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## **Cross-Cultural Industrial Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior: A Hundred-Year Journey**

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# Cross-Cultural Industrial Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior: A Hundred-Year Journey

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In celebration of the anniversary of the *Journal of Applied Psychology (JAP)*, we take a hundred-year journey to examine how the science of cross-cultural industrial/organizational psychology and organizational behavior (CCIO/OB) has evolved, both in *JAP* and in the larger field. We review broad trends and provide illustrative examples in the theoretical, methodological, and analytic advances in CCIO/OB during 4 main periods: the early years (1917–1949), the middle 20th century (1950–1979), the later 20th century (1980–2000), and the 21st century (2000 to the present). Within each period, we discuss key historical and societal events that influenced the development of the science of CCIO/OB, major trends in research on CCIO/OB in the field in general and *JAP* in particular, and important milestones and breakthroughs achieved. We highlight pitfalls in research on CCIO/OB and opportunities for growth. We conclude with recommendations for the next 100 years of CC IO/OB research in *JAP* and beyond.

**Keywords:** cross-cultural, industrial-organizational, organizational behavior

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Cross-cultural industrial and organizational psychology and organizational behavior (CCIO/OB) has a long past and a short history. Although many of the theories of work behavior have been developed in the last 100 years, starting with the launching of the *Journal of Applied Psychology (JAP)* in 1917, questions of how to best manage behavior in organizations were discussed around the globe for centuries prior to the formalization of the field. For example, effective selection procedures were featured in the Old Testament, in which God advised Gideon on whom to choose for battle (Judges 7:4 New Revised Standard Version), and the first systematic employee selection

system (i.e., the “imperial examination”) was developed in China as early as the Han Dynasty. Likewise, in *The Republic*, Plato discussed person–job fit, advocating that the ideal job was one in which the person’s nature is “fitted for the task” (Plato & Jowett, 1901, p. 56, cited in Antonakis, 2011). Lay theories of group processes and leadership can also be found in the Bible and other ancient texts, and advice on persuasion and influence figures prominently in Sun Tzu’s *Art of War* (Tzu, 1963). It is clear that the quest to understand work behavior has been a global concern since antiquity.

In celebration of the anniversary of *JAP*, we take a hundred-year journey to examine how the science of CCIO/OB has evolved, both in *JAP* and in the larger field. Our review is selective by necessity. We review broad trends and provide illustrative examples in the theoretical, methodological, and analytic advances in CCIO/OB during four main periods: the early years (1917–1949), the middle 20th century (1950–1979), the later 20th century (1980–2000), and the 21st century (2000 to present). Within each period, we discuss key historical and societal events that influenced the development of the science of CCIO/OB, major trends in research on CCIO/OB in the field in general, and *JAP* in particular, and important milestones and breakthroughs. To track the evolution of the field, we coded all articles in *JAP* during the period of 1917 to 2014 that focused explicitly on culture and organizational phenomena, and we traced the evolution of the field of

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CCIO/OB in *JAP* on the following criteria: content of the research (e.g., selection, training, attitudes, personality, intelligence, conflict, teams, and leadership, among others); methodology (e.g., laboratory, field); whether aspects of culture (e.g., values, norms) were empirically assessed; whether measurement equivalence was assessed; whether culture was examined as a main effect or if was considered as a moderator (e.g., interacts with other contextual factors or individual differences); and whether the research focused on intracultural or intercultural comparisons.<sup>1</sup>

### Early Years: 1917–1949

The discipline of I/O psychology began to develop during the late 1800s and early 1900s in Europe and the United States. During this era, Taylor's (1914) principles of scientific management were influential amid rapid industrialization and mass manufacturing, and the zeitgeist was marked by a quest for the discovery of general principles that were applicable across situations and people. The United States had seen a large influx of immigrants from different countries since the beginning of the 20th century, but the rise in cultural diversity had not yet drawn attention to the importance of studying cultural influences on organizational phenomenon. This was, in large part, because of a focus on minimizing cultural differences. Indeed, Frost (1920) advocated that a major contribution of industrial psychologists was the "Americanization of the alien," that is, the assimilation of individuals from different nations, with different attitudes, values, and behaviors, into U.S. organizations. This view was consistent with the melting pot view of culture prominent in the United States. In Europe, William Wundt and his students conducted some of the first research related to I/O psychology. However, these early studies did not examine how culture affects work behavior, and it was only in his later publication of *Völkerpsychologie* that Wundt (1906) advocated that culture plays a critical role in understanding human mind and behavior (Araujo, 2013). Yet despite Wundt's efforts, this work did not have much influence on psychological research during his lifetime, and did not lead to a focus on culture in IO/OB.

Later during this period, World War I (1914–1918) precipitated the need to screen recruits for various military roles, causing individual differences such as intelligence to figure prominently in this period's research (Vinchur & Koppes, 2011). In the United States, testing and selection researchers working for the Army were aware of the influence of culture, but the focus was on creating a selection test for those with lower English-language skills (the Army Beta). In World War II (1939–1945), even more attention was given to the selection and placement of soldiers, but culture was still ignored (Katzell & Austin, 1992). In one exception, Stouffer and his colleagues studied American soldiers in World War II and analyzed the perception of relative deprivation among soldiers of different ethnicities (Stouffer, Suchman, DeVinney, Star, & Williams, 1949). This study provided an important conceptual basis for the development of equity theory, a major theory in I/O psychology (Adams, 1965). It is fair to conclude that I/O psychology in the very early years in the United States remained largely *culture bound*, that is, theories were tested only on American samples, and *culture blind*, that is, culture was not considered as an important factor (Katzell & Austin, 1992).

Several other notable events occurred during this period that warrant discussion. In his cultural analysis of economic systems, Max Weber (1905/1958) discussed the Protestant work ethic and the rise of capitalism in Europe, which was a pioneering attempt to relate culture from the perspective of religion to economic activities. Weber also studied religions in China and India, and concluded that, unlike Protestantism, these religions were not conducive to capitalism. This work later inspired a program of research on the Protestant work ethic in I/O psychology (e.g., Merrens & Garrett, 1975) and cross-cultural psychology (e.g., Sanchez-Burks, 2002). Other significant events during this time period were the 1919 founding of the International Association of Applied Psychology (IAAP), which, to date, has been an international meeting ground for organizational scholars worldwide, as well as the establishment of American Psychological Association's (APA's) Committee on International Relations in Psychology in 1944.

In sum, I/O psychology in the very early years did not pay much attention to the influence of culture. Despite Wundt's *Völkerpsychologie* and Weber's comparative analysis of different economic systems, *JAP* only featured sporadic papers on ethnic differences (e.g., Garth, Serafini, & Dutton, 1925; Sánchez, 1934), and these papers were largely descriptive in nature.

### Middle 20th Century (1950-1979)

During this period, several significant theoretical, empirical, and institutional developments occurred in the field of CCIO/OB and cross-cultural psychology more generally. Against the backdrop of mainstream psychology's focus on universal laws of human behavior, a critical mass of scholars began to demonstrate wide variability in psychological processes across cultural groups. The 1950s and 1960s witnessed many seminal studies on culture and personality (B. B. Whiting & J. W. Whiting, 1975; J. W. Whiting & Child, 1953), perception (Segall, Campbell, & Herskovits, 1966), motivation (McClelland, 1961), cognition (Witkin & Berry, 1975), and mental abilities (Cronbach & Drenth, 1972) that later became the bedrock of much of modern day CCIO/OB. The fact that even "basic" psychological processes were not universal (e.g., visual illusions; Segall et al., 1966) was a wakeup call and opened up the field to the possibility that organizational phenomena might also be subject to wide cultural variability. This period also witnessed the explication of individualism-collectivism as an important dimension of culture (Triandis, 1972), and the notion that cultural differences can arise as adaptations to ecology (e.g., the eco-cultural approach; Berry, 1975; Triandis, 1972). During this time period, we also witnessed significant institutional developments, including the formation of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology and the launching of major journals

<sup>1</sup> Our review included cross-cultural comparisons (comparison of two or more cultural groups across nations), intercultural interactions (examination of two or more groups from different nations who interact with each other or interactions of ethnically diverse individuals within the same nation), within-country comparisons across groups (e.g., Asian Americans vs. Caucasians in the United States), and tests of the generalizability of a theory typically developed in the U.S. within another nation (e.g., examination of a Western theory in another country). We also separately coded the number of articles that were conducted outside of the United States that were not explicitly focused on *culture* per se to illustrate how culturally diverse the populations are in *JAP* across the last 100 years.

(e.g., *International Journal of Psychology*, *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*).

There were also a number of important scholarly works published during this period within CCIO/OB. Harbison and Myers's (1959) *Management in the Industrial World* presented a large-scale study of comparative management, and Haire, Ghiselli, and Porter's (1966) *Managerial Thinking* compared managers across 14 countries (see also Stouffer et al., 1949). There were also several reviews of cross-cultural research in IO/OB during this time period (Barrett & Bass, 1970; Boddewyn & Nath, 1970; Roberts, 1970).

In a chapter in the *Handbook of I/O Psychology*, Barrett and Bass (1970) nevertheless lamented that culture was largely ignored in mainstream organizational psychology, and argued that

most research in industrial and organizational psychology is done within one cultural context. This context puts constraints upon both our theories and our practical solutions to the organizational problems. Since we are seldom faced with a range and variation of our variables which adequately reflect the possibilities of human behavior, we tend to take a limited view of the field. (p. 1675)

These observations on the state of the science of CCIO/OB were largely borne out in our review of articles published in *JAP* during this period. There were few papers in *JAP* during this period that focused on culture (see Figure 1), and the majority of papers appearing in this period did not advance any theory on expected cultural differences or similarities. Some articles focused on examining reliability of established measures in different countries (e.g., achievement motivation: Gough & Hall, 1964; personnel inventories: Raubenheimer, 1970; and leadership: Tscheulin, 1973). Others focused on testing whether I/O theories replicated in other countries, though the discussion of culture was largely post hoc. For example, research tested the generalizability of Herzberg's two-factor theory (Hines, 1973), Fiedler's theory of least preferred coworker (Bennett, 1977), and Vroom's expectancy theory of motivation (Matsui & Terai, 1975). Several *JAP* articles during this period did begin to investigate differences in managerial beliefs and values across countries. Notably, Hofstede (1976) published a paper in *JAP* on values of managers from 40 nationalities, which were organized into five clusters (Nordic, Germanic, Anglo, Latin, and Asian), and Lonner and Adams (1972) described vocational interests across nine nations. Others explicitly stated a need to recruit cross-cultural samples to expand the focus of I/O psychological research. For example, Zurcher (1968) discussed particularism as an important value in Mexico, and Triandis and Vassiliou (1972) discussed the role of group orientation (later to be called "collectivism") as a predictor of selection decisions in the United States and Greece.

Much work during this period focused on cross-cultural comparisons (e.g., comparisons of two or more cultural groups across nations; see Figure 2), though there was a line of research on cross-cultural adaptation, which focused on the development of specific training interventions to assist employees working in Iran, Thailand, Central America, and Greece (Fiedler, Mitchell, & Triandis, 1971; Worchel & Mitchell, 1972). Culture was largely equated with country, and the focus was on main effects of culture (e.g., Shapira & Bass, 1975; Slocum & Strawser, 1972; Whitehall, 1964; Zurcher, 1968). Very few studies discussed translation procedures or performed tests of equivalence for their measures.

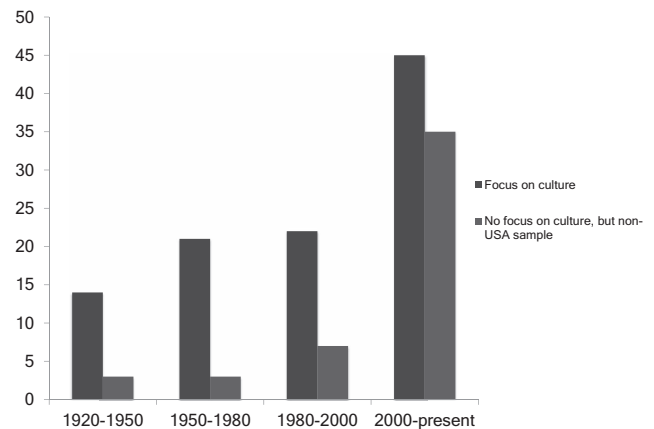


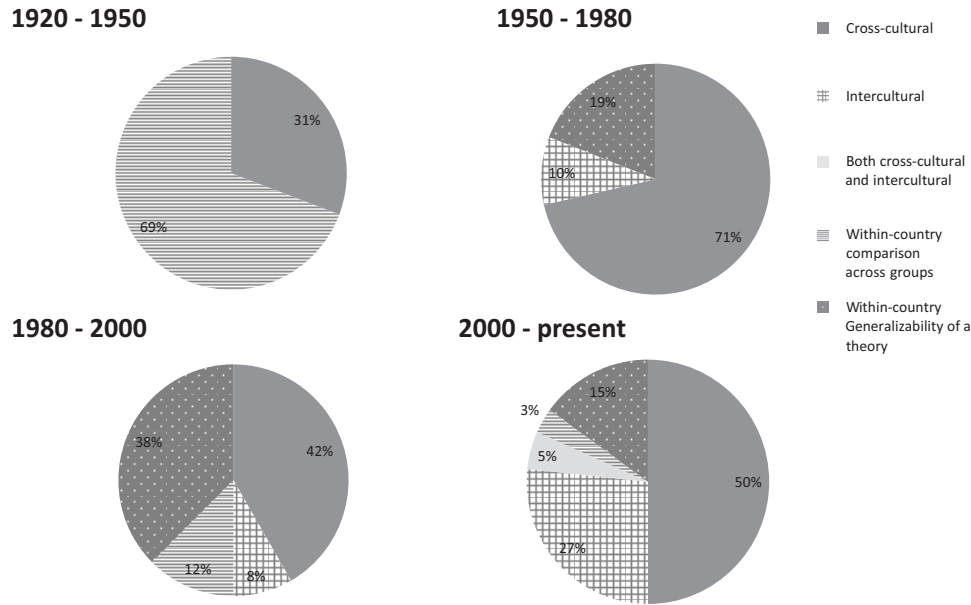
Figure 1. Growth of cross-cultural research over time.

There was a dearth of theorizing on what explains cultural variation, though one paper focused on the role of economic development in understanding cultural differences in conflict behavior (e.g., Porat, 1970), and most studies were of a correlational nature (see Figures 3a to d). In all, research on CCIO/OB began to increase in *Journal of Applied Psychology (JAP)* during this period, but with few exceptions, research on culture was still largely theoretical, with little attention to methodological issues that need to be accounted for in doing cross-cultural research.

### Later 20th Century: 1980s-2000

A number of significant changes in the world influenced the growing awareness of cross-cultural differences in the final decades of the 20th century: the invention of the World Wide Web (1989), the spread of home computers, the fall of the Berlin Wall (1989), the opening of relations between China and the West, and the accelerating process of globalization. These technological and geopolitical changes resulted in individuals and organizations having much more exposure and interaction with people from different cultures. Globalization also accelerated worldwide industrial competition during this period, which attracted researchers' attention to studying cultural similarities and differences in quality circles and teamwork (Erez & Earley, 1993).

During this period, a number of scholarly works on culture were published, which significantly affected the development of CCIO/OB. Hofstede's (1980) seminal book, *Culture's Consequences*, offered a typology of cultural values, including individualism-collectivism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance, and masculinity-femininity, which enabled comparisons of values among cultures (see also later work on Confucian Dynamism by Hofstede & Bond, 1988). Schwartz (1992) published his circumplex of cultural values, which offered a theoretical taxonomy for understanding value compatibilities and value conflicts. During this era, reviews of culture and organizations were published in the *Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology* (Tannenbaum, 1980) and in *JAP* (Bhagat & McQuaid, 1982). Notably, an entire volume on methods in cross-cultural research appeared in the *Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, which provided systematic advice on translations, experiments, surveys, and ethics, among other topics. Van de Vijver and Leung (1997) provided detailed suggestions on how to establish equivalence of



*Figure 2.* Percentage of different types of culture studies. Cross-cultural comparisons involved a comparison of two or more cultural groups across nations; intercultural studies involved an examination of two or more groups from different nations who interacted with each other or interactions of ethnically diverse individuals within the same nation; within-country comparisons across groups were investigations of group differences with a particular nation (e.g., Asian Americans versus Caucasians in the United States); within-country test of the generalizability of a Western theory in another country.

measurement and deal with response bias, and discussions of levels of analysis in cross-cultural research began to appear (Leung, 1989). An entire volume on cross-cultural I/O psychology, edited by Triandis, Dunnette, and Hough, was published as Volume 4 of the 1994 *Handbook of Industrial Organizational Psychology*, and a special volume, *New Perspectives on International Industrial/Organizational Psychology* (Earley & Erez, 1997), appeared as part of the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology book series. The APA also established Division 52 (International Psychology) during this time period.

Another important theoretical development in CCIO during this time period was the publication of Erez and Earley's (1993) seminal book entitled *Culture, Self-Identity, and Work*. Drawing on other work on culture and self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989), the authors proposed that culture shapes a person's self through the process of socialization, and this culture-based self serves as a basis for evaluating the implication of different organizational practices for a person's self-worth and well-being. It had broad-ranging implications for understanding why certain organizational practices (e.g., motivational practices, human resources [HR] practices and work design) would be more or less motivating depending on the cultural context. This notion of *culture fit* was also integrated into a theory of HR practices and individual motivation during this period (Aycan et al., 2000).

Amid this increasing activity, the volume of papers involving culture was still relatively low in *JAP* (see Figure 1). Across all of these articles, there were several notable trends. First, researchers began to sample a broader array of geographical regions, though the authors of these studies were largely from the United States and other Western countries. Research during this period, much

like the previous period, was largely focused on cross-cultural comparisons (42%) and testing the generalizability of theories across countries (38%; see Figure 2). Most of these studies concluded that although some of these theories could be generalized to other cultures, many needed important modifications. For example, an examination of Meyer and Allen's (1991) three-component model of organizational commitment did not fully replicate in South Korea (Ko, Price, & Mueller, 1997). Cross-cultural differences were also evident in the meaning of organization citizenship behavior (OCB), with employees from Hong Kong and Japan regarding some categories of OCB as an expected part of the job, unlike participants from the United States and Australia, who considered OCB to be independent of the job requirements (Lam, Hui, & Law, 1999). Likewise, a test of the goal-setting theory of motivation in the United States and in Israel demonstrated that Americans reached similar levels of performance under participative and assigned goals, yet Israelis performed significantly lower under assigned than participative goals. The authors argued this reflected Israelis' low level of power distance (Erez & Earley, 1987). In the field of leadership, the two-factor structure of leadership behavior (e.g., consideration and initiating structure), which had repeatedly been found in Euro-American samples, was not supported in Iran (Ayman & Chemers, 1983). In the field of conflict, Tinsley (1998) expanded the focus of interest models of disputing to include status and regulation models, which were particularly relevant in Japan and Germany, respectively.

Very few studies measured aspects of culture (Figure 3a), and of all of the CCI/OOB papers published in *JAP* in the 1980s and 1990s, only three tested for measurement equivalence (e.g., Ghorpade, Hattrup, & Lackritz, 1999; te Nijenhuis & van der Flier,

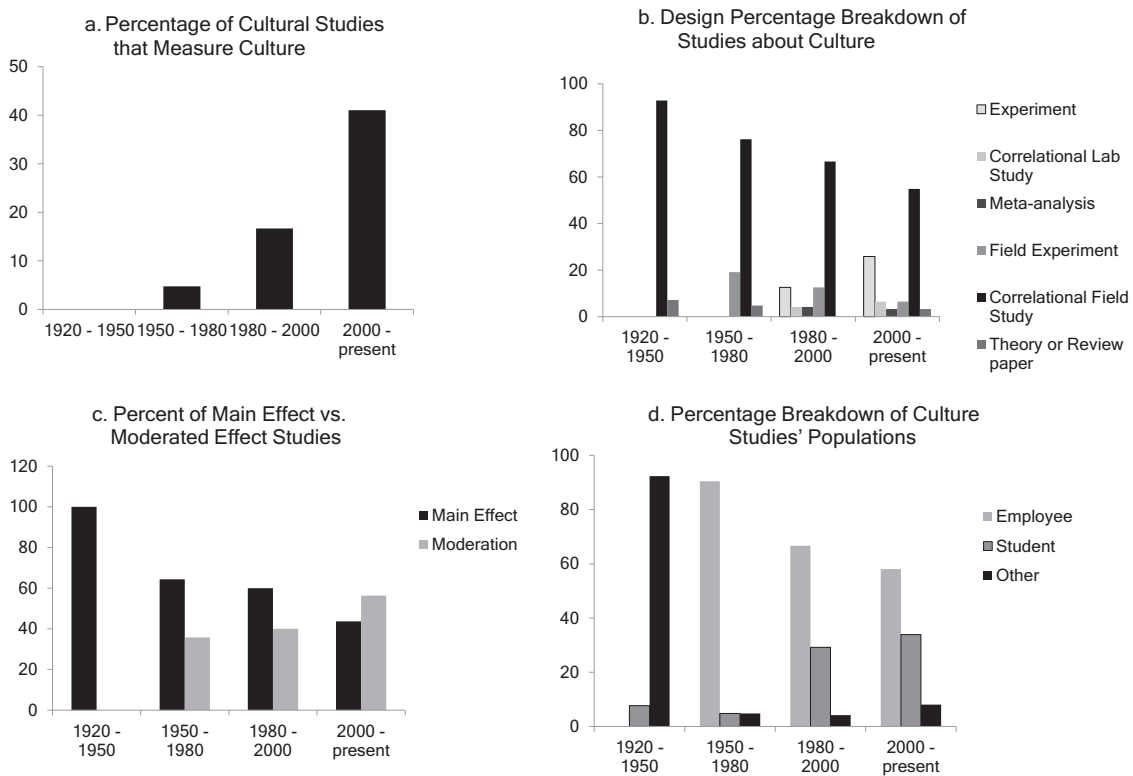


Figure 3. Characteristics of articles about culture.

1997; Zeidner, 1987). Most *JAP* studies in this period focused on culture as a main effect similar to the previous period (Figure 3b), with a few exceptions. Gelfand and Realo (1999) showed that accountability (as a norm enforcement mechanism) can produce opposite effects in individualistic and collectivistic samples, and Erez and Earley (1987) demonstrated that culture moderated the effect of goal setting on performance. The importance of studying culture in context was also beginning to feature in other psychology journals as well (Aycan, Kanungo, & Sinha, 1999; Earley, 1993).

Other notable trends in *JAP* are shown in the figures. Supplemental Figure 1 of the online supplemental materials shows that the topics of interest started to diversify considerably compared with the previous period. During this time period, there were also a few studies that included concepts from other cultures that were not discussed in the mainstream IO and OB literature. For example, a comparison of perceived fairness in selection procedures revealed that graphology was more positively perceived in France than in the United States (Steiner & Gilliland, 1996). During this time period, the methods and samples used to study CCIO/OB also began to diversify (see Figures 3b and 3d).

### Emerging Sophistication: The 21st Century (2000 to Present)

As with other periods, several notable societal and scientific events have affected the evolution of CCIO/OB over the last 15 years. The aging workforce, especially in Western developed economies, has dramatically increased the demand to attract and

retain talent from diverse cultural backgrounds (Burke & Ng, 2006). However, human crises, especially the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, also brought forth a hesitancy to embrace cultural diversity (Burke & Ng, 2006). After this traumatic event, human resource management (HRM) practices in organizations in the United States were found to be more conservative and discriminatory, which has likely challenged efforts to understand and manage cultural diversity in organizations (e.g., Morgan, 2004).

Another important global trend in this era is the increasing emphasis on cultural diversity in universities, and particularly in MBA curricula, in which the introduction of MOOCs (massive open online courses) provided incredible momentum to the internationalization of higher education in the world. Additionally, university ranking systems now include “internationalization” as an important criterion to evaluate universities in the world (Stromquist, 2007). In response to this trend, several special issues are published on how to teach cross-cultural management effectively in business schools (e.g., Eisenberg, Härtel, & Stahl, 2013).

The quantum increase in the use of the Internet and social media has not only connected culturally diverse populations but also procured “big data,” which are available to be analyzed by cross-cultural researchers (see Bail, 2014; Castells, 2004). Furthermore, global, longitudinal, and open-access data sets began to capture societal values and practices, including the International Social Survey Programme (<http://www.issp.org/index.php>) and the World Values Survey (<http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs.jsp>). Within this context, the debate on whether or not cultures converge or diverge in the face of globalization continued with

great force. Two key publications stirred the debate: One argued that globalization is making the world “flat” (Friedman, 2005), and the other argued against globalization producing homogeneity (Klein, 2002). Project GLOBE, which showed that cultural differences in values and practices continue to persist, provided support for the latter perspective (Chhokar, Brodbeck, & House, 2008; House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, & Gupta, 2004).

Along with these societal developments, there have been numerous theoretical advancements in the field. Most notably, there is a growing recognition that “country” may not be the most appropriate unit of analysis for cross-cultural research (Fischer, 2009; Minkov & Hofstede, 2014; Taras, Steel, & Kirkman, 2016), and that cross-cultural variability can be captured at the state, ethnic/racial, religious, or socioeconomic status (SES) levels within countries (e.g., Dheer, Lenartowicz, Peterson, & Petrescu, 2014; Greenfield, 2014; Harrington & Gelfand, 2014; Markus & Conner, 2014; Yamawaki, 2012). Relatedly, there is a shift from static to dynamic views of culture. Developments in the cognitive sciences have stimulated the view of culture as a loose network of multiple, and sometimes conflicting, knowledge structures that can be activated (or suppressed) depending on the demands of the situation. This view is contrasted with a conception of culture as a set of stable structures (e.g., value orientations) and has produced research on *cultural frame shifting*, wherein individuals can dynamically integrate and dissociate from elements of their culture (e.g., Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002; Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez, 2000; Shore, 1996). The constructs of cultural intelligence and global identity were also advanced to help explain adaptation to the global work context (Arnett, 2000; Erez et al., 2013; Lisak & Erez, 2015; Rockstuhl, Seiler, Ang, Van Dyne, & Annen, 2011).

This era has also witnessed extensions of the value frameworks predominantly used in CCIO/OB and cross-cultural psychology more generally (see the special issue of the *Journal of International Business Studies* edited by Devinney, Kirkman, Caprar, & Caligiuri, (2015); see also Tung & Verbeke, 2010). Scholars began to broaden the scope of cultural difference variables to include *beliefs* (e.g., social axioms: Leung & Bond, 2004) and *norms* (e.g., tightness-looseness: Chiu, Gelfand, Yamagishi, Shteynberg, & Wan, 2010; Gelfand, Nishii, & Raver, 2006; Gelfand et al., 2011). There have also been calls for deeper and fine-grained understanding of the construct of individualism and collectivism (e.g., Yamagishi, 2011). Interestingly, during this period, there has been a return to the 1960s and 1970s focus of understanding the ecological and historical bases of culture (Berry, 1975; Triandis, 1972), such as climate and subsistence systems (e.g., Van de Vliert, 2013), societal threat (Gelfand et al., 2011), and even genetic characteristics of populations (e.g., Minkov, Blagoev, & Bond, 2015).

Research has moved beyond main effects to examine complex Culture  $\times$  Context interactions (Aycan, 2005; Gelfand et al., 2013; Nouri et al., 2013, 2015), and research has increasingly examined intercultural interactions. Examples include research on multicultural colocated and virtual teams (Erez et al., 2013; Hülsheger, Anderson, & Salgado, 2009; Stahl, Maznevski, Voigt, & Jonsen, 2010), expatriate or global managers (Shaffer, Harrison, Gregersen, Black, & Ferzandi, 2006; Stahl & Caligiuri, 2005), and computer-mediated cross-cultural interactions (Vignovic & Thompson, 2010).

Recent methodological developments have also allowed cross-cultural research to broaden its scope. Online surveys using panel data (e.g., MTurk, Qualtrics) have made data collection from many countries easy, though these platforms are not without limitations (Mason & Suri, 2012). Researchers are more frequently testing measurement invariance or equivalence (Chen, 2008), and are increasingly using numerous data analytical strategies (e.g., moderated mediational analyses, multilevel models, nested hierarchical clustering to reveal cultural clusters; M. W.-L. Cheung, Leung, & Au, 2006; Ronen & Shenkar, 2013). Research has employed creative methodologies, such as Google Ngram viewer, to trace changes in cultural values (Greenfield, 2013).

This growing theoretical and methodological sophistication of the study of culture can clearly be seen in the evolution of this work in *JAP* over the last 15 years. There has been a rapid increase in the number of papers that focus on culture in the journal, and an exponential increase in the number of studies that are conducted on non-U.S. samples that do not have a focus on culture (see Figure 1). The diversity of topics has increased, with topics such as work–family conflict, counterproductive work behavior (sexual harassment, abusive supervision, mistreatment), psychological contracts, stress, and turnover adapting a cross-cultural lens, and the first work on culture and emotions (e.g., shame and guilt) appeared (supplemental Figure 1). Studies of intercultural interactions have also dramatically increased (see Figure 2). Many papers have begun to measure culture (Figure 3a) and moved beyond main effects to explore moderators of cultural differences (Figure 3c). The diversity of methods and samples has also increased (see Figures 3b and 3d).

As with the larger field, *JAP* has featured increasing theoretical complexity in the study of culture. Chao and Moon (2005) proposed a new model of culture using the metaphor of a mosaic to identify demographic, geographical, and associative features to describe the unique cultural identity of individuals, and Gelfand et al. (2006) advanced a multilevel theory of cultural tightness-looseness in organizations. Others advanced the classic work by Hofstede (1980) to show when values such as individualism-collectivism will exert stronger or weaker effects. For example, in their seminal meta-analysis, Taras, Kirkman, and Steel (2010) found that compared with personality and demographics, cultural values had stronger associations with organizational attitudes and weaker associations with performance, absenteeism, and turnover. They also showed how norms (i.e., tightness) strengthened the effect of value on organizational outcomes.

Another exciting trend in CCIO/OB has been a focus on understanding work behavior through emic (i.e., culture-specific) constructs. For example, *guanxi* (the Chinese concept of the social relationships that facilitate networking; Huang & Wang, 2011) is mentioned in 36 articles in the *Academy of Management Journal (AMJ)* and in 16 articles in *JAP*. The Japanese constructs of *giri* (the extent to which obligations to roles and duties are fulfilled) and *taijimen* (the extent to which face is maintained) were also used to understand cultural differences in conflict (Gelfand et al., 2001). New dimensions have been added to existing constructs. For example, Ramesh and Gelfand (2010) expanded the job embeddedness model to include *family embeddedness*—a new construct salient in the Indian cultural context—to find that it explained variance in both India and the United States. As they noted, the study “draws attention to the fact that cross-cultural expansion of

theory can illuminate factors that are important in all cultures but might get limited attention” (p. 818; see also Rockstuhl, Dulebohn, Ang, & Shore, 2012; Wong, Tjosvold, & Yu, 2005).

During this period, articles in *JAP* have increasingly moved beyond comparisons across countries to explore complex dynamics in intercultural contexts (e.g., expatriate adjustment, multicultural teams, negotiation). For example, Stahl and Caligiuri (2005) studied the adaptation processes of Germans in Japan and the United States, and found that problem-focused rather than emotional coping strategies were more effective, particularly in high power distance contexts. Other articles compared the dynamics in multicultural and monocultural dyads and teams (Adair, Okumura, & Brett, 2001; Liu, Chua, & Stahl, 2010), and the types of leaders that are best suited for multicultural teams. For example, Lisak and Erez (2015) found that emergent leaders in multicultural virtual teams scored higher than other team members on their *glocal* identity (high global, high local identity; see also Greer, Homan, De Hoogh, and Den Hartog [2012], for an exploration of effective leaders of ethnically diverse teams).

Articles published in *JAP* during this time period have tested the generality of a wide range of classic IO/OB theories. These have included Karasek’s (1979) decision latitude model of work (Schaubroeck, Lam, & Xie, 2000), Graen and Uhl-Bien’s (1995) leader-member exchange theory (Rockstuhl et al., 2012), Rousseau’s (2000) psychological contract theory (Hui, Lee, & Rousseau, 2004), and Fitzgerald, Hulin, and Drasgow’s (1995) theory of sexual harassment (Wasti, Bergman, Glomb, & Drasgow, 2000). *JAP* also published several articles on the validity of scales used in different countries, such as personality inventories and measures of organizational citizenship, job satisfaction, resistance to change, and multisource feedback in performance evaluation, among others (e.g., Liu et al., 2010; Oreg et al., 2008). Several *JAP* articles also investigated complex interactions between culture and context. For example, Gelfand et al. (2013) used moderated mediation to show that descriptive norms can explain culture by context interactions in team and solo negotiations in the United States and Taiwan (see also Fisher, 2014, for a multilevel examination of role overload, empowering organizational climate, and culture).

Finally, we see increasing methodological sophistication of cross-cultural research published in *JAP* in this era. Research is increasingly moving beyond two country comparisons to explore, in some cases, over 20 countries (i.e., Atwater, Wang, Smither, & Fleenor, 2009; Peretz & Fried, 2012; Rockstuhl et al., 2012; Sturman, Shao, & Katz, 2012). Though still low in frequency, there have been several studies that have adopted a multiple method approach, which is particularly important in cross-cultural research (Gelfand, Raver, & Holcombe Ehrhart, 2002). Cultural differences are increasingly measured rather than assumed, and attention to translations and measurement equivalence, although still somewhat low, is gradually increasing.

### Summary: 100 Years of Cross-Cultural Research in *JAP*

In this hundred-year journey, we witness the evolution of cross-cultural IO/OB research. Across each historical period, from the early years to the mid- to late 20th century, to the 21st century and beyond, we can see how societal and intellectual

events dramatically affected the course of CCIO/OB science. The motivations for doing cross-cultural research are certainly diverse, be they testing the generalizability of Western theories; broadening existing theories; developing new measures and theories of cultural variation; comparing main, moderating, and/or multilevel effects across many areas of CCIO/OB; or examining the nature of intercultural interactions and biculturalism. However, the common denominator across all of these efforts has been recognizing the existence of cultural diversity and the desire to understand people’s values, norms, and behaviors across cultures. As the world is becoming increasingly more global, understanding cross-cultural similarities and differences will enable us to harness the cultural diversity across dispersed geographical zones and enhance people’s quality of life around the globe.

In many ways, the field has increased in its scope, diversity, and theoretical and methodological sophistication. Collectively, *JAP* published 102 papers from 1917 to 2014 that explicitly considered cultural variation, and an additional 50 papers appeared that included populations beyond the United States that did not have culture as their focus. Figures 1 through 3 illustrate that the diversity of samples, topics, and methods in CCIO/OB are increasing at dramatic rates. These figures also illustrate that although research published in *JAP* has generally not assessed aspects of culture (e.g., values, beliefs, norms) that potentially explain differences in work behavior, the rate of their assessment is steadily increasing, as is the assessment of measurement equivalence. Research is moving beyond main effects to examine culture as a moderator, and the presence of multilevel models is increasing in the field in general, and *JAP* in particular.

Yet amid the progress noted throughout this discussion it is important to emphasize that the attention to culture in the journal is actually remarkably low: Of the 9419 papers published in *JAP* between 1917 and 2014, the proportion of articles that explicitly focus on culture is only 1% (including nonwestern samples without a specific focus on culture in the analysis brings the total to 1.6%). Moreover, the scope of CCIO/OB is still very limited. Research on CCIO/OB sampled from a narrow range of countries, most notably Europe (34%), North America (27%), Asia (24%), Africa (3%), Australia (3%), and South and Central America (9%). As well, the articles reviewed in *JAP* showed a high level of Western dominance: 66% of first authors were American. This is similar to Tsui, Nifadkar, and Ou’s (2007) analysis of cross-cultural organizational science in which they found that 68% of the studies’ first authors were from the U.S. and remarkably, 100% of the 69 unique first authors were from countries characterized as having “high human development” (see Kirkman & Law, 2005, for a review of trends in international management research in *AMJ*). This dominance, though largely unintentional, restricts the potential of a truly global organizational science in terms of the questions asked, the constructs developed, and the conclusions reached. Overall, the immense potential for globalization in the field has yet to be tapped even despite societal and intellectual trends and global issues that warrant understanding cultural variation and universality.



## The Next 100 Years of Cross-Cultural I/O OB Research

In this final section, we take the opportunity to highlight our vision for the next 100 years of culture research in IO/OB in general, and in *JAP* in particular. As we discuss at length in the following sections, the field should build on the momentum occurring on numerous theoretical, methodological, and empirical fronts. In this next 100 years, we need to (a) broaden the questions we ask in CCIO/OB, (b) give more attention to the conceptualization and operationalization of culture, (c) make dynamic perspectives of culture more of the norm than the exception, (d) have an increased focus on intercultural interactions and the global context of work, (e) take the meaning of constructs across cultures more seriously, and (f) increase the methodological and disciplinary perspectives devoted to the study of culture in IO/OB. Each is discussed in turn.

### Broadening the Questions We Ask in CCIO/OB

Philosophers of science have long argued that science is value-laden (Kuhn, 1962; Lefkowitz, 2003). As Sampson (1978) specifically noted, “modern science emerged within a particular sociohistorical context [in which] the values of liberalism, individualism, capitalism, and male dominance [are] primary” (p. 1334). Importantly, these values profoundly affect the questions we find worthy of study as well as those that we do not (Gelfand, Leslie, & Fehr, 2008).

CCIO/OB research is no exception; it has largely been pioneered in the United States and the West, and is laden with culture-specific values and sociopolitical realities that risk being exported to other cultures. For example, Gelfand et al. (2008) noted that theories and research questions in CCIO/OB largely reflect a cultural model of the independent self, emphasizing individual differences, freedom of choice, and the pursuit of happiness and personal satisfaction, which is made possible in countries in which there is affluence, industrialization, and relative social tranquility (Inglehart, 2000). Yet in contrast, millions of individuals around the globe face daily realities of poverty, conflict, terrorism, and corruption—where basic needs and safety concerns loom large—necessitating that different research questions be asked that are not only vital to individuals but to societal development. As Gelfand et al. noted, in these contexts,

the science of job security and unemployment might take precedence over the science of job satisfaction and commitment; the criteria for selection systems might focus less on objectivity and validity, and more on the legitimization of subjectivity and nepotism . . . the focus of training . . . might be on basic skills such as literacy. (p. 29)

Other Western values permeate our theories and questions asked in CCIO/OB. For example, Western cultures prioritize *boundaries* (e.g., between work and family, religion and state), yet such boundaries do not necessarily apply in other cultures. The influence of religion in the workplace, for example, is rarely examined in CCIO/OB, yet is likely important in many countries in the world. In all, we argue that in the next 100 years of research in CCIO/OB, we need to be mindful that the theories we develop and questions we ask may be laden with Western

concerns, and we must strive to ask new questions that reflect other societal values, assumptions, and sociopolitical realities.

### Operationalization of Culture Through Measurement and Attention to Levels of Analysis

The CCIO/OB scholarly community needs to engage in deep, critical, and multidisciplinary understanding of what culture is and how it should be best captured. We believe that CCIO/OB should embrace *conceptual diversity* when it comes to understanding and modeling culture, yet also must be *precise* regarding the level of theory and measurement being advanced. Gelfand et al. (2008) describe various forms of culture that could be of interest in CCIO/OB, including those at the *individual level* (personal values, subjective cultural press), the *unit level* (additive culture, or averages of individual values vs. cultural descriptive norms, or averages of perceived descriptive norms), as well as those that reflect *dispersion* (variance in values or perceived descriptive norms), all of which might have different influences on I/O OB phenomena.

Indeed, the recent special issue of the *Journal of International Business Studies* entitled “What is Culture and How Do We Measure It?” (Devinney, Kirkman, Caprar, & Caligiuri, 2015) provides additional frameworks for the measurement of culture, cultural diversity, and cultural distance. For example, drawing on topology and matrix algebra, Venaik and Midgley (2015) proposed a methodology called “archetypal analysis” as an alternative to a value-based approach to measurement of culture. Archetypes are perfect theoretical representations of *configurations* of values shared by a group. The transnational archetypes identified by the authors cut across different countries and represent the “etic,” whereas the subnational archetypes (i.e., unique configurations of value) represent the “emic” aspect of culture. Hence, this methodology offers a novel way of reconciling the etic–emic tension. Likewise, building on methodologies from economics, political science, and ethnography, Luiz (2015) proposed an alternative methodology to assess intranational diversity and cultural distance, which he referred to as “ethno-linguistic fractionalization.” Future research can use this index to answer such questions as whether or not expatriates or multinational corporations perform better in heterogeneous, rather than homogenous, cultures (see also Mohr & Ghaziani [2014], for advances in sociology to improve clarity in the conceptualization and operationalization of culture).

In the next 100 years, the literature also needs to move beyond studying culture at the national level. National boundaries, some of which are admittedly arbitrary, may not always offer the most appropriate unit of analysis to study culture (see Fischer, 2009; Taras et al., 2016). As noted, recent research has discovered cultural differences (i.e., in values and the strength of norms) across the lines of socioeconomic class, profession, religion, ethnic groups, age cohorts, and regions within countries (e.g., Harrington & Gelfand, 2014; Luiz, 2015; Markus & Conner, 2014; Ronen & Shenkar, 2013; Taras et al., 2010). We need to develop more complex models that simultaneously examine how multiple levels of culture—such as global, national, regional, state, community, industry, organizational, and team levels—affect behavior in organizations. We also need to

understand how national culture dynamically interacts with SES, gender, and age, among other demographic and personality attributes, to affect work behavior. More generally, with the advent of multilevel modeling techniques, it is possible to examine many different models of cultural influence, ranging from single-level models to cross-level direct and cross-level moderated models of culture, as well as to model the simultaneous influence of different sources of culture on units, teams, and individuals (e.g., mixed-determinant models; Kozlowski & Klein, 2000; see also Gelfand et al., 2008).

### Dynamic Perspectives of Culture Should Become the Norm, Not the Exception

Research has clearly shown that culture can be as important of a predictor of organizational phenomena as other variables such as demographics and personality traits (Taras et al., 2010). We believe the time has now come to devote more attention to the questions of under what conditions and for which type of criteria do cross-cultural differences matter the most? Taras et al. (2010), for example, showed that cultural differences may be moderated by the type of organizational outcome under investigation, and that the predictive power of cultural values can be stronger for certain populations, including employed populations versus students, older rather than younger respondents, men compared with women, more educated populations rather than less educated ones, and in tight rather than loose societies.

Other contingencies under which cultures' consequences vary need to be examined in the next 100 years. Aycan (2005), for example, argued that the impact of culture on HRM would be less evident in large, publically traded organizations, or those operating in industries that use sophisticated technologies (e.g., IT sector), compared with small to medium sized family-owned organizations or those operating in industries that use semiskilled employees (e.g., manufacturing). Similarly, Gibson, Maznevski, and Kirkman (2009) proposed that culture's impact will be more pronounced on individuals who are high in conformity, conscientiousness, openness, and adaptability, as well as among individuals who had have high identification with their own culture and low exposure to other cultures. The authors also identified contingencies under which culture's impact was stronger on groups, such as when group identification, cohesion, and homogeneity is high, and group polarization is low.

Theory is needed to explain precisely why and how situational contingencies intensify or exacerbate cross-cultural differences. For example, the situated dynamics (SD) framework of culture by Leung and Morris (2015) expands the value-based view of culture to include schemas and norms, which are situation sensitive. The SD framework postulates that values play a stronger role in situations involving social adaptation signals or cues to moral/ethical decisions, whereas behavioral schemas or norms play a greater role in situations involving interpretive or behavioral tasks. The framework reconciles tensions between cultural stability and culture change by positing that some aspects of culture (e.g., values) are relatively consistent across time, whereas others (e.g., schemas and norms) are in flux with situational demands. Similarly, Zellmer-Bruhn and Gibson (2014) proposed a promising framework highlighting

the role of situational context, and in particular, the concept of intercultural interaction space to denote the physical, cognitive, and affective characteristics of the situation in which interactions occur and how these characteristics attenuate or augment cultural differences. In all, few *JAP* articles have focused on complex interactions between culture and context in the last 100 years. Future CCIO/OB research in *JAP* should go beyond the question of whether or not culture matters and focus on when and how it matters (see also Erez, Lee, & Van de Ven, 2015; Nouri et al., 2015; Zhou & Su, 2010).

### From Intracultural Comparisons With Intercultural Interactions and the Global Work Context

Although our review illustrates increasing complexity with which culture is theorized and studied, there still exists a dominant paradigm of studying culture as a static main effect, largely in correlational field studies. The future of culture research, we believe, will need to capture *cultural dynamics* (i.e., change and interaction) at all levels of analysis, including the dynamics of cultural frame shifting within individuals, the dynamics of intercultural negotiations and virtual teams, the multitude of factors that affect the success or failure of cross-cultural mergers and acquisitions, and large-scale cultural changes around the globe that result from rapid top-down and bottom-up ecological, demographic, and market forces.

Additionally, the increasingly globalized, networked world necessitates that we understand how the *global context* of a culturally diverse and geographically dispersed workforce changes our theories, research questions, and methodologies. Kraimer, Takeuchi, and Frese (2014) defined global work context to include

any job-related activities that involve interacting with people from other countries. Examples include interacting with customers or co-workers from foreign countries, working in cross-national teams, having extensive international travel requirements as part of the job, and living and working in a foreign country for extended periods of time (whether self- or corporate-initiated). (p. 6)

In the globalized work context, we expect more people to live and work in more than one culture, be it their home culture and host culture, or the global cultural context more generally.

This trend opens new and exciting research avenues for CCIO/OB scholars to address. First, how do we conceptualize and measure "global culture"? Although research has been published on the national culture and on subcultures at the organizational and team levels, there has been a dearth of attention to the meaning and impact of global culture. Second, how do people negotiate multiple identities depending on the demands of different contexts? Erez and colleagues argue that global work context contributes to the development of global identities independent of any national local identity (Erez & Gati, 2004; Erez et al., 2013; Shokey & Erez, 2008). Based on the recent theoretical advancements explained in previous sections, CCIO/OB research should investigate whether increasing exposure to the global work context attenuates cultural differences. For example, Glikson and Erez (2013) showed that variance in emotion display norms was smaller in the global context than in the local cultural contexts. In addition, it will be critical to examine how people manage cross-cultural interactions in the global work context. Given the

fact that cross-cultural interactions tend to be more “frequent, horizontal, unstructured, temporary, sporadic, and across global locations” (Zellmer-Bruhn & Gibson, 2014, p. 3), we must invest in theorizing and researching “cross-cultural interactions” more than we do in “cross-cultural differences.” Within this spirit, CCIO/OB research should be in closer contact with the cultural intelligence and diversity management literatures to develop theories capturing processes and outcomes of cross-cultural interactions. Finally, how do global teams work effectively? We expect a significant growth in the presence of multicultural virtual teams, given the fast development of information communication technologies (ICT; Gibson, Huang, Kirkman, & Shapiro, 2014). Future research should investigate how ICTs enable the emergence of shared norms in multicultural teams (see the special issue on culture and collaboration in *Journal of Organizational Behavior*: Salas & Gelfand, 2013). We should also have more research on global leaders who manage multicultural teams and identify what makes them successful in the global context (Lisak & Erez, 2015).

### Take Meaning of Constructs Across Cultures More Seriously

An important challenge for future CCIO/OB research is to explore “universal” constructs (i.e., etics) as well as “culturally embedded” unique constructs or (i.e., emics). We believe that discoveries of emic constructs and expanding our existing constructs to include emic dimensions will ultimately enable us to develop a truly global universal science.

Research is indeed increasingly illustrating that we need to expand upon many of our existing constructs for them to be relevant beyond the West. For example, the latent construct of personality for Chinese goes beyond the five-factor model of McCrae and Costa (1997) to include emic dimensions such as *Reng Qing* (adherence to norms of interaction), *Ah-Q* (externalization of blame), Harmony (inner peace and interpersonal harmony), and Face (e.g., F. M. Cheung et al., 1996). Similarly, organizational citizenship behaviors include additional dimensions such as self-training, protecting and saving company resources, and keeping the workplace clean among Chinese, and the behaviors that constitute the same dimensions as those in the Western literature vary in meaningful ways (Farh, Zhong, & Organ, 2004). Relatedly, Lowenstein and Mueller (2016) found significant differences across cultures in the meaning of creativity, with a broad meaning in China, including usefulness and, harmony, and a more narrow meaning of creativity in the United States (see also Gibson & Zellmer-Bruhn, 2001, for differences in metaphors for teams across cultures). Put differently, from a psychometric point of view, it is critical to ensure that our constructs are not *deficient*—that is, missing important dimensions that are relevant in other cultures. In this spirit, we caution that establishing measurement equivalence of scales through factor analysis does not guarantee universality of the constructs being studied.

More generally, there needs to be more institutional support for publishing indigenous or emic dimensions of constructs in the field. For example, emic constructs such as *guanxi*, *wasta*, *giri*, *taimen*, *paternalism*, *jeitinho*, and *yuan*, among others, need to be integrated into I/O OB research (see Smith, 2008; Tung & Aycan, 2008). We also need to be cognizant that research with U.S.

samples may represent culture-specific phenomena, that is, that of American, rather than “universal,” phenomena (e.g., Danziger, 2006).<sup>2</sup> Importantly, studying indigenous or emic phenomena, wherever they originate, is not incompatible with building a global science; indeed, it is the path to a truly universal science of psychology. As Pruitt (2004, p. xii) states, “Characteristics that are dominant in one culture tend to be recessive in another, and vice versa.” Moreover, by gaining knowledge on emic constructs, we can begin to build broader theories across cultures. For example, though *guanxi* has specific emic elements that define it, it also has some commonality with other constructs related to social capital (see Huang, & Wang, 2011; Qi, 2013; Smith, Huang, Harb, & Torres, 2012).

We would also argue that the development of such constructs is not only important for science—indeed, Marsden (1991) argues that sustainable national and organizational development is more likely if emic or indigenous constructs are understood and utilized better:

Indigenous knowledge . . . may be the basis for building more sustainable development strategies, because they begin from where the people are, rather than from where development experts would like them to be. It is commonly maintained that these indigenous knowledge systems, if articulated properly, will provide the bases for increasing productivity. (p. 31)

Capturing emic realities is therefore critical for ultimately advancing practice.

### Methodological and Disciplinary Diversity Should be a Priority

As culture is a complex phenomenon, we must strive to have methodological and epistemological diversity in the field. For example, we need to complement existing quantitative methods with those that are more qualitative in nature, the latter of which received no attention in CCI/OOB research published in *JAP* during the last 100 years (see Cole, 2006; Vygotsky & Wollock, 1997; and see Karasz & Singelis, 2009 for a special issue of the *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* on qualitative and mixed methodologies in cross-cultural research). Likewise, other experimental methodologies, such as priming cultural values (e.g., Cohen, Montoya, & Insko, 2006; Oyserman & Lee, 2008), should complement field and qualitative data. Indeed, we observed that few studies in *JAP* utilize multiple methods, which is essential for triangulation and ruling out rival hypotheses (Gelfand et al., 2002). More broadly, it will be critical for CCIO/OB scholars to partner with scholars in other disciplines, including those in computer science, linguistics, neuroscience, biology, and history, among others, to increase our theoretical and methodological diversity. Rapid developments in cognitive neuroscience have stimulated the emergence of new fields, such as “cultural neuroscience” and

<sup>2</sup> In our review of *JAP* articles, we observed that almost all of the *JAP* articles with non-U.S. samples included a sentence of caveat about the generalizability of findings to other cultural contexts, whereas no such warning was evident in articles with U.S. samples, which tend to assume that the phenomenon is generalizable rather than unique to Americans. As a general practice, we believe that all articles should question whether findings are generalizable to other contexts and under what conditions they may or may not.

“sociogenetics” (e.g., Minkov et al., 2015; see also Chiao & Blizinsky, 2010; Mrazek, Chiao, Blizinsky, Lun, & Gelfand, 2013). As well, integrating computer science perspectives into cross-cultural research is increasingly yielding new insights into the evolution of cultural differences relevant to I/O and OB (see Nowak, Gelfand, Borkowski, Cohen, & Hernandez, 2016; Roos, Gelfand, Nau, & Carr, 2014; Roos, Gelfand, Nau, & Lun, 2015). It is our hope that *JAP* will encourage submissions by interdisciplinary and international teams featuring state-of-the-art approaches to allow for a deeper understanding of what culture is and how it should be best captured.

### Conclusion

Cross-cultural research in *JAP* has evolved significantly over the last 100 years. Although culture was largely ignored in the early years and through the mid-20th century, there has been a great increase in the momentum in the field, particularly in the last decade, that promises to continue in the next 100 years. Cross-cultural research is needed more than ever to understand and leverage similarities and differences in an ever-more increasingly globalized and interdependent world.

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