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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. 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 & Schoenflug, 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 job satisfaction into where pay and pron factors and coworkers and themselves are considered organizational structural structures were off.
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
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 characteristics 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, and (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 with 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 lead 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.

Job Satisfaction

This model, introduced by Hackman and Oldham (1976), is based on three critical psychological states: experienced meaningfulness of the work, responsibility for outcomes, and knowledge of results. According to the theory, job satisfaction is linked to the job characteristics. More specifically, it is proposed that the job characteristics lead to three critical psychological states: experienced meaningfulness of the work, responsibility for outcomes, and knowledge of results; which in turn lead to the outcomes.

Social Information Processing

Social information processing approaches to job attitudes and job satisfaction, or a sociocultural construct (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 to determine 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 on occasion, it is now clear that this model is not strongly correlated with overall job satisfaction (e.g., Renz & Steers, 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.

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 positive job performance and lower withdrawal. The model, introduced by Hackman and Oldham (1976), is based 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.
- **Autonomy** - degree to which employees have control and discretion for how to perform 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 results; which in turn lead to the outcomes.

There is another limitation 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 much stronger among jobs that are externally motivated (James & Jones, 1980; James & Tetrick, 1986). Thus, it cannot be assumed that the relationship 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 combinational construct 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 necessarily indicate a 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 differed in their job satisfaction, with some workers reporting job satisfaction and others reporting dissatisfaction. By 1980, researchers were investigating the dispositional source of job satisfaction, and it was found that individuals who scored high on extraversion and extraversion were more likely to report job satisfaction than individuals who scored low on extraversion. This finding led to the development of the Job Satisfaction Questionnaire (JSQ) by Borman and Motowidlo (1993), which measures job satisfaction with respect to the individual's job role, the job task, and the job context.

The JSQ is a 30-item survey that assesses the extent to which an individual is satisfied with their job. The survey contains five subscales: job satisfaction, extrinsic rewards, intrinsic rewards, social support, and work environment. The subscales are scored on a scale from 0 to 9, with higher scores indicating greater satisfaction. The JSQ is designed to assess the extent to which an individual is satisfied with their job and the factors that contribute to their satisfaction.

The JSQ has been used in a variety of studies to assess the impact of different factors on job satisfaction. For example, researchers have used the JSQ to examine the relationship between job satisfaction and employee turnover, job performance, and employee well-being. The JSQ has been found to be a reliable and valid measure of job satisfaction, and it has been used in a wide range of studies in different countries and industries.

The importance of job satisfaction is evident in the wide range of research that has been conducted to understand the factors that contribute to job satisfaction and the impact of job satisfaction on employee behavior. The JSQ is a valuable tool for researchers who are interested in understanding the factors that contribute to job satisfaction and the impact of job satisfaction on employee behavior.
predicts that discrepancies between what is desired and received are diminishing only if the job facet is important to the individual. Individuals consider multiple facets when evaluating their job satisfaction, so the satisfaction calculation is repeated for each job facet.

One potential problem with the value-percept theory is that what one desires (F, or want) and what one considers important (F, 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 satisfaction 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 there have garnered the most research support. Locke's value-percept theory, the job characteristics model, and the dispositional approach. It is interesting to note that one of these theories (the situational theory of work outcome, or simply the job characteristics model), another is a person theory (Rice's dispositional approach), and another is a person-situation interactional theory (value-percept theory). 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. (1985) are critical of any effort to explain how core self-evaluations would be related to job satisfaction, they proposed that intrinsic job characteristics would mediate the relationship. Indeed, Judge et al. (1985) 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 were not entirely independent. Core self-evaluations were 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 actively 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 Locke's value-percept theory? If most individuals value the same facet, then the facet would be more important than other job facets, and evidence indicates that they do (Judge, 1990). Therefore, Locke's theory would predict that increasing the level of intrinsic job characteristics (through reducing the 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—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 facets: pay, promotion, coworkers, supervision, and the work itself. The MSQ is based on an impressive array of validation evidence behind it. The JDI has the advantage of versatility and length and short forms are available, and facet and overall job satisfaction measures are available. There are additional measures that have been broadly 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 (1961) 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 consistency [α] at .80 or above) five-item version of this scale. The five-item measure is the one that has been used in most of our research. The five-item measure is the one that has been used in most of our research.
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 (Ifflaldano & Muchinsky, 1985). These authors concluded that the presumed relationship among the constructs was a 'management fallacy' 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 Ifflaldano and Muchinsky, the satisfaction-performance relationship has been described as 'negligible' (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996, p. 51), and 'bordering on the trivial' (Landy, 1989, p.401).

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 measures that are often used to define job performance. Organ argued that when performance is connoted to include many constructive behaviors not generally reflected in performance appraisal instruments, such as organizational citizenship behaviors, its correlation with job satisfaction will improve. Research tends to support Organ's proposition that job satisfaction correlates reliably with organizational citizenship behaviors (Organ & Ryan, 1995).

There is another perspective. Perhaps researchers have not been successful in disentangling 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 independent correlations (Judge, Thoresen, Bono & Patton, in press). When the correlations are corrected for the effects of sampling error and measurement error (based on inter-rater reliability for job performance and composite reliability for job satisfaction), the available true associations among job satisfaction and job performance is .30. This value is considerably higher than Ifflaldano and Muchinsky's (1985) estimate because these authors improporciately corrected estimates based on internal consisteney, rather than inter-rater, estimates of reliability and because they mostly analyzed correlations at the factor, group or individual level of analysis. (The average uncorrected correlation was .18, the corrected correlation was much higher because performance ratings are notoriously unreliable. See Weiss, 1975, p.26).

The correlation between job satisfaction and performance was considerably higher for complex jobs than for less complex jobs, indicating that complex jobs may affect 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 more strongly correlated with performance. It also appears that the relationship between satisfaction and performance generalizes to the organizational level of analysis (Hammer & Cegwin, 1993).

Although the correlation between 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 intercorrelated. 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 general negativity – overall correlation in the -.25 range. Job satisfaction also appears to be weak, negative – but significant – correlations with other specific withdrawal behaviors, including turnover, layoff, leave, drug abuse, and retirement. Hulin et al. (1984) had hypothesised that these individual behaviors are manifestations of the underlying construct of job satisfaction. Hulin et al. proposed that these individual behaviors can be explained as manifestations of job adaptivity. Precisely, because the basis of withdrawal behavior is quite of single withdrawal behaviors is quite low, with data across a variety of adaptive behaviors, as Hulin (1991) demonstrated, it adds both the distribution and the theoretical basis of the withdrawal construct. Rather than predicting isolated behaviors, withdrawal research would do better, as Hulin suggests, to consider individual behaviors as manifestations of an underlying adaptive construct. This construct has been supportive of Hulin's approach, finding that the rate of withdrawal behaviors can be grouped into one or more behavior 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 (a few 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 adapted 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 it 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 skepticism about the value of the research process, but also about the conceptual and practical relevance of the construct itself. For example, some of the practitioner comments included:

"There is some questioning of whether job satisfaction is a valid construct..."

"Many feel that there are more serious, real issues to address." Our employees see very busy, we have grown considerably during the last few years and have a relatively knowledgeable, but our organization is quite fragmented, and there can be a lack of resource. All of these make it difficult to address job satisfaction issues as extensively as we would like to.

"Time pressures – no one here has the time to carry out a project with a 2+ year follow up or investment time frame."

As one can see from these statements and the priority 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 it does 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 be 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 forthcoming 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: countries (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 is a brief précis of 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 or this review (e.g., age and job satisfaction; Clark, Oswald & War, 1996) is not reviewed. The latter exclusionary criterion 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 (Howe, Gaugre, Acedro & Helmick, 1984; Marshall & 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 (Kilmann & Kristian, 1984). Most of these studies are unique in the sense that one set of researchers is rarely subsequently replicated in another study, leading to a theoretical framework that simply integrates 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 (Hill, 1973). Critiques of Herzberg’s theory have proposed alternative explanations for his findings. According to Schneider and Locke (1971) and Locke (1976), intrinsic factors are related to job satisfaction and extrinsic factors are related to job dissatisfaction because employees evaluate 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 satisfying incidents than for satisfying incidents. Adjem and Stephephenon (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 to the Nigerian sample to identify content (intrinsic) and context (extrinsic) factors with satisfaction and dissatisfaction, respectively.

Characteristics 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 relationship between job satisfaction and job characteristics. For example, Fox and Feldman (1988) found that, with the exception of the 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 relationship was mediated by task identity or task variety. Task identity or task variety were also tested in a study of Canadian school teachers (Bernabé & 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, Xue (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 might be explained by the fact that the Chinese culture has a tradition of role compliance which results in lower initiative, discretion, and self-actualization. The work force, therefore, the core job characteristics identified in the JCM are less relevant to job satisfaction in this culture. In a study of black South Africans, Open (1983) found 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. For example, the job characteristics model (JCM; Hackman & Oldham, 1976) is a framework. In addition to the JCM, several studies have suggested additional intrinsic job characteristics that may be related to job satisfaction. For example, Hackman and Oldham (1976) identified a self-governance scale as a 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 personal responsibility was used, and the degree to which tasks performed were interesting. Self-governance and job autonomy were found to be positively related to job satisfaction. Self-governance, mental task, and psychosomatic symptoms were found to be negatively related to job satisfaction (Nyom, 1992; Sjöberg & Höglund, 1999).

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, Liu 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.

Dispositional Approaches

Most of the international research on the dispositional source of job satisfaction that has been conducted in the USA. These investigations studied 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 (Barnes, 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 as a professional engineer). They found evidence for job satisfaction stability (based on mean differences rather than repeat correlations), some evidence for stability in job satisfaction relative ratings, and general support for the importance of situational variables (e.g., the impact of leadership) on job satisfaction. These findings lend support to the interactional rather than dispositional approach. Herzberger et al. (1994)
examined the genetic influences on job satisfaction using a twin group twin design. These researchers failed to replicate Arvey et al.'s (1989) findings that they did find significant genetic influences on job satisfaction, and job satisfaction is not as strong a predictor of job satisfaction as is job satisfaction. Since the more compelling support for the dispositional approach comes from the developmental literature, these two studies tend to muddy too much of a threat to the approach. Our reviews of international research on direct studies is organized around the traits that have been investigated in these studies.

Individualism and collectivism Recently, there is interest in the relationship between the individualism-collectivism construct and job satisfaction. A recent study by Hui, Yee, & Eastman (1995) found that the individualism-collectivism construct is related to job satisfaction. This construct can be used both at the individual level and at the organizational level. Furthermore, the aforementioned relationship has been studied both at the individual level and at the organizational 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 those in the United States or Canada. For instance, in a study by Hui, Yee, & Eastman (1995), a positive relationship was found between individualism and job satisfaction. However, other studies found no significant relationship between individualism and job satisfaction. For example, workers in countries classified as lower on individualism appeared to be less satisfied than those in the United States or Canada. For instance, in a study by Hui, Yee, & Eastman (1995), a positive relationship was found between individualism and job satisfaction. However, other studies found no significant relationship between individualism and job satisfaction. For example, workers in countries classified as lower on individualism appeared to be less satisfied than those in the United States or Canada. For instance, in a study by Hui, Yee, & Eastman (1995), a positive relationship was found between individualism and job satisfaction. However, other studies found no significant relationship between individualism and job satisfaction. For example, workers in countries classified as lower on individualism appeared to be less satisfied than those in the United States or Canada. For instance, in a study by Hui, Yee, & Eastman (1995), a positive relationship was found between individualism and job satisfaction. However, other studies found no significant relationship between individualism and job satisfaction. For example, workers in countries classified as lower on individualism appeared to be less satisfied than those in the United States or Canada. For instance, in a study by Hui, Yee, & Eastman (1995), a positive relationship was found between individualism and job satisfaction. However, other studies found no significant relationship between individualism and job satisfaction. For example, workers in countries classified as lower on individualism appeared to be less satisfied than those in the United States or Canada. For instance, in a study by Hui, Yee, & Eastman (1995), a positive relationship was found between individualism and job satisfaction. However, other studies found no significant relationship between individualism and job satisfaction.
suggested differential reliability of measurement for a four-factor structure that included a job satisfac-
tion 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 Wilmouth (1986) found different factor structures of the job satisfaction sur-
vey in two samples of American and Singaporean employees. A more recent analysis of job satis-
faction structure in an Indian industrial setting (Takaldar & Cooper, 1994), employing a confirmatory factor analytic approach, found support for the generalizability of the job satisfaction dimensions developed in the USA (see similar results see also Sekaran, 1981).

Thus, the measurement properties of job satisfac-
tion surveys appear to vary across cultures. One could conclude from the evidence that job satisfac-
tion measures do not generalize across cultures. However, we do not agree with such an interpreta-
tion. That measures fail to achieve perfect instru-
ment 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 generalized characteristics as a whole. For example, Ryan et al. (1996) concluded that, even though 'we found several instances of a lack of invariance' (p. 50), McCutcheon, Daleycky, Briga and Szaaki (1980) found that the JDJ and the Index of Organizational Reactions (IOR; Smith, 1975) were successfully translated into Spanish, based on 'high convergent and discriminant validity validation, along with greater convergence across the same dimension as measured at the same language' (p. 78).

Cross-Cultural Perspectives on the Outcomes of Job Satisfaction

International research on the outcomes of job satisfac-
tion has been focused on many of the same variables as has American research, though perhaps with a slightly different emphasis. While both American and international scholars have studied life satisfaction, job performance, and attitude behaviors as broad categories of job satisfaction outcomes, cross-national researchers have been more concerned with the relationship between job satisfaction and job performance, whereas interna-
tional researchers have been more likely to investi-
gate the relationship of job satisfaction to nonwork

attitudes (e.g., see Warr, 1999). With respect to the other major outcome variable—adaptive behaviors—international research has devoted relatively more attention to withdrawal and citizenship behaviors, while American research has devoted relatively more attention to withdrawal and turnover.

This differential focusing approach is consistent with Ering's (1994) performance appraisal was a central component of American, German, Japanese, or Indian research, which focused more on employee well-being and satisfaction.

In the review of studies that investigated rela-
tionships between job satisfaction and its possible outcomes we did find direct examinations of an eventual moderating effect that culture might have on the direction or direction of the job satisfaction-outcome relationship. 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 incor-
porate cultural variables as possible moderator of the relationships of job satisfaction and hypo-
thesized outcomes. International research on job satisfaction's relationships with the three principal categories of outcomes is reviewed in the following sections.

Job Satisfaction

International research has focused on the same three mechanisms (segmentation, spillover, and compen-
sation) to better competing explanations for the relationship between job and life satisfaction as has American research. While all studies that we reviewed found significant relationships across countries, support for the preva-
nence of a specific mechanism was mixed. Hart et al. (1987) using structural equations models of three waves of data collected in British employers found support for the segmentation (more commonly known as segmentation) model, rather than the spillover model. Shami and Ruken (1987) matched a sample of Israeli residents with town and city residents, obtained results that suggest that 'strong compansory mechanisms between life spaces can operate only in highly segregated communities' (p. 219). A four-factor segmentation and spillover framework is offered by Steiner and Travis (1997). The data from this study, which included a combined French and American sample supported the segmentation hypothesis for the intrinsic compo-
nent of job satisfaction, while it suggested that 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 (1995) 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 universal relationship.

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 com-
pared 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 pro-
posed 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 advancement, and job satisfaction).

Despite the limitations of this study, it shows the potential of cross-cultural research on the meaning of work, and the need for future research in this area.

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 sam-
ples). As shown in the table, 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 Australian police officers found support for the segregation (more commonly known as segmentation) model, rather than the spillover model. Shami and Ruken (1987) matched a sample of Israeli residents with town and city residents, obtained results that suggest that 'strong compansory mechanisms between life spaces can operate only in highly segregated communities' (p. 219). A four-factor segmentation and spillover framework is offered by Steiner and Travis (1997). The data from this study, which included a combined French and American sample supported the segmentation hypothesis for the intrinsic compo-
nent of job satisfaction, while it suggested that the spillover model applies to extrinsic job satisfaction.

In a study that compared survey responses from 10 Western European countries in order to compare

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

Withdrawal Behaviors

Mirror American research, international research also found relatively weak, but consistently negative, correlations between job satisfaction and withdrawal behaviors (Adler & Golon, 1981; Arnold & Feldman, 1982; Jumal, 1999; Kozlowski, 1991; Lam, Kervin, Clark, Reid & Siersa, 1998). An exception is a study by Ivenson 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 par-
tial support for a progressive withdrawal model, while Adler and Golon (1981) found the relation-
ship 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 job dis-

teest. From those studies, we found particularly interesting the research efforts that directly tested the causality of the relationship between job satis-

ifaction 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 (a influences b, b influences c, and c influences a) in an attempt to understand the direction of the flow of the associations between job satisfaction and absence and lateness. Clegg found no evidence that affect job satisfaction and occupa-
tional commitment influences absence but found some support for the hypothesis that job satisfaction influences turnover. Using a similar design on a sample of Australian workers, Therons (1992) also found that 'uncertified absence is more likely to influence job dissatisfaction, than the reverse' (p. 282).

Organizational Citizenship Behaviors

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

behavior.
behaviors. In a study of African workers, Muntene (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. Firth, Podaskoff, and Organ (1990), in a study of Tanzania 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 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., autonomy, self-expression, work load/presence), so 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 and disinvesting taking place in many organizations, excessive 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 & Chang'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...
that described above, since the breadth of job characteristics will probably need to be widened to include elements 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 (Indressen, 1981).

Dispositions might also have different consequence 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 as assessed in US-based studies will 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: contingent factors; nonlinear relationships; meditational processes; non-reciprocal processes; and processes at different levels of analysis. Although international research has highlighted other potential individual-level moderators (e.g., locus of control) and, as described above, there is some evidence that these factors influence culture, and significant is the international research showing that job satisfaction in some cultures was 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 ICM proposed context satisfaction as a moderator (Oliva, 1996). The moderating influence of context is especially important to international research. Although individual organizations in which many employees are facing downsizing and career uncertainty. More broadly, identifying contingencies will enable greater consistency in research findings and also enable more precise predictions when changing work environments will enhance job satisfaction. Most UK research has assumed a linear form of relationship between individual job characteristics and job satisfaction, and 'more is better.' A contribution from international research is the demonstration of curvilinear relationships. This is consistent with the emerging research that too little and too much of a job feature can be detrimental to job satisfaction (De Jong & Schaufeli, 1998). Such findings are important because their practical implication is that work redesign may be motivated. We recommend that researchers consider nonlinear relationships which may provide a more accurate picture of the integral and job satisfaction. Germaine et al.'s (1989) study of the interactive effects of intelligence and job complexity on job satisfaction is a good example of this approach.

The meditational processes underlying the link between job satisfaction and job satisfaction have received much attention in either US or international research. In terms of individual-level 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 & Spring, 1999), and more effective coping could lead to job satisfaction. There have 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 dispositional characteristics could lead to the attainment of more complex jobs (Judge et al., 2000). This attempt to link dispositional and situational variables is supported by the international evidence showing that dispositional characteristics 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 nonrecreational processes. As demonstrated in both US and international research, situational antecedents of job satisfaction are important. It is typically assumed that positive affect leads to higher subjective evaluation of work content. However, we believe that job content, but higher satisfaction could also lead to a job content job (and other mechanisms. For example, the extent to which changes in work design can be more effective in managing changes, or seeking out, more autonomous work. These types of processes have little research attention. The issue argument for investigating nonrecreational processes can be applied to personality research. That is, it is possible that the situational influencing situations, situations might affect individuals, particularly over the long term. For example, if an individual works in a highly simplified job, their overall performance will be more important for the evaluation of the relationship between job satisfaction and work performance. Finally, it is possible that the relationship between job satisfaction and job performance is in the association between antecedents and job satisfaction. This is consistent with the emerging research that too little and too much of a job feature can be detrimental to job satisfaction (De Jong & Schaufeli, 1998). Such findings are important because their practical implication is that work redesign may be motivated. We recommend that researchers consider nonlinear relationships which may provide a more accurate picture of the integral and job satisfaction. Germaine et al.'s (1989) study of the interactive effects of intelligence and job complexity on job satisfaction is a good example of this approach.

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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.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT


NOTES

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

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3 Work Motivation

JOHN J. DONOVAN

The present chapter provides a review of six of the more common 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 tenant of the model are presented, followed by a summary of the research support for that theory. 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 on 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” (Fiedler, 1998, 11). 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 ‘residual 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 (Kanfer, 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 principles of equity (e.g., Adams, 1963), to the concept of dynamic homeostasis (e.g., Cosmides & Tooby, 1989).

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 Kanfer, 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.