satisfaction among young British engineers experiencing situational change (from university studies to full-time employment, change of employer). They found evidence for job satisfaction instability (based on mean differences rather than retest correlations), some evidence for stability in job satisfaction relative rankings, and general support for the importance of situational changes, lending support to the interactional rather than dispositional approach. Hershbarger et al. (1994)

examined the genetic influences on job satisfaction using a four-group twin design. These researchers failed to replicate Arvey et al.'s (1989) findings, they did not find significant genetic influences on job satisfaction. Yet, since the more compelling support for the dispositional approach comes from the direct studies, these two studies do not pose too much of a threat to the approach. Our review of international research on direct studies is organized around the traits that have been investigated in these studies.

Individualism and collectivism Recently, interest in the relationship between the individualism-collectivism construct and job satisfaction has emerged (e.g., Chiu & Kosinski, 1999; Hui & Yee, 1999; Hui, Yee & Eastman, 1995). This is a unidimensional, bipolar construct, with the collectivistic pole representing people who attribute high value to in-group solidarity, while the individualistic pole represents people who prefer 'to do their own thing.' This construct can be used both at an individual and cultural level. Consequently, the aforementioned relationship has been studied both at the national level and individual level, yielding conflicting results.

Some studies suggest a positive link between individualism and job satisfaction. For example, workers in countries classified as lower on individualism appeared to be less satisfied than their counterparts in more individualistic countries. In a 1978 poll, De Boer found that Sweden had the highest percentage of satisfied workers at 63% (20%) (see also Griffith & Hom, 1987; Lincoln & Kalleberg, 1985). Hui et al. (1995) using international survey research data, found a nonsignificant relationship between overall job satisfaction and the individualism index, but found a negative relationship for individualism with interpersonal relationships at work. A recent study by Chiu and Kosinski (1999), based on 626 registered nurses from two western-individualistic countries (Australia and United States) and two Asian-collectivistic countries (Hong Kong and Singapore), found that individualistic employees had higher scores on job satisfaction than nonindividualistic employees.

However, other studies found a positive relationship between collectivism and job satisfaction. Hui et al. (1995) examined the relationship between collectivism and job satisfaction in two samples of employees in a Hong Kong department store. They found that collectivism was related to higher job satisfaction ($r = .25$ and $r = .18$). Hui and Yee (1999) replicated this relationship between collectivism and job satisfaction ($r = .17$), in two additional groups of employees in Hong Kong: salespersons of a department store chain and customer-service operators in a public utility company.

In trying to explain these conflicting results, we observed that studies comparing countries or samples

of workers across countries found individualism to have a positive link with job satisfaction, while studies within a country found collectivism to have a positive relationship with job satisfaction. Hui and Yee's (1999) moderator-workgroup atmosphere-of the individualism-collectivism and job satisfaction relationship seems to fit nicely with our observations. They showed that in 'warm' workgroups (i.e., groups wherein colleagues readily help each other) the collectivism-satisfaction link is stronger than in 'cold' workgroups (groups wherein mutual support and collaboration are lacking or not expected). Extrapolating this finding to the country level, we think that within the Asian 'warm' collectivistic countries (the 'within' country studies) collectivism is positively linked to job satisfaction, but at the between country level (including both individualistic and collectivistic countries, cold and warm, respectively) the individualistic-job satisfaction positive link holds. Clearly, more research is needed to resolve this issue, and to assess the accuracy of the latter explanation.

Locus of control, self-esteem, and neuroticism Several studies investigated the relationship between locus of control and job satisfaction (Judge et al., 1998; Judge, Thoresen, Pucik & Welbourne, 1999; Kirkcaldy & Cooper, 1992; Nelson & Cooper, 1995; Sharma & Chaudhury, 1980; Sui & Cooper, 1998). Data from various sources (Israeli sample, a multinational sample, British and German samples) all point to a positive and significant relationship between an internal locus of control and overall job satisfaction ($r = .22$, $r = .32$, $r = .37$, $r = .33$, respectively). However, in one study, Sui and Cooper (1998) produced a different set of results. Using a sample of employees working in Hong Kong, they found that locus of control was not significantly correlated with overall job satisfaction ($r = .18$), was correlated with satisfaction with the job itself ($r = .29$), and was not related to satisfaction with the organization. Three studies investigated the relationship between self-esteem and job satisfaction and found low positive relationships. Brook (1991), based on 81 employees in New Zealand and a complex measure of self-esteem (actual-self/ideal-self discrepancy in a repertory grid approach), found a positive but not significant relationship. The second study (Judge et al., 1998), based on an Israeli sample, reported a .16 uncorrected correlation between self-esteem and job satisfaction. The last study (Judge et al., 1999), based on a heterogeneous sample (employees from Australia, Britain, Korea, Scandinavia and America), reported a .31 uncorrected correlation. Finally, two studies examined the relationship between neuroticism and job satisfaction. In an Israeli sample, Judge et al. (1998) found a modest correlation of $r = -.07$. Moyle (1995) found a stronger relationship ($r = -.20$), in a British sample.

factors such as pay, promotions, or one's supervisor, Borg hypothesized a V-shaped relationship such that both satisfying and dissatisfying factors are judged as more important than those that are moderately satisfying. In general, Borg proposed that the relationship 'should be less V-shaped the more an individual is able to reduce his or her dissatisfaction by intrapsychic means rather than by changing the real world' (p. 84). The results generally supported Borg's hypotheses.

In a third study, Staples and Higgins (1998) used a Canadian sample to test Locke's (1976) theory that facet satisfaction reflects both the value-percept discrepancy and the importance of the facet. Based on this, weighting ratings of facet satisfaction by importance of the facet should not increase the percentage of variance explained in overall job satisfaction. Staples and Higgins' results supported Locke's theory. When unweighted facet satisfaction ratings were used, 55% of the variance in overall job satisfaction was explained. The percentage of variance explained dropped to 47% when the facet satisfaction ratings were weighted by the importance of the facet.

Measurement of Job Satisfaction in an International Context

In a global business environment that is characterized by increasing mobility across national borders, it has become particularly important to understand job attitudes in a cross-cultural framework. When looking at the concept of job satisfaction from a cross-cultural perspective, in order to make meaningful inferences, researchers need to use standard measures and methods (Ryan, Chan, Ployhart & Slade, 1999). Even though it might not be the most desirable theoretical approach, the typical way researchers study job satisfaction across cultures is an *imposed-etic* approach (Hulin, 1987; Ryan et al., 1999), in which instruments developed in one culture (usually the USA) are used (eventually translated) to capture job satisfaction in other cultures. We will not address here the theoretical issue of psychometric equivalence of job satisfaction instruments (for an in-depth discussion see Hulin, 1987); instead we will look at empirical evidence related to the scale translation process.

The Job Descriptive Index (JDI; Smith, Kendall & Hulin, 1969), in addition to being the most widely used measure in the USA, is the instrument that has been the subject of most equivalence and translation investigations. We found that research results point towards some degree of cross-cultural non-equivalence in most studies. For example, Hulin and Mayer (1986) found that one-third of the JDI items were noninvariant across languages and subpopulations, and Ryan et al.'s (1999) results

Other traits Cawsey, Reed and Reddon (1982) in an explorative study examined the relationship between human needs, as measured by the Personality Research Form, and job satisfaction (total JDI), controlling for social desirability. Two groups of Canadian managers for a national consumer lending company were used, one consisting of English-speaking individuals and the other consisting of French-speaking individuals. Needs predictive of job satisfaction in the English sample were: achievement ($R = .41$), needs predictive of job satisfaction in the French sample were: autonomy, nurturance, and cognitive structure (multiple $R = .37$).

The research described above was mostly atheoretical, and did not help uncover the processes by which personality influences job satisfaction. In the international research literature, there are a few exceptions. Judge et al. (1999) showed that the relationship of positive self-concept (similar to core self-evaluations) and risk tolerance with job satisfaction was roughly half-mediated by coping with organizational change. Moyle (1995) showed that neuroticism (measured with negative affectivity) affected job satisfaction as mediated through perceptions of control opportunities (decision latitude). Sui and Cooper (1998) examined the moderating effects of locus of control on stressors-job satisfaction relationship. The moderating ('buffering') effect of locus on the relationship stressors-job satisfaction was only marginal (for similar weak results see also Kirkcaldy & Cooper, 1992).

Value-Percept Model

Three international studies used various aspects of Locke's (1976) value-percept theory as a framework for the study of job satisfaction. In a comparative study of the job satisfaction of teachers at technological institutions in England and India, subjects provided an evaluative judgment of the difference between the desired and current amounts of various job content and context factors (Indreshan, 1981). These judgments were used to predict job satisfaction. In general, context factors (e.g., boss, salary, prestige) were more highly related to job satisfaction for Indian teachers, while content factors (e.g., achievement, recognition) were more highly related to job satisfaction for English teachers. The impact of importance on these relationships cannot be determined because a measure of importance was not included in this study.

Research incorporating Locke's (1976) value-percept theory has also examined the relationship between importance and satisfaction. In a study of the European electronics industry, Borg (1991) proposed that the form of this relationship would differ based on the job factor under consideration. For factors such as the company itself, Borg hypothesized a positive correlation such that satisfactory aspects of the job are rated as more important. For

suggested differential reliability of measurement for a four-factor structure that included a job satisfaction dimension. Other research also supports some cross-cultural differences in the measurement of job satisfaction. Simonetti and Weitz (1972) found that job facets contributed differently to overall job satisfaction across three countries, suggesting that the nature of the latent construct may differ across countries. Spector and Wimalasin (1986) found different factor structures of the job satisfaction survey in two samples of American and Singaporean employees. A more recent analysis of job satisfaction structure in an Indian industrial setting (Takaluk & Coovet, 1994), employing a confirmatory factor analytic approach, found support for the generalizability of the job satisfaction dimensions developed in the USA (for similar results see also Sekaran, 1981).

Thus, the measurement properties of job satisfaction surveys appear to vary across cultures. One could conclude from the evidence that job satisfaction measures do not generalize across cultures. However, we do not agree with such an interpretation. That measures fail to achieve perfect instrument invariance across cultures does not mean the measures do not generalize. A lack of invariance across translations at the item level or even slightly different factor structures in different cultures may still allow the instrument to display generalizable characteristics as a whole. For example, Ryan et al. (1999) concluded that, even though "we found several instances of a lack of invariance" (p. 50), the differences would not warrant the modification of their multinational employee opinion survey, given that their "proposed model fit well in all four countries" (p. 50). McCabe, Dalesio, Briga and Saaki (1980) concluded, for example, that the *IDI* and the *Index of Organizational Reactions* (IOR; Smith, 1976) English forms were successfully translated into Spanish, based on "high convergent and discriminant validities, along with greater convergence across the same instrument than across the same language" (p. 785).

Cross-Cultural Perspectives on the Outcomes of Job Satisfaction

International research on the outcomes of job satisfaction has been focused on many of the same of variables as has American research, though perhaps with a slightly different emphasis. Whereas both American and international scholars have studied life satisfaction, job performance, and adaptive behaviors as broad categories of job satisfaction outcomes, American researchers have been somewhat more concerned with the relationship between job satisfaction and job performance, whereas international research has been more likely to investigate the relationship of job satisfaction to nonwork

attitudes (e.g., see Warr, 1999). With respect to the other major outcome variable—adaptive behaviors—it seems that international research has adopted a dual focus on both withdrawal and citizenship behaviors, while American research has devoted relatively more attention to withdrawal behaviors. This differential focusing approach is consistent with Erez's (1994) findings that performance appraisal was a central focus of American and Israeli research but not of Scandinavian, German, Japanese, or Indian research, which focused more on employee well-being and satisfaction.

In the review of studies that investigated relationships between job satisfaction and its possible outcomes we did not find direct tests of an eventual moderating effect that culture might have on the strength or direction of the job satisfaction—outcome relationships. With few exceptions, international research has focused on studying those relationships from the same perspective as American research, implying that much international research has sought to generalize the results of American research rather than looking for cultural differences. We believe that there is a need for studies that explicitly incorporate cultural variables as possible moderators of the relationships of job satisfaction and its hypothesized outcomes. International research on job satisfaction's relationships with the three principal categories of outcomes is reviewed in the following sections.

Life Satisfaction

International research has focused on the same three mechanisms (segmentation, spillover, and compensation) that offer competing explanations for the relationship between job and life satisfaction as has American research.⁴ While all studies that we reviewed found significant relationships between job satisfaction and life satisfaction (reported correlations ranged from .19 to .49), support for the prevalence of a specific mechanism was mixed. Hart (1999), analyzing structural equations models of three waves of data obtained from 479 Australian police officers found support for the segregation (more commonly known as segmentation) model, rather than the spillover model. Shamir and Ruskini (1983), in a study that matched a sample of kibbutz residents with town and city residents, obtained results that suggest that "strong compensatory mechanisms between life spheres can operate only in highly segregated communities" (p. 219). A possible integration of the segregation and spillover frameworks is offered by Steiner and Truxillo (1987). The data from this study, which included a combined French and American sample, supported the segregation hypothesis for the intrinsic component of job satisfaction, while it suggested the spillover model applies to extrinsic job satisfaction. In a study that compared survey responses from 10 Western European countries in order to compare

predictors of life satisfaction, Near and Rechner (1993) did not find a substantial variation in the relationships between job satisfaction and life satisfaction across those 10 countries (correlation coefficients varied from .41 to .54), suggesting a spillover effect.

A line of research related to the study of the life-satisfaction–job-satisfaction relationship that has developed outside the segmentation–spillover–compensation framework is the investigation of the meaning of working across cultures. England (1990) extended the research from a comprehensive Meaning of Working (MOW) study, which was first reported in the scientific literature in 1981 followed by detailed international comparative results in 1987 (MOW International Research Team, 1987). In his 1990 article, England compared data for representative labor force samples from Germany, Japan, and the United States. Although no national-specific consistent patterns for the meaning of work were observed, the data showed that there is a strong contingency between work-meaning pattern membership (England proposed eight distinct work-meaning patterns and investigated people's pattern membership across countries) of the individual and levels of outcome realization (outcomes such as income, quality of work, occupational satisfaction, and job satisfaction).

Job Performance

Although fewer international than American studies have investigated the relationship between job satisfaction and job performance, we located 20 satisfaction–performance correlations contained in 16 studies (three studies contained multiple samples). These correlations are provided in Table 2.1. As is shown in the table, these studies are fairly diverse in nationality and occupation. The average unweighted uncorrected satisfaction–performance correlation is .20 and, as the table shows, only one of the correlations is negative. If this correlation were corrected for unreliability in satisfaction and performance, it would be greater than .30. These results are quite similar to, and even slightly higher than, the overall uncorrected correlation of .18 (.30 corrected) reported in Judge et al.'s (in press) review of mostly American studies. Thus, it appears that satisfaction–performance relationship in international contexts is similar to that in the USA. However, it is important to note that, unlike the USA where many studies investigate different models of the satisfaction–performance relationship, almost none of the international studies in Table 2.1 focused on the satisfaction–performance relationship *per se* (Orpen, 1978, is an exception). Rather, in the typical study, a satisfaction–performance correlation was reported, but the purpose of the study was otherwise (e.g., Saks & Ashforth, 1996, studied the relationship of socialization to various outcomes, including satisfaction and performance). Thus, while

we can conclude the satisfaction–performance relationship at a bivariate level generalizes cross-culturally, little is known about the causal relationship among the constructs in a cross-cultural context.

Withdrawal Behaviors

Mirroring American research, international research also found relatively weak, but consistently negative, correlations between job satisfaction and withdrawal behaviors (Adler & Golan, 1981; Arnold & Feldman, 1982; Jamal, 1999; Koslowsky, 1991; Lum, Kervin, Clark, Reid & Strolo, 1998). An exception is a study by Iverson and Roy (1994) who found a moderately strong association ($r = .48$) between job satisfaction and intention to stay in the organization, but in this case the self-report nature of the criterion may explain the relatively strong correlation. Regarding the relationships among withdrawal behaviors, Clegg (1983) reported partial support for a progressive withdrawal model, while Adler and Golan (1981) found the relationship between lateness and absenteeism not to be progressive in nature. Future research on models of withdrawal is needed in general, but especially in international contexts where different cultural norms for absence, lateness, mobility, and other forms of withdrawal might affect the relations among these behaviors.

A separate line of research includes studies that propose job satisfaction to be a consequence of withdrawal behaviors such as lateness and absenteeism. From those studies, we found particularly interesting the research efforts that directly tested the causality of the relationship between job satisfaction and lateness or absenteeism. Clegg (1983), using a sample of British workers, employed a time-lagged design and gave simultaneous analytic consideration to three possible hypotheses of causality (X influences Y , or Y influences X , or X and Y display an association due to a third variable influencing both X and Y) in an attempt to capture the direction flow of the associations between job satisfaction and absence and lateness. Clegg found no evidence that affect (job satisfaction) and organizational commitment influences absence but found some support for the hypothesis that affect influences turnover. Clegg's results rather suggested that the reverse hypothesis might be true (the data supported the hypothesis that absence predicts job satisfaction). Using a similar design on a sample of Australian workers, Tharenou (1993) also found that "uncertified absence is more likely to influence job dissatisfaction, than the reverse" (p. 282).

Organizational Citizenship Behaviors

The Organizational Citizenship Behavior (OCB) construct can be considered to be part of the same broader construct of adaptive behaviors, but having an opposite orientation when compared to withdrawal

behaviors. In a study of African workers, Muneke (1995) found that job satisfaction was correlated with OCBs (OCBs were rated by supervisors in this study) but its impact was not as strong as those of job involvement and attitudinal commitment. Farh, Podsakoff, and Organ (1990), in a study of Taiwanese workers, proposed that job satisfaction would be a mediator for the relationship between leader fairness and task scope and OCBs, rather than an antecedent of OCBs. Contrary to their hypothesis, the results suggested a model in which job satisfaction and OCBs were both consequences of leader fairness and job scope. Although we have not seen research that has attempted to integrate withdrawal behaviors and OCBs, and eventually relate job satisfaction to the broad construct of adaptive behaviors proposed by Hulin (1991), we believe that our understanding of the mechanisms through which job satisfaction relates to behavior would be enriched by such an attempt.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Our cross-cultural review of the job satisfaction literature highlights two key points. First, research on non-US samples has often replicated findings from US samples, demonstrating the generalizability of some core principles concerning the concept. Second, international research enriches the topic by addressing new questions, adopting distinct approaches, and highlighting cultural influences. In this final section, we recap the core findings for which there is a high convergence, and point to future research areas suggested by our comparison of US and international studies. The antecedents, measurement, and outcomes of job satisfaction are discussed in turn.

Antecedents of Job Satisfaction

Across cultures, the nature of work people do, their individual personality, and the interaction between these two aspects, all influence job satisfaction. Most research attention has focused on the effect of work content on job satisfaction. Of the various situational theories put forward, the one that has had the most consistent support is the JCM. Findings from US and international studies are largely supportive of this model's core proposition that intrinsic job characteristics such as autonomy and variety promote job satisfaction, especially for individuals with high growth and development orientations. Personality research is somewhat confused by the use of a wide range of concepts and measures. However, studies from around the world that directly investigated the link between personality and job satisfaction have mostly shown that personality

traits influence satisfaction. For example, individuals with high positive affectivity, low negative affectivity, and positive core self-evaluations are more likely to be satisfied with their jobs. Finally, a small set of US and international studies support value-percept theory, such that an individual's values about each job aspect influence their satisfaction.

Incorporating an international dimension offers more than increased confidence in US findings, and would offer new insights into these literatures that would increase understanding of job satisfaction in the US and abroad. It would also hold the promise of opening up entirely new areas of inquiry. Our cross-cultural review highlights three key research needs to enhance understanding about job satisfaction antecedents. The first concerns expanding the range of antecedents. The JCM has been criticized for its focus on a rather narrow range of "core" job characteristics (Parker & Wall, 1998). International studies have shown that additional intrinsic job characteristics (e.g., interdependence, self-expressions, work load/pressure), as well as group-level job characteristics (e.g., self-managing teams), affect job satisfaction. Some of these job characteristics are more salient now compared to when the JCM was developed because of the changes occurring in the workplace. For example, with the extensive downsizing taking place in many organizations, extensive workload is likely to be an important job feature, and the current emphasis on teamwork highlights the need to consider group-level job characteristics. Thus, we may need to include additional intrinsic characteristics if we are to understand the full potential of situational factors in promoting satisfaction.

At this point, it is important to observe that we do not make the same recommendation in relation to dispositional antecedents. Although there are advantages in including new personality variables if they have particular cultural salience (see later), the main problem characterizing this research is the diverse set of measures and concepts used. To prevent further fragmentation, and to facilitate theoretical development, there is a need to integrate the diffuse set of dispositional concepts and measures that have been linked to job satisfaction.

A second research need identified from our review relates to cultural influences on the antecedents. Findings from some international studies (e.g., Pearson & Chong's, 1997, study of Malaysian nurses) have shown that the widely accepted core job characteristics for promoting job satisfaction, such as job autonomy, are not necessarily the most important job aspects in non-US samples. There is some evidence that the less Westernized the sample is, the less likely that the core job characteristics will be the most salient aspects for job satisfaction. We call for research that examines the importance of various job characteristics within less Westernized cultures. This research need is not unrelated to

Table 2.1 International Studies of the Correlation Between Job Satisfaction and Job Performance

R	Sample	N	Country	Year	Author(s)
.26	—	116	India	1981	Aand & Sohal
.25	—	24	India	1981	Aand & Sohal
.05	—	22	India	1981	Aand & Sohal
.31	—	107	India	1981	Aand & Sohal
.59	—	159	Poland	1981	Aand & Sohal
.12	—	100	Bangladesh	1992	Hesketh, McLachlan & Gardner
-.07	—	117	Canada	1992	Hesketh, Hossain & Hogue
.13	—	338	Israel	1992	Maillet
.23	—	61	Israel	1997	Mannheim, Baruch & Tai
.45	—	80	Canada	1997	Meyer, Fannomen, Cellahy, Coffin & Jackson
.03	—	80	Canada	1992	Thandau
.45	—	47	South Africa	1992	Urban factory supervisors
.02	—	54	South Africa	1987	Urban factory supervisors
.24	—	54	South Africa	1978	Rural (tribal) factory supervisors
.23	—	183	South Africa	1978	Clerks
.13	—	346	South Africa	1982	Managers
.25	—	98	South Africa	1985	Managers
.14	—	99	South Africa	1985	Managers
.28	—	163	Australia	1988	Managers
.19	—	153	Australia	1988	Managers
.19	—	200	Australia	1993	Managers

Note: Sig. = Significance level (significance levels not reported for Aand & Sohal [1981] because the correlations were averaged across performance criteria).
 — = Not reported

meaningfully conceptualized at the group level (group affective tone), and evidence suggests that aggregated group personality can be an important determinant of a person's affect (George, 1990). A recent Australian study (Orliff & Hart, 1998) took this idea one step further, showing that dispositions have differential effects on group-level satisfaction compared to individual job satisfaction. Our understanding of job satisfaction processes will be advanced by considering job satisfaction, and the job and dispositional antecedents, at the group level. Such group-level analyses might be especially relevant within collectivist cultures such as Asia, where one might expect, for example, group-level job autonomy (such as in autonomous workgroups) to be more important than individual job autonomy.

Measurement

Good measures of job satisfaction exist, although there are two outstanding research issues. The first is the question of whether the sum of individual items, or facets, of job satisfaction equate with global indices. This issue is not yet resolved, although we believe for the most part global measures and summed-facet measures will yield equivalent results. The second issue concerns the generalizability of measures across cultures. The applicability of US-developed measures (particularly the JDI) in non-US samples has been examined in several studies. It is encouraging that there have been studies showing cross-cultural equivalence, but there have also been studies demonstrating a lack of invariance across items or factors. We believe that the advantages gained by using standardized measures in comparative studies probably outweigh small differences in item or factor structure, and that the latter do not necessarily mean the scale as a whole is not generalizable. However, more studies of cross-cultural measurement equivalence are required, including studies that systematically examine factors that might influence the degree of cross-cultural equivalence, such as the culture of the sample, the quality of item translation, and the measure of job satisfaction used. For example, are global job satisfaction measures more generalizable than measures that sum up individual items or facets? Furthermore, where applicable, it is important that studies distinguish the effects of language from nationality (e.g., Hispanics in the USA).

Outcomes of Job Satisfaction

Finally, we turned to the consequences of job satisfaction. The US and international research we reviewed was quite consistent in the size and direction of the association between job satisfaction and the outcomes of life satisfaction, job performance,

work redesign may be bounded. We recommend that researchers consider nonlinear relationships when investigating the link between job characteristics and job satisfaction. Ganzach's (1998) study of the interactive effects of intelligence and job complexity on job satisfaction is a good exemplar here.

The mediational processes underlying the link between antecedents and job satisfaction have not received much attention in either US or international research. In terms of work content, it is typically assumed that the job characteristics are satisfying because they fulfill individual needs. However, other mechanisms are plausible. For example, evidence suggests that job autonomy enhances employees' ability to cope with stressful demands (Parker & Sprigg, 1999), and more effective coping could lead to job satisfaction. There have also been only a handful of US studies investigating the processes by which personality influences job satisfaction. From these an interesting avenue of inquiry is the idea that dispositions (i.e., core self-evaluations) lead to the attainment of more complex jobs (Judge et al., 2000). This attempt to link situational and dispositional approaches is supported by the international evidence showing that dispositions can affect job satisfaction via their effect on the way employees interact with the situation (i.e., more effective coping with organizational change), or by their effect on employees' perceptions of the situation (e.g., perceiving more job autonomy).

It is also valuable to investigate nonrecursiveness processes. As demonstrated in both US and international studies, satisfaction can also affect perceptions of work content. It is typically assumed that positive affect leads to a more favorable evaluation of job content, but higher satisfaction could also lead to changed job content via other mechanisms. For example, job satisfaction has been shown to enhance OCBs and job performance, which in turn could result in individuals being assigned, or seeking out, more autonomous work. These types of processes have received little research attention. The same argument for investigating nonrecursiveness can be applied to personality research. That is, it is possible that, as well as dispositions influencing situations, situations might affect individuals, particularly over the long term. For example, if an individual works in a narrow and simplified job for many years, it is possible that such job experience might lead to less positive core self-evaluations.

A final way to further investigate the nature of the relationship between antecedents and job satisfaction is to consider these associations at different levels of analysis. With the exception of a few studies investigating the effect of autonomous workgroups on individual job satisfaction, most of the research we reviewed has focused on individual-level antecedents and their effect on individual job satisfaction. However, affective reactions have been

that described above, since the breadth of job characteristics will probably need to be widened to include all those that are important within the culture. One study, for example, suggested a greater emphasis on extrinsic job factors such as salary than is typical in US studies (Indresan, 1981).

Dispositions might also have different consequences for job satisfaction according to the culture. Only a few of the international studies we reviewed suggested this explicitly (Cawsey et al., 1982), although our analysis of the research on individualism-collectivism led us to predict that the influence of this variable will differ in collectivist cultures such as Asia (collectivism will be positively related to job satisfaction) compared to individualist cultures such as the USA (individualism will be positively related to job satisfaction). One might also hypothesize that core self-evaluations assessed in US-based studies will be less important for job satisfaction in cultures that emphasize the 'interdependent self' rather than the 'independent self' (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). We recommend international comparative studies investigating dispositional antecedents of job satisfaction, and suggest that these should draw on the extensive (and growing) literature on cross-cultural aspects of personality.

The third research need is to gain a better understanding of the nature of the relationship between antecedents and job satisfaction. This includes investigating: contingency factors; nonlinear relationships; mediational processes; non-recursiveness; and processes at different levels of analysis. Individual growth need strength is the most clearly established contingency, although international research has highlighted other potential individual-level moderators (e.g., locus of control) and, as described above, the potential moderating influence of culture. Also significant is the international research showing that job characteristics were more strongly linked to job satisfaction in highly uncertain contexts. There has been surprisingly little attention given to the moderating effect of work context, despite the fact that later variants of the JCM proposed context satisfaction as a moderator (Oldham, 1996). The moderating influence of context is especially important to investigate in modern organizations in which many employees are facing downsizing and career uncertainty. More broadly, identifying contingencies will ensure greater consistency in research findings, and enable more precise predictions about when changing job content will enhance job satisfaction.

Most US research has assumed a linear form of relationship between intrinsic job characteristics and job satisfaction, or 'more is better.' A contribution from international research is the demonstration of curvilinear relationships; that too little and too much of a job feature can be detrimental to job satisfaction (De Jonge & Schaufeli, 1998). Such findings are important because their practical implication is that

and withdrawal behaviors. For life satisfaction, there have also been inconsistencies in the approach taken. Both US and international studies have aimed to identify how job satisfaction and life satisfaction relate to each other. Most research has shown a moderate positive correlation between job satisfaction and life satisfaction, suggesting that job experiences 'spillover' and affect life satisfaction (and/or vice versa). The correlation is not perfect, and is consistent with the idea that segmentation or compensation occur for at least some individuals. However, it is quite impossible to tease out potential cultural influences on how job satisfaction affects life satisfaction from the studies reviewed. One large cross-cultural study showed that countries did not significantly vary in the meaning they attached to work, which suggests that cultural differences in the link between job and life satisfaction might not be so great. On the other hand, a large-scale cross-cultural study on life satisfaction showed different life satisfaction determinants across nations (Oishi, Diener, Lucas & Suh, 1999), although this study did not include job satisfaction as one of the determinants. We need to investigate whether different links between job and life satisfaction occur as a function of individual differences (such as values and dispositions), occupations, circumstances, culture, or, as one international study showed, the type of job satisfaction assessed.

Finding a link between job satisfaction and job performance has been a particular preoccupation in US job satisfaction research, although confidence in the idea diminished considerably after the Lafaldano and Muchinsky (1985) meta-analysis. A more recent and comprehensive US meta-review, our analysis of international studies, and organizational-level research suggests a stronger relationship between job satisfaction and performance than hitherto accepted as the case. The causal association between job satisfaction and performance, however, has mostly been investigated in US samples. International studies lag behind in this respect, and non-US studies are needed that test explicitly whether job satisfaction causes improved job performance.

It is cause for optimism that researchers are beginning to investigate contingencies that affect the satisfaction-performance relationship, such as job complexity (Judge et al., in press). Results will be inconsistent within cultures, let alone across cultures, as long as important individual and situational contingencies are not taken into account. Given that discretionary aspects of behavior rather than prescribed aspects are most likely to be affected by individuals' satisfaction, a further positive development is the inclusion of discretionary behaviors such as OCBs into assessments of performance. Indeed, linking this idea with the contingency of job complexity, one could speculate that it is in more complex jobs that discretionary aspects

are especially important for performance, and therefore that job satisfaction will be an especially strong predictor of broadly assessed performance within complex jobs.

Finally, both US and international studies show weak, but consistently negative, associations between job satisfaction and employee withdrawal behaviors, such as lateness and absenteeism. An advance within US research has been to conceptualize withdrawal as a set of adaptive behaviors. Adopting this approach has been shown to result in stronger and more consistent links between job satisfaction and withdrawal. Extending the set of adaptive behaviors to include OCBs (or, more accurately, a lack of OCBs) will further enhance our understanding. International research appears to have taken a different direction. A few studies have investigated whether withdrawal behaviors progressively relate to each other, with only partial support for this idea; and some have examined reverse causal associations between job dissatisfaction and withdrawal, with some evidence suggesting that absence leads to dissatisfaction. The combination of US and international developments has much potential to improve within-culture studies. However, cross-cultural studies are also relevant because there are likely to be cultural differences in norms for absence and other such behaviors. Johns and Xie (1998), for example, found cross-cultural differences in the reasons given for absence for Canadian managers (less likely to endorse domestic reasons) compared to Chinese managers (less likely to endorse illness, stress, and depression).

How Job Satisfaction is Viewed and Treated

A final point to make is that job satisfaction is an applied research topic. Some would go as far as to argue there is little point continuing the research if the findings are not applied in practice. It is disturbing that there appears so little interest in the concept from US practitioners. We do not have the data to make international comparisons on this dimension, but it is likely that the different social policies, economics, and other such factors will affect the practical salience of the concept across different countries. For example, in Sweden, the amended Work Environment Act specifies how work should be designed according to the various human relations criteria, such as giving employees the opportunity to participate in work decisions (Kemper, 1996). We suspect that, as a consequence, job satisfaction is of much more interest to Swedish practitioners. In this article we have focused on research across the globe. However, there is probably also a great deal to be gained by comparing international practice relating to job satisfaction. Perhaps such research will reveal ways to reduce the practice-research gap.

CONCLUSION

The business environment is increasingly a global one. As such, we need to integrate and develop international understanding about fundamental work attitudes such as job satisfaction. Our review of US and international studies has revealed much consistency in findings across cultures. It has also highlighted ways in which incorporating international studies enriches the US approach, and has revealed important gaps in our understanding about job satisfaction in cultures distinct to the USA.

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NOTES

1 Though we cannot explain the apparent declining interest in job satisfaction, some speculation can be offered. First, the term used to describe the construct of job satisfaction continues to evolve. Researchers in the 1930s and 1940s generally used the term morale. Beginning in the 1950s, the term 'job satisfaction' began to supplant 'morale'. Today, other work attitudes (e.g., organizational commitment, mood at work) have become more common, perhaps at the expense of job satisfaction. Second, it is possible that organizations care less about job satisfaction than has been the case in the past, and therefore researchers' interest has waned as well. Finally, it is possible that because increasingly the concept of a job is being supplanted by more flexible work roles, some may see the concept of job satisfaction as somewhat archaic (though we would note that most questions on a job satisfaction survey seem as applicable today as ever).

2 It is important to acknowledge that several explicitly cross-cultural studies have been completed in the job satisfaction area, typically comparing job satisfaction in one country to that in the USA (e.g., Krishnan & Krishnan, 1984; Roberts, Glick & Rochford, 1982; Shocum, 1971; Spector & Wimalasiri, 1986). Although these studies clearly are cross-cultural in orientation, typically they focused on isolated aspects of job satisfaction.

3 As was noted earlier, Judge and colleagues argue that self-esteem, locus of control, and neuroticism are subsumed under the core self-evaluations construct (Judge et al., 1998; Judge et al., 1999). Indeed, the relative consistency of the results reported above ($M = 25, SD = .09$) supports the validity of the construct (the three traits appear to have indistinct relations with job satisfaction) and suggests that the results generalize cross-culturally.

4 Given the international origins of much of the work in this area, it might be more appropriate to comment that American researchers have focused on the same functional forms of the relationship as has international research.

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3

Work Motivation

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The present chapter provides a review of six of the more dominant theories of work motivation; Equity Theory, Expectancy Theory, Cognitive Evaluation Theory, Goal-Setting Theory, Control Theory, and Social Cognitive Theory. For each of these theories, the central tenets of the model are presented, followed by a summary of the research support that has been obtained for these theoretical propositions and a critical evaluation of the theory as a model of work motivation. Following this discussion, the chapter is concluded with several broad theoretical and methodological suggestions for improving the quality of future research in the field of work motivation.

INTRODUCTION

Since the formal inception of the field of work motivation during the 1930s, numerous theoretical models have been forwarded to both explain and predict motivated behavior in organizational settings. Although no clear consensus exists as to the 'proper' definition, work motivation can be generally defined as 'a set of energetic forces that originates both within as well as beyond an individual's being, to initiate work-related behavior, and to determine its form, direction, intensity & duration' (Pinder, 1998: 1). In perhaps the earliest formulation of a theory of work motivation intended to describe these 'energetic forces', Lewin (1938) developed an expectancy-based model (termed 'resultant valence' theory), which emphasized the role of subjective perceptions in determining worker behavior. In the time since this initial effort, subsequent theoretical models have proposed a widely divergent set of factors to be responsible for motivated behavior. For example, three of the earliest theories of work motivation all focused on different determinants of behavior: while drive theories (e.g., Hull, 1943) emphasized the role of physiological need deprivation, and reinforcement theories (e.g., Skinner, 1953) asserted that the primary determinants of behavior

were the consequences and/or rewards associated with past behavior, need theories (e.g., McClelland, 1961) focused on the role of psychological needs or values in motivation. Although these particular theories have since fallen out of favor with the work motivation research community (Kanter, 1990), the diversity in assumptions represented by these theories remains in today's literature. Modern explanations for motivated behavior range from the principles of hedonism (e.g., Vroom, 1964), to the concept of dynamic homeostasis (e.g., Carmin & Lord, 1982). In light of this diversity in current explanations for motivated behavior in organizations, the purpose of the present chapter is to provide an overview and critical evaluation of the major theories of motivation present in the organizational behavior research literature: Equity Theory, Expectancy Theory, Cognitive Evaluation Theory, Goal-Setting Theory, Control Theory, and Social Cognitive Theory. Although a number of other theories of work motivation exist, an exhaustive review of these theories is beyond the scope of this chapter (for such a review, see Kanter, 1990). Instead, this chapter focuses on the theories that have garnered the most theoretical and empirical interest in the work motivation literature during the past several decades.