This article aims at critically evaluating the theory and scope of cross-cultural industrial and organizational (I/O) research, emphasizing its past and its future. In the theory section, the author discusses the ways sociocultural context influences organizational phenomena. Also discussed are issues such as the level of theory, assumption of linearity, unilateral effect of culture on organizations, conceptualization of culture, and atheoretical nature of research. In the second section, three areas of research, which are underrepresented in cross-cultural I/O literature, are discussed: staffing, performance management, and employee health and safety. It is argued that compared to traditional research topics of cross-cultural I/O psychology (e.g., leadership, motivation, work values, etc.), these topics are more central to the field, more related to improvement of human potential and conditions at work, and better able to guide practices in various cultural contexts.

CROSS-CULTURAL INDUSTRIAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY
Contributions, Past Developments, and Future Directions

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In the near future, economic activity will increase on a global scale. In our business dealings, we will encounter people of different nations across real and virtual borders. Understanding and improving conditions at work will become more critical than ever, as will the role of industrial and organizational psychology (I/O). The influence of culture on various aspects of work behavior and organizational structure has attracted attention, especially in the past two decades due to rapidly changing economic and social conditions such as workforce diversity, widespread business activity across national borders, availability of telecommunication, and global competition (Erez, 1994).

The first comprehensive review of research in the cross-cultural I/O field was conducted by Barrett and Bass (1976), followed by reviews by Drenth and Groenendijk (1984), Triandis (1994), Erez (1994), and Hui and Luk (1997). The two decades that passed between the first and last reviews did not witness a substantial advancement in theory, methodology, or scope of

research in cross-cultural I/O psychology. In this article, a critical appraisal of the past 20 years will be presented, and future directions for the next 20 years will be discussed.

THE ROLE OF CULTURE IN I/O RESEARCH

Theoretical advancement in the field of cross-cultural I/O psychology has not reached a level that allows it to adequately guide research and practice (cf. Erez, 1994). Most research is confined to testing of U.S.-based theories in various cultural contexts. Moreover, research is dominated by a reductionist perspective in which behavior is examined in isolation from multiple forces of the environment. Theories in cross-cultural I/O psychology should adopt a multidisciplinary and interactionist perspective because behavior takes place in complex systems (i.e., the organization) that operate under the influence of multiple environmental forces that are both internal and external to the organization. The challenge is to disentangle the contribution of the sociocultural environment from other internal and external contextual forces.

The internal environment includes a number of organizational characteristics such as size, type of work, industry and production, type of workforce, technology, and stage of development. The environment that is external to the organization includes the political, legal, educational, institutional, and sociocultural context. Among these multiple forces that influence behavior in organizations, the sociocultural context has only a limited effect. Therefore, the real issue is not whether but to what extent and in what ways culture influences individual and group phenomena in organizations. Theory development is needed to tackle these questions.

Let us first discuss the role of culture in shaping organizational practices vis-à-vis other contextual forces. Organizational structure and practices may differ vastly from one organization to another even within the same sociocultural context. Variation in organizational practices within and across cultures has been a topic of wide interest. Since the early 1960s, comparative studies of organizations attempted to disentangle cultural and noncultural factors that influence organizational structure and practices.

Among the most popular noncultural approaches is contingency theory. There are four main themes within this theory. The first theme, which is referred to as logic of industrialization, asserts that industrialization has a homogenizing effect on organizations around the world (Harbison & Myers, 1959). Organizations in industrialized societies increase their specialization, size, and complexity, and this leads to managerial decentralization in decision making, professionalism, and constitutionally formalized management.

The underlying assumption is that organizations go through the same stages of industrial and technological development, and those at the same level of industrialization converge in their organizational processes irrespective of political, economic, or cultural context.

The second theme within the contingency approach is that of technological implications (Parker, Brown, Child, & Smith, 1977). Technological advancement and automation is said to lead to transformation of social relations and attitudes at work (e.g., more control over work schedule and work processes, increased emphasis on developing social networks, etc.) (e.g., Blauner, 1964; Dore, 1973). The third orientation in the contingency approach was developed by Hickson, Hinings, McMillan, and Schwitter (1974) and Hickson, Pugh, and Pheysey (1969). In this culture-free contingency theory, the most important determinants of organizational structure are contextual elements such as size of the organization, industry, and dependence on other organizations. The final theme in the contingency approach, originated by Chandler (1962), highlights the role of strategic development. In this view, organizational processes and practices vary as the organization progresses through three main strategic developmental stages. In these stages, organizations transform from being small, less hierarchical, and domestic to being large, complex, professional, and international. This transformation has implications for organizational practices such as planning, diversification, and role differentiation.

Another strand of noncultural thinking is introduced by political-economy theory. In this perspective, the nature of a country's socioeconomic system has greater bearing on organizations than other contingencies. In this paradigm, the influence of the two major forms of economic systems of production, namely capitalism and socialism, are contrasted. Organizations in the same sociopolitical systems are assumed to have similar characteristics, especially with respect to organizational objectives, control strategies, and degree of centralization and decision making.

A final noncultural approach, namely the societal effect approach (SEA), is an extension of the contingency paradigm (cf. Sorge, 1991). SEA, as a process theory, focuses on the way an organization is constituted socially by its environment (Maurice, 1979). This approach takes into account the social context of an organization, with specific emphasis on the educational system, the system of industrial relations, and the role of the state. Maurice, Sorge, and Warner (1980) stated that "Organizational processes of differentiation and integration consistently interact with process of educating, training, recruiting, and promoting manpower, so that both develop within an institutional logic that is particular to a society, and bring about nationally different shapes of organizations" (p. 59). In their comparative analysis of organizations

in Western Europe, these authors found differences in hierarchical differentiation, levels of flexibility and coordination, and supervisory practices, which they traced back to different paths of socialization through education as well as to different industrial relations traditions.

Critics of the noncultural approach are concerned with its deterministic orientation as well as the underestimation of the role of culture in explaining organizational phenomena. Some authors who take a more holistic and interactionist perspective suggest that culture influences some aspects of organizational practices more than others. For instance, Tayeb (1988) found that whereas contingencies influenced formal characteristics of organizations (e.g., centralization, specialization, span of control, etc.), cultural variables influenced the interpersonal aspects such as power and authority structure, delegation, consultation, and communication patterns. Drenth and Groenendijk (1984, p. 1223) also suggest that cultural factors influence organizational processes (i.e., the ways organizations function) rather than formal organizational characteristics. In support of this view, Child and Keiser (1979) found that size predicted formalization in management job definitions in both British and German companies, but formalization was manifested differently: British managers received role definitions via written documents whereas German managers received them from their superiors.

Others, such as Child (1981), assert that culture has a moderating effect on organizations. That is, even though the contingent factors help determine the organizational structure, "Culturally-derived preferences infuse the exercise of choice between alternative structures" (Child, 1981, p. 318). For instance, the effect of industrialization on organizations is not homogenous everywhere (e.g., Japan). Similarly, within the capitalist systems, there is vast variety among organizational and management practices. For example, trade union movements in Britain, France, and the United States are fundamentally different despite their similar socioeconomic systems (i.e., capitalism) (cf. Gallie, 1978). Child and Keiser (1979), in their comparison of British and German companies, found that similarities in the socioeconomic system resulted in similar organizational objectives, but the ways these objectives were materialized differed. Child (1981) concluded that

> The contingency argument was seen to be moderated by culturally related influences in the areas of decision making, managerial roles, and behavioral expectations. Relations with contextual factors become weaker and less consistent as one moves from the structural to the role and behavioral levels. (p. 316)

The different perspectives discussed so far are integrated in Figure 1. This figure is a heuristic device that represents the complex and interacting forces influencing organizations. This framework proposes an interactionist per-

spective in which contextual and organizational characteristics are assumed to interact within themselves as well as with one another. The figure also depicts the direct (solid lines) and moderating (dashed lines) effects of the sociocultural context on organizations.

The last column in Figure 1 presents individual and organizational outcomes. There is a paucity of research on the relationship between formal organizational structure and organizational attitudes in the literature. Earlier studies (e.g., Porter & Lawler, 1965) suggest that there is a curvilinear relationship between organization size and job satisfaction. In addition, formalization (Crozier, 1964), complexity (Chonko, 1982), and diversification (Hackman & Oldham, 1980) seem to generate job dissatisfaction. These studies have to be replicated in different cultural contexts to see whether culture moderates the relationship between organizational structure and attitudes. For example, one could expect formalization to yield job satisfaction in high, rather than low, uncertainty-avoiding cultures. Similarly, the relationship between behavioral/interpersonal characteristics of organizations and organizational attitudes may not be the same in every cultural context. For instance, research has shown that participation yields more satisfaction and commitment (cf. Erez, 1994). However, culture may moderate this relationship as it influences both the meaning and form of participation and employees' reactions to it.

Future research should compare direct versus moderating effects of culture on different aspects of organizations. In theory development, Lytle, Brett, Barsness, Tinsley, and Janssens's (1995) three approaches to cross-cultural research could be adopted. In the first approach, culture is treated as the main effect (Type I hypothesis); in the second approach, culture is treated as the moderator (Type II hypothesis); and, in the third approach, culture is treated as the source of emic meanings and constructs (Type III hypothesis).

Moreover, future theories should question the assumptions of linearity and the unilateral effect of culture on organizations. The linearity assumption in organizational research was challenged by complexity theorists (Dooley, 1997; Gregersen & Sailer, 1993; Mendenhall & Macomber, 1997). The adoption of Newtonian assumptions of linearity in the social sciences emphasizes the static nature of organizations and ignores the effect of time on organizational phenomena (cf. Roberts & Boyacigiller, 1984). Predictor-criterion relationships in organizations are time bound, and this should be acknowledged and reflected, especially in cross-cultural I/O research. It should also be noted that the relationship between a culture and an organization may not be a unidirectional one. Organizations are part of culture, and therefore whatever happens in organizations has significant implications for culture. Roberts and Boyacigiller (1984) caution us "against the error of viewing
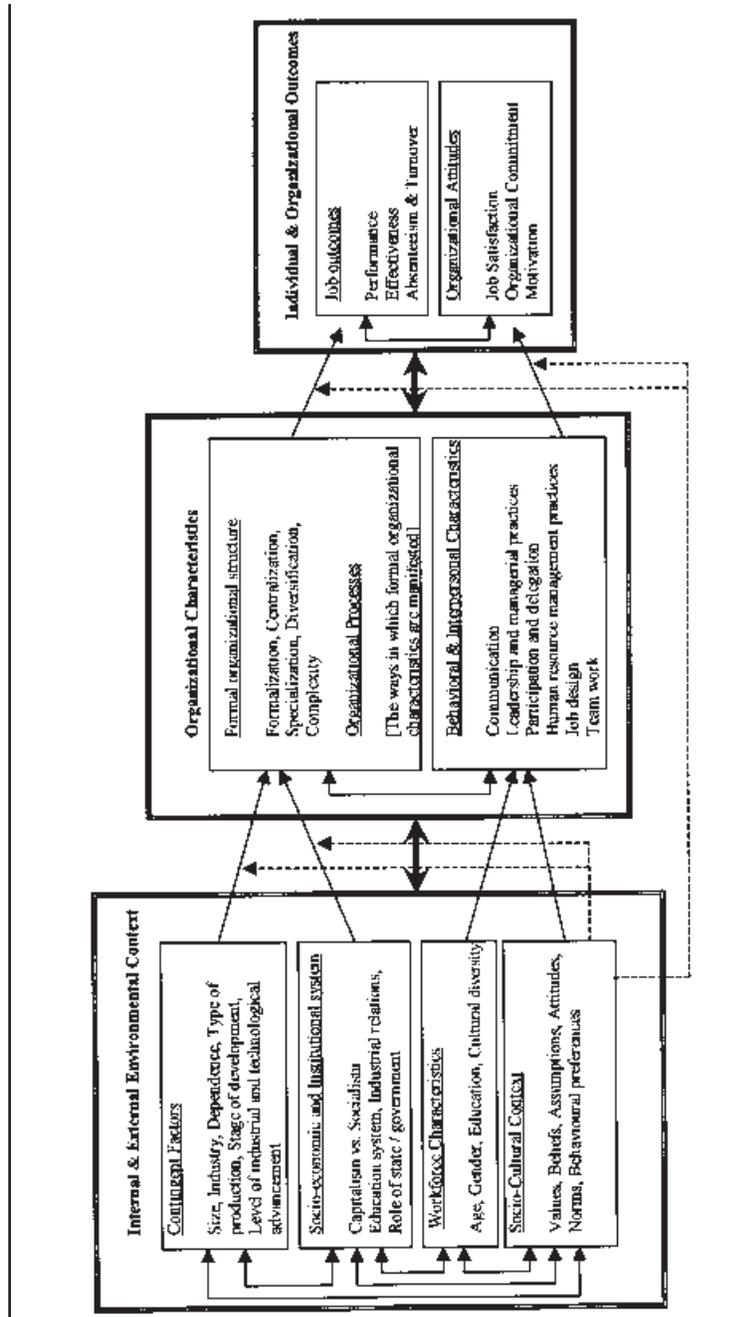
Figure 1: A Model of Multiple and Interacting Forces That Influence Organizations

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environments as one-way causal influences on organizations" (p. 468). They recommend that we direct our attention to the reciprocal relationship between organizations and their contexts. This bidirectional relationship between context and organizations is reflected in Figure 1 by thick arrows.

The mandate of future cross-cultural I/O psychologists is to adopt a multi-disciplinary perspective in theory development. Organizational phenomena take place in highly complex contexts of interacting forces, and advancement in knowledge is possible only if we systematically study the role of the socio-cultural context vis-à-vis other influences. This calls for development of mid-range and cross-level theories. In organizational research, cross-level theories that relate macro-level predictors (e.g., organizational or cultural constructs) to micro-level criteria (e.g., individual behavior) are common-place (Klein, Dansereau, & Hall, 1994; Rousseau, 1985). In cross-level theories, the challenge is to determine the proper level (Rousseau, 1985). If the theory is at the group (or cultural) level, there is an assumption of homogene-ity among group members with respect to their positions on a theoretical con-struct, but, if the theory is at the individual level, then there is assumed hetero-geneity among group members (Brett, Tinsley, Janssens, Barsness, & Lytle, 1997). This issue of level of theory is of great importance to how studies are actually conducted, as it determines the level of measurement and data analysis.

A central issue of concern in theory development is the way culture is con-ceptualized and operationalized. One of the most frequently cited conceptu-alizations of culture is that of Kluckhohn (1951):

> Culture consists in patterned ways of thinking, feeling and reacting, acquired and transmitted mainly by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values. (p. 86)

Culture may manifest itself in terms of values, beliefs, cognitive processes, and overt behavior at the individual level and in structures, practices, norms and rituals at the organizational level. In the majority of I/O research, cross-cultural differences are examined through cultural dimensions. Although using cultural dimensions has a number of drawbacks (see Kagitcibasi, 1994, for a comprehensive review) and may not be the only approach, it is a conven-ient one because cultural dimensions show validity; are at the right level between generality and detail; establish a link among individual, group, and societal-level phenomena; and are easy to communicate.

Unfortunately, the majority of studies are characterized by their atheoreti-cal nature and post hoc cultural interpretations (cf. Berry, 1997). Brett et al.'s

(1997) *one-way* and *n-way* approaches to research can remedy this problem, to a certain extent. In the one-way approach, research starts with an in-depth exploration of a particular culture. The goal is to examine the ways in which identified cultural characteristics influence the relationships among variables in the mid-range theory. This approach helps researchers develop a priori predictions about the relationship of particular cultural dimensions with other variables of interest. The n-way approach starts with an in-depth exploration of multiple cultural contexts. In both approaches, in-depth cultural analysis allows researchers to provide a priori, rather than post hoc, cultural explanations.

Finally, the field of I/O psychology is characterized by heavy reliance on quantitative methodologies. This reflects the domination of positivistic paradigms in the social sciences. Brett et al. (1997) argue that qualitative methodologies with an interpretive rather than positivistic stance are more appropriate for cross-cultural I/O research. Interpretive perspectives acknowledge that there are multiple realities that are socially constructed. To comprehend unique cultural characteristics, one has to engage in in-depth study of the historical, social, political, economical, and institutional systems of cultures prior to designing research and collecting data. The in-depth understanding of a culture makes it easier to establish conceptual, functional, structural, and methodological equivalencies. Among the qualitative methodologies that are available to study organizational phenomena are case studies, participant observations, ethnographic approaches, discourse analyses, and content analyses of company documents (Cassell & Symon, 1994; D'Iribarne, 1997; Forster, 1994; Marshall, 1994; Mayer & Tuma, 1990; Punnett & Shenkar, 1995). As discussed before, time is a crucial factor to be included in theory and research in cross-cultural I/O research (Roberts & Boyacigiller, 1984). Event history analysis (Mayer & Tuma, 1990; Yamaguchi, 1991) is a useful tool for examining the influence of time on observed cross-cultural variation.

SCOPE OF CROSS-CULTURAL I/O RESEARCH

Hui and Luk (1997) assert that future cross-cultural I/O studies should "substantially expand the breadth and depth of research in the field" (p. 400). The most popular cross-cultural topics in reviews as well as in the majority of published research include motivation, leadership, work-related values, management style, team work, expatriation, and organizational diversity. These topics have contributed substantially to the advancement of knowledge. Future research should expand in scope to encompass topics that are more fundamental to I/O psychology and more related to improvement of the

human condition at work. Due to space limitations, only three such topics are reviewed here: staffing, performance management, and employee health and safety. Also, limited space allows me to discuss only the influence of cultural context, even though many of the organizational practices and processes are undoubtedly influenced by multiple environmental forces, as presented in Figure 1.

STAFFING: RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION

Cross-cultural research on staffing mainly focuses on the applicability of U.S.-based recruitment and selection methods in different countries. However, culture influences the process of recruitment and selection in many ways, including attitudes toward selection, the purpose that it serves, and the perceived fairness and appropriateness of criteria and methods that are used in the process. In the North American context, selection is a one-way process whereby applicants are tested by employers, whereas, in the European context, selection is more a mutual agreement and negotiation between the organization and the candidate (Roe, 1989). Also, in North America, the purpose of recruitment and selection is to differentiate among candidates to maximize individual performance and organizational profitability. In India and Eastern Europe, on the other hand, organizations hire more employees than needed to combat poverty and/or unemployment (Herriot & Anderson, 1997; Sinha, 1997). In such cultural contexts, the strategic purpose of recruitment and selection is to meet societal as well as organizational and economic needs.

The criteria for selection may vary across cultures. In the United States, some of the most common selection criteria include intelligence, education, past experiences, personality traits, and specific skills. There is a paucity of cross-cultural research on the appropriateness of such selection criteria in other cultural contexts. However, the few existing studies shed doubt on the appropriateness of such criteria (Linnehan, 1998; Rousseau & Tinsley, 1997). In collectivist countries, interpersonal competencies are as important as individual ones in selecting employees. For example, in Japan, team members' favorable opinions about the candidate (Huo & Von Glinow, 1995); in Islamic Arab countries, agreeableness, good interpersonal relations, and trustworthiness (Ali, 1989); in India, belonging to the same in-group as the manager (e.g., the same family or homeland) (Sinha, 1997); and, in Latin America, positive attitudes toward family life (Cassens, 1966, cited in Barrett & Bass, 1976) are commonly used selection criteria.

Once criteria have been established, the next step is to determine the method of recruitment and selection. With respect to recruitment, word of

mouth is a common method of announcing job openings in cultures where in-group members are favored. This method fosters in-group favoritism and ensures, to some extent, good interpersonal relations at work. Questions that are directed to candidates on job application forms in some countries (e.g., marital status, religious and family background, physical appearance, etc.) can be perceived as offensive in others.

The method of selection used in different countries has attracted some cross-cultural research, but countries included in such studies were mainly North American and Northwest European. Research (Levy-Leboyer, 1994; Shackleton & Newell, 1997; Steiner & Gilliland, 1996) showed that in European countries, biodata is uncommon, whereas interview is one of the most common methods of selection. References or recommendations are used frequently in the majority of countries for different reasons, but with varying weight. For instance, in the United Kingdom, the United States, and Australia, recommendations are used as a final check, whereas there is heavy reliance on this method in Southeastern European countries and India (Sinha, 1997; Triandis & Vassiliou, 1972). In some European countries such as Italy, France, Sweden, and Portugal, the very issue of testing has a negative connotation because it is perceived as an invasion of privacy, violating the individual's right to control his or her own career and creating a barrier to the holistic representation of oneself (cf. Levy-Leboyer, 1994; Shackleton & Newell, 1997; Shimmin, 1989; Sparrow & Hiltrop, 1994). Steiner and Gilliland (1996) found that French participants, compared to American participants, perceived written ability tests to be less impersonal and personality tests to be more offensive in violating their privacy. Similar cross-cultural studies must be conducted to ensure the scientific as well as the social validity (perceived fairness, acceptability) of selection methods in various cultural contexts.

PERFORMANCE MANAGEMENT

Performance management is a process that includes practices that aim at improving employee performance and competencies. There are three critical phases in this process: planning, evaluation, and development. Culture impacts the process in all three phases. The planning phase in performance management addresses two issues: setting goals and determining performance dimensions. In collectivist cultures, there is a tendency toward commitment to goals that serve the best interest of the group (Sullivan, Suzuki, & Kondo, 1986; Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988). As far as methods of goal setting are concerned, Erez and her colleagues (e.g., Erez & Arad, 1986; Erez & Earley, 1987; Latham, Erez, & Locke, 1988) found that in Israel, participative goal setting yielded better performance outcomes and

higher commitment, compared to having goals assigned. Israeli culture can be classified as collectivistic and as having a low power distance (Hofstede, 1980). Such findings point to the need for more research on emic meanings and manifestations of participation in goal setting.

The second aspect of performance planning is concerned with determining performance dimensions. Unfortunately, there is neither a uniform description of performance nor a consensus on dimensions of performance (Campbell, Gasser, & Oswald, 1996). The criterion problem is magnified at the cross-cultural level, because both the definition and the salient dimensions of good performance are culture bound. In their review article of research in the United States, Arvey and Murphy (1998) identified a number of performance dimensions, such as job-specific knowledge and proficiency, communication competence, effort, quality of output, productivity, interpersonal competence/teamwork facilitation, and administrative competence. Cross-cultural replications of these dimensions have yet to be explored. There is some evidence that relational and interpersonal criteria such as good human nature, harmony in interpersonal relations, trustworthiness, respectful attitude, loyalty and deference toward superiors, effort and willingness to work, awareness of duties and obligations, gratitude, organizational citizenship, conformity, and contribution to team maintenance are more salient dimensions of performance in collectivist cultures, compared to task-related criteria in individualistic ones (e.g., Blunt & Popoola, 1985; Kim, Park, & Suzuki, 1990; Negandhi, 1984; Singh, 1981; Sinha, 1990; Triandis, 1994).

The second phase of performance management is performance evaluation. The primary reasons for performance appraisal include providing feedback on strengths and weaknesses of employees and recognizing individual differences in performance (Cleveland, Murphy, & Williams, 1989). Unlike individualistic cultures, collectivist cultures downplay individual differences. Triandis and Bhawuk (1997) posit that the primary purpose of performance evaluation in collectivist cultures is to justify decisions on compensation and promotion. According to Sinha (1994), appraisal is used to control and instill loyalty.

In high-power-distance cultures (Hofstede, 1980), performance is usually evaluated by superiors (Davis, 1998; Harris & Moran, 1996). Because performance appraisal is a top-down process, evaluation of superiors by subordinates is difficult to employ in high-power-distance cultures. Therefore, the 360-degree performance appraisal method (i.e., collecting performance data from the job incumbent as well as his or her superiors, subordinates, colleagues, and even customers), which is popular in the United States, may not be appealing in high-power-distance cultures (Davis, 1998). In collectivist cultures, this kind of evaluation may disturb group harmony. Accuracy of

such evaluations is also jeopardized because in-group favoritism and loyalty prevent assignment of low performance ratings to one's colleagues and superiors. One of the barriers to obtaining reliable performance evaluation is rating errors. The reliability and validity of performance appraisal is a function of attributing correct reasons for success and failure. Cross-cultural variations in attribution and evaluation biases (e.g., self-effacement and modesty bias) are well documented (e.g., Bond, Leung, & Wan, 1982; Farh, Dobbins, & Cheng, 1991; Fry & Ghosh, 1980; Kashima & Triandis, 1986; Stipek, Weiner, & Li, 1989; Yu & Murphy, 1993). Future cross-cultural I/O research should examine the ways such culture-specific biases influence the performance evaluation process.

Culture also has a bearing on the way performance feedback is given and received. In cultures where the distinction between life and work space is blurred (i.e., associative/diffuse cultures) (Trompenaars, 1994), feedback on one's job performance is perceived as feedback on one's personality. Triandis (1994) stated that "In associative cultures, it is difficult to criticize, since it is inevitably seen as equivalent to a rejection of the person" (p. 119). People may refrain from giving and taking negative performance feedback in collectivist cultures to protect face and reduce social anxiety (cf. Leary & Kowalski, 1995) and embarrassment (Edelmann & Neto, 1989). Bailey, Chen, and Dou (1997) showed that Japanese and Chinese employees did not take any initiative to seek feedback on individual performance. This may be explained by the high-context nature of communication in collectivist cultures (Gibson, 1997). Performance-related information that is embedded in contextual cues could provide indirect, implicit, and subtle messages about performance, which could, in turn, prevent conflict, confrontation, and embarrassment.

The final phase in performance management is the performance improvement phase. The most frequently administered practices to improve performance include performance-based rewards and training. Are rewards contingent on performance? Which types of rewards are more salient in which cultural contexts? Aycan et al. (in press) found that in fatalistic cultures (Bernstein, 1992), there is weak performance reward contingency. Individualistic cultures administer the norm of equity in allocating rewards, and thus there is one-to-one correspondence between performance and reward, whereas reward allocation in collectivist culture depends on contingencies other than performance (for reviews on distributive justice, see Erez, 1997; Hui & Luk, 1997; Leung, 1997; Smith & Bond, 1993). Moreover, in collectivist cultures, rewarding the group as a whole is preferred to rewarding individual members (Gluskinos, 1988). The discussion of reward allocations in the cross-cultural literature mostly centers on economic rewards. However, noneconomic rewards that satisfy needs for affiliation and recognition are

more likely to occur in collectivist and high-power-distance cultures (Mendonca & Kanungo, 1990). Kim, Park, and Suzuki (1990) posit that social rewards such as friendship outside the work group or choice of a person as a work partner are more salient in Korea and Japan than in the United States.

The second practice to enhance performance is training. Criteria that are used to determine training needs and topics may not be based on performance feedback in every culture. For instance, in India, employees who maintain good relations with higher management are sent to attractive training programs (i.e., overseas or in resorts) as a reward for their loyalty (Sinha, 1997). Training topics are usually based on supervisors' recommendations. Finally, training effectiveness also depends on the cultural context. Earley (1994) asserted that individualism-collectivism impacted the way information was used during the process of training.

EMPLOYEE HEALTH AND
SAFETY AND QUALITY OF WORK LIFE

Quality of work life (QWL) is related to organizational conditions and practices that promote employee mental health, physical health, safety, and satisfaction. Cascio and Thacker (1994, p. 19) propose that organizational practices such as employee participation and involvement, job enrichment, democratic supervision, and safety practices improve QWL. Whether similar practices would improve QWL in non-Western cultural contexts should be examined by future research. Organizational practices that are geared toward improving QWL can be divided into practices that promote physical health and those that promote psychological health. Culture may influence both of these types of practices.

A safe work environment is one that is free from accidents and does not pose a threat to employee health. There are certain conditions under which accidents are more likely to occur. The most prevailing reasons for accidents include lack of necessary job-related training and failure to comply with rules (Wagenaar & Hudson, 1998). Two cultural dimensions that may be related to workplace safety are fatalism and universalism-particularism (Glenn & Glenn, 1981). In fatalistic cultures, people are inclined to believe that things will happen no matter what one does to prevent them (cf. Aycan et al., in press). This dimension may be related not only to religious and other spiritual beliefs (e.g., karma) but also to life conditions that create a sense of helplessness (e.g., poverty, overpopulation, etc.). Fatalism, therefore, is expected to hinder occupational practices that promote workplace safety. The universalism-particularism dimension could also be related to safety. In particularistic cultures, rules are not for everyone to adhere to. Those who have certain privileges

(e.g., high-status officers, acquaintances of the boss, etc.) are freed from rules and regulations. Therefore, accidents due to rule violations are more likely to occur in particularistic cultures, compared to universalistic ones.

Organizational practices that aim at promoting psychological health are likely to be more prone to the influence of culture. According to Warr (1987), there are nine critical environmental factors that influence psychological health at work: opportunity for control, opportunity for skill use, challenging goals, variety, environmental clarity, availability of monetary sources, physical security, opportunity for interpersonal contact, and valued social position. Cross-cultural generalizability of these findings has to be questioned because the underlying assumption of these practices is that employees seek self-actualization through job enrichment. However, research has shed doubt on the validity of the job enrichment model (Hackman & Oldham, 1980) in non-Western cultural contexts (Erez, 1994; Mendonca & Kanungo, 1990; Shamir & Drory, 1981; Triandis, 1994). Psychological health in collectivist and high-power-distance cultures may be influenced more by interpersonal aspects of work such as sense of belonging, acceptance by peers and superiors, harmony in interpersonal relations, paternalistic supervision, and so on. A holistic approach to QWL requires inclusion of family-related stressors. For instance, in collectivist cultures where individuals have to fulfill responsibilities to their aging parents and extended family members, the work-family conflict is expected to be one of the major predictors of workplace psychological health.

CONCLUSION

In this article, a brief overview of the past 20 years of cross-cultural I/O research has been presented. This evaluation suggests that the field suffers from a lack of theory-driven research. Research, so far, has been characterized by comparative studies of various organizational practices, using convenient samples and methods. The accumulation of knowledge from such research is not sufficient to provide insight into the role of culture in explaining organizational phenomena. It is recommended that future research adopt a multidisciplinary and interactionist perspective to reflect the complex environment within which organizations function. The challenge for future studies is not only to identify cultural characteristics that are relevant to various organizational phenomena but also to examine the extent to which, and the ways in which, culture vis-à-vis other contextual forces influences individual and group behavior in organizations. To handle the complexities involved in

cross-cultural I/O research, innovative methodologies that allow in-depth understanding of cultures and organizations must be developed.

In summary, the multiple challenges that await cross-cultural I/O researchers in the next 20 years should not be discouraging. The academic pressure for more research and more publications makes it certainly more difficult, but not impossible, to do good research. As one of the most dynamic and promising fields of psychology, cross-cultural I/O psychology has much to offer to individual, organizational, and national development. To serve this purpose, the field needs rigorous research conducted by multinational, multi-disciplinary, and multiprofessional teams.

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