

International and Cultural Variations in Employee Assistance Programmes: Implications for Managerial Health and Effectiveness*

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ABSTRACT While employee assistance programmes (EAPs) are becoming commonplace in large Western organizations, little is known regarding their prevalence in non-Western cultures. In this paper, we provide a framework for understanding the prevalence of EAPs in four distinct cells of societal culture-based variations. A cultural matrix for analysing the relative emphases of styles of coping, social support systems, rites and rituals, and the prevalence of EAPs is developed. The implications for managerial health and effectiveness in the global context are discussed.

INTRODUCTION

Over the past four decades physicians, community health officials, organizational psychologists, and occupational therapists have noted the dysfunctional effects of stress on productivity and health (Kahn and Byosiere, 1992; Quick et al, 2003, 1987). Recently, layoffs, downsizing, and especially outsourcing of jobs, in global corporations have continued to take their toll on displaced workers, managers, and their families. Those who remain also suffer from stressful consequences associated with increased workload and survivor guilt (Brockner, 1992; Brockner et al., 1987). In an in-depth qualitative study of executive loyalties in an age of corporate restructuring, Heckscher (1995) introduced the concept of 'white collar blues' — a complex syndrome of distress resulting from increased workloads and conflicting feelings of loyalty to one's company and one's career. This syndrome is particularly salient when an organization experiences restructuring and decline. Managers, in particular, are prone to working longer hours, experience continued and conflicting job demands. White collar blues have increased not only in the industrialized and developed parts of the world, but in other emerging economies that are undergoing rapid globalization. A majority of these countries such as China and India are culturally dissimilar from the West (Wright et al., 2005). Furthermore, there is

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evidence that issues of adaptation to the global rhythm of work are causing problems of psychological distress and other negative affective outcomes (Baker et al., 2004).

One systematic approach that is designed to manage these dysfunctional stressors, whether they originate from work or non-work sources, is called the Employee Assistance Programme (EAP). An EAP, sponsored by an organization, offers a range of psychological services to cope with emotional difficulties, family issues, substance abuse, financial problems, and legal issues, and other problems (Cooper et al., 2003). Senior managers of work organizations are generally in favour of those programmes that are designed to address individual health concerns (i.e. physical disabilities, various handicaps, etc) and other personal difficulties (i.e. stressful life experiences resulting from marital resolution, marital difficulties, financial hardships, etc) that may adversely affect the productivity of the workforce. EAPs are important institutional mechanisms for promoting health and emotional well-being, retaining valued employees, reducing absenteeism, and improving performance effectiveness (Cooper et al., 2003; Kirk and Brown, 2003; Ruiz, 2006). For example, when Campbell's Soup Company of the USA incorporated mental health treatment and counselling into its EAPs, medical costs associated with visits to mental health specialists and psychiatrists decreased 28 per cent within a year (Stetzer, 1992).

Our survey of the EAP literature reveals that EAPs occur more frequently in the affluent Western countries (e.g. USA, UK, Sweden) and are somewhat rare in other non-Western parts of the world (e.g. much of Asia, Latin America, Africa, and Republics of the former Soviet Union). Only 13 per cent of the 4412 members of the Employee Assistance Program Association (EAPA, 1994) are from outside the United States (Masi, 2003).

However, with the spread of globalization to non-Western parts of the world (such as China, India, Southeast Asia, Brazil), EAPs and similar institutional mechanisms are beginning to evolve in these parts of the world (Kramer et al., 2001; Masi, 2003). EAPs may now be available in countries where government sponsored health and welfare services have historically been either minimal or non-existent. Since 2000, EAP associations that are separate from the US based Employee Assistance Program Association (EAPA) have emerged in Europe, Asia, Central America and South America. Overall eight EAP organizations exist worldwide (Masi, 2003). Given the significance of EAPs to organizations, the question that arises now is to what extent EAPs — a primarily Western development — can be applied and implemented to non-Western cultures. In other words, can multi-national global organizations realistically implement a 'one size fits all' approach in dealing with employee health and well-being in dissimilar cultural and geographical locales? Implementing EAPs without examining their societal and cultural underpinnings might lead to unintended consequences in what was intended to improve health and effectiveness (Buon, 2000).

In this paper, we: (1) examine the nature of international and cross cultural variations in the evolution and existence of employee assistance programmes; (2) provide a culture specific framework for classifying prevalence of EAPs around the globe; (3) present a cultural matrix that examines the relative importance and existence of EAPs compared with individual styles of coping, social support mechanisms, and culture-specific rites and rituals of the various cultures; and (4) discuss implications of this matrix for managerial health and effectiveness in the global context. These implications are designed to provide

theoretical insights for multinational and global corporations for implementing EAPs while recognizing the simultaneous importance of other culture-specific methods of coping with stressful experiences.

EAPs: AN INTERNATIONAL AND CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

A comprehensive review of the EAP literature including scholarly, professional and trade publications of the last decade was conducted. Our goal was to identify major trends in the area as they relate to international and cross cultural variations in EAPs. We found that most of the studies on EAPs are conducted in the USA and the West European countries — a trend also reported in Cooper et al. (2003). Given that the EAP literature is not sufficiently theoretically robust, we decided to probe into trade publications and other practitioner-based literature. These reports are generally limited to surveys of the number of EAPs that exist and other anecdotal practitioner based accounts (Ichikawa, 2000; Iwasaki, 2000, 2001; Lambardi and Lardani, 2002; Matsumoto, 2001; Pensel and Lambardi, 2001). Our survey shows that EAPs are beginning to emerge in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and Japan. Also, there are some brief descriptions pertaining to the need for redesigning EAPs according to the cultural values and expectations of these countries (Iwasaki, 2000; Lambardi and Lardani, 2002; Pagani-Tousignant, 2000). While there are some preliminary studies of EAP interventions (e.g. Iwasaki, 2000, 2001) and some discussion of expatriate adjustment (e.g. Bennett, 2000; Pensel and Lambardi, 2001; Vercruysee, 2002; Yu et al., 2005), we found no systematic research investigations into the interplay of international and cultural-specific factors and their roles in fostering the evolution, maintenance, and growth of EAPs around the globe. In order to lay the groundwork for research, we explore the fundamental theoretical assumptions of EAPs and develop a framework for understanding the differential emphases of EAPs, as well as other culture specific methods for coping with stressful experiences and managing stressful events in different parts of the world.

THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS

EAPs are grounded in the humanistic paradigms of Western organizational behaviour that organizations have a moral responsibility to come to the aid of an individual employee when he or she is experiencing difficult times. This paradigm emphasizes that organizations should meet the needs of their employees in order for them to remain productive and satisfied despite stressful experiences in their work and non-work lives. With a humanistic orientation as their foundation, EAPs in the USA, Canada, Western Europe, and Australia deliver a range of services for managing work and life stress, substance abuse, and work—family conflict related issues. Some also provide referrals for financial and legal services, child and elder care. However, our survey of the existing literature reveals that these humanistic values may not necessarily be the foundation in the development and design of EAPs in non-Western contexts. In Latin America, for example, providing an individual with employment opportunities is often considered adequate (Pagani-Tousignant, 2000). The difficult situations that an employee might encounter in his or her life are not necessarily considered central to the organization's

goals and effectiveness (Pagani-Tousignant, 2000). Such is often the case in countries with high unemployment rates (i.e. Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria, Republics of former Soviet Union etc). In these countries, finding an adequate replacement for an employee experiencing stressful situations is easier and is often preferred by the employing organization. However, in countries characterized by low unemployment rates (i.e. The Netherlands, USA, UK, Sweden, etc) the employing organizations prefer to provide suitable EAPs for helping the employee deal with stressful situations and not necessarily look for alternative employment.

Furthermore, there may be social stigmas associated with visiting a counsellor or psychiatrist in many parts of the world. Some societies emphasize the belief that problems that adversely affect a person's psychological well-being should only be shared with members of their immediate family, close friends, or in-group (Ichikawa, 2000; Lambardi and Lardani, 2002; Pagani-Tousignant, 2000; Pensel and Lambardi, 2001). Consistent with these observations, we find that EAPs have poor utilization rates in non-Western organizations i.e. 3—10 per cent in Argentina, and 3.6 per cent in Japan (Iwasaki, 2000; Lambardi and Lardani, 2002; Pensel and Lambardi, 2001). A careful examination of the reasons for the low utilization rates of EAPs in non-Western companies shows that they are rooted in the fundamental beliefs, practices, and values of the culture. In countries with a collectivistic orientation (where the individual is more concerned with goals of the in-group and the collective to which he or she belongs than with his or her personal goals), issues such as caring for the elderly and domestic violence are regarded as problems to be solved by the family and in-group members than by professional counsellors provided by the employing organization. In countries guided by socialist and communist ideologies, it is expected that the governmental agencies should intervene when stressful incidents in the workforce become widespread and begin to adversely affect worker productivity and morale.

As globalization spreads to different parts of the world, EAPs are increasingly offered by multi-national and global corporations for their expatriates in order to help them cope with various stages of transitions that accompany their employment in dissimilar cultural contexts. Culture shock, relocation of families, adjustment pressures in foreign locales and finally repatriations are often quite stressful (Thomas, 2002; Ward et al., 2001). Some EAPs are also designed to assist expatriate managers to deal with the pressures and destabilizing effects that often accompany the process of relocation from one's familiar cultural context to a dissimilar one in the foreign locale. Given the prevalence of EAPs for expatriate managers, one is inclined to think that the evolution and diffusion of EAPs in non-Western contexts can be largely attributed to the success of various EAPs provided by Western multinational and global organizations in their subsidiaries in non-Western countries.

However, we find that this process of diffusing the importance of EAPs in non-Western cultures is slow. Indeed, it seems clear that organizations located in affluent, Anglo-Saxon, and individualistic countries (i.e. USA, UK, Australia) are able to offer EAPs on a scale that cannot be matched by developing countries and emerging economies (i.e. Venezuela, Mexico, Egypt, Nigeria, China, India, and Brazil). Japan and South Korea are two countries which do not fit this pattern. Both of these countries are highly industrialized and developed and organizations in these countries do provide some form

of EAP. However, even in these two countries we do not find evidence of strong networks of EAP providers. Reports of company specific EAP activities in global corporations such as Toyota Corporation, Mitsubishi, Sony in Japan and Samsung, Lucky and Goldstar, and Hyundai in South Korea are not often mentioned in trade and related professional publications. It seems that the scientific discourse dealing with the benefits and related standardization procedures of EAPs are more prevalent in Western countries in sharp contrast to non-Western countries, however developed or affluent they may be (Cooper et al., 2003; Masi, 2003).

Although competition in the global marketplace has implications for managerial health, well-being, and effectiveness for domestic companies, it is clearly more important for multi-national and global corporations. These corporations must deal with the challenges of managing diverse workforces in dissimilar national and cultural contexts. As competition in the global marketplace intensifies, there will be increased concerns for designing EAPs that are isomorphic with national, economic, political, legal and cultural expectations. Competition among multi-national and global organizations is changing all the time and becoming more complex. Such competition induces both continuous and abrupt changes in the employment practices which exacerbate stressful experiences in the workplace (Heckscher, 1995). Such changes have been further accelerated by rapid changes in technology and innovation, faster modes for processing data, information and knowledge, and increased demographic ethnic diversity. Therefore, these competitive forces have made an organization's human resource strategy one of the most important determinants of its future competitive advantage (Stewart, 1997). This will result in greater concern in multinational and global organizations for the health and well-being of the workforce and an increased attention on the complex processes of applying and implementing EAPs across national boundaries and cultures.

PREVALENCE AND EMERGENCE OF EAPs: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As noted earlier, there are strong national and cultural variations in the design, implementation, and effectiveness of these EAPs. In Figure 1, we present a scheme for examining the prevalence of EAPs in four different grids of societal culture-based variations. The four cells of the framework that are relevant to examining the prevalence of EAPs around the globe are *vertical individualism*, *vertical collectivism*, *horizontal individualism*, and *horizontal collectivism* (Triandis, 1995, 1998, 2002).

Culture is to a society what memory is to an individual (Triandis, 1994a, 1995). It is our thesis that such variations uniquely reflect how various cultures approach coping with stressful experiences regardless of whether their origins are work or non-work related. It should be noted that because one's culture helps shape one's beliefs, attitudes, lifestyles, sense of causality, etc, individuals from different cultural groups differ from one another in numerous and profound ways. One should not assume because some universals exist in human behaviour that people from dissimilar cultures will react similarly to identical stressful episodes or experiences. To be Japanese is to experience the world very differently from someone who is European, and this point must be carefully considered

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| Vertical | In Vertical Individualistic Countries (e.g. USA, UK) EAPs are mostly institutional, company driven | In Vertical Collectivistic Countries (e.g. India, Japan) Less frequent in number and are generally a function of the state of globalization and economic well-being of the population in the country |
| | In Horizontal Individualistic Countries (e.g. Australia, Sweden) Strongly embedded in social, legal, and political framework | In Horizontal Collectivistic Countries (e.g. Egypt, Israeli Kibbutzim) Existence of EAPs largely unknown; where known are highly dependent on the nature of social relations found in the country |
| Horizontal | Individualism | Collectivism |

Figure 1. Prevalence of EAPs in four different cells of societal culture-based variations.

as one examines the nature of distribution or the prevalence of EAPs in four cultural grids as presented in Figure 1.

In our view, the societal culture-based variation of individualism-collectivism provides a crucial point of departure in our analysis relating to the prevalence of EAPs as depicted in Figure 1. Individualism and collectivism are social patterns that define cultural syndromes (Hofstede, 2001; Triandis, 1994a, 1995, 1998, 2002). Individualism is denned as a social pattern that consists of loosely linked individuals who view themselves as independent of their collectives or social groups and who are primarily motivated by their distinct set of preferences, needs, rights, and contracts. Collectivism, in contrast, is denned as a social pattern that consists of closely linked individuals who see themselves as belonging to one or more collectives (e.g. family, co-workers, in-groups, organizations, etc) and are motivated by norms, duties, and obligations imposed by the collectives. Work organizations in collectivistic contexts are strongly inclined to provide appropriate social support mechanisms in the context of one's immediate work environment, but are unlikely to foster the kind of formal EAPs which are prevalent in the West. In fact, vertical collectivistic countries (e.g. China, India, Egypt, Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, and Turkey) are more likely to emphasize social support related initiatives in dealing with stressful experiences compared to individualistic countries (e.g. USA, Canada, UK, Australia, Sweden, Denmark, and The Netherlands). This thesis is consistent with a number of research findings (Hall, 1976; Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars, 2000; Hofstede, 2001; Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005; Michailova and Hutchings, 2006; Trompenaars, 1993).

Verticalness is concerned with propensity of the members of a culture to stand out (i.e. be different) from others in their significant circle of friends, associates, neighbours, etc. Members of vertical societies view people as differing in social status and they think it is appropriate, even highly desirable, to stand out from the crowd (Triandis, 1998). Hori-

zontals, on the other hand, see themselves as people who have more or less the same status as others in their significant circle of friends, family, etc. Horizontals do not like to stand out from others. This cultural pattern emerges when the individuals see their concept of *selves* as an integral aspect of the in-group, family, and community. In this context, one's concept of self strongly overlaps with those of the members of one's in-group and there is strong uniformity in likes and dislikes concerning in virtually all aspects of life. The Israeli kibbutz is an example of a horizontal collectivistic cultural pattern (Triandis, 1998).

The state of globalization of the country and the degree of economic affluence also influence the prevalence of EAPs in the countries in the vertical collectivistic cell (Figure 1). As a general rule (see Hofstede, 2001; Triandis, 1994b), individualistic countries such as the USA and Sweden are generally more affluent and emphasize EAPs more than collectivistic countries. This is true regardless of whether the countries have vertical or horizontal orientation. As discussed earlier, with the exception of Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, and Singapore as examples of collectivistic countries where some forms of EAPs are available, most collectivistic countries do not emphasize EAPs nearly to the extent they are emphasized in individualistic countries. In making this observation we should note that these four countries have had considerable Western economic influence and investment in developing their market economies after World War II. However, even with this Western influence, global organizations in these countries tend to have some limited form of EAPs and their range of services offered is considerably limited.

In vertical individualistic countries, EAPs are more systematic in character and offered by human resource management departments. There is a strong concern for maintaining the privacy of the individuals and their families as reflected in recent legislations in the USA, such as Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act (HIPAA). Because overt expression of emotions and distress in the workplace are discouraged in the vertical individualistic context such as the USA (Sanchez-Burks, 2002, 2004), EAPs are designed to provide support so that employees can maintain acceptable role performance and function well in the workplace. Employers recognize that stressful encounters of either chronic or episodic nature adversely affect employee functioning and it is perhaps best to leave it up to the employees to solve their stress related reactions with the help of EAPs provided within the institutional context.

In horizontal collectivistic contexts, EAPs are largely unknown. Of course, it should be emphasized that these societies are relatively poor, i.e. not affluent in economic resources and are often not participating in global and transnational commerce. The Israeli kibbutz, Mongolia and parts of rural China and Africa are examples of these societies. Organizations in these societies are unlikely to possess the necessary economic and institutional resources for offering EAPs.

In our survey of the literature, we found that EAPs are institutionalized much more effectively by the governmental and public agencies in the cultural context of horizontal individualism such as in Denmark, Norway, and Finland. Sweden and Australia are two good examples of horizontal individualistic countries where the primary thrust for the evolution, sustenance and growth of these EAPs comes from governmental initiatives. There is a strong sense of social well-being inherent in the political, social and legal framework of these countries. This is in contrast to what we found in the case of vertical

individualistic countries (e.g. USA, UK, Canada), where the thrust for institutionalizing these programmes lies more in the private sector. Even though various governmental and quasi-governmental agencies in the USA, such as the National Institute of Occupational Health and Safety (NIOSH), National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), and the Occupational Health and Safety Administration (OSHA) etc, may play some role in assisting company sponsored EAPs to function more effectively, the fact remains that the primary initiative has to originate from the human resources management departments of the organizations. Top management support for implementing these programmes is also essential for their effectiveness. Next, we present a cultural matrix of EAPs, styles of coping, social support mechanisms, and culture-specific rites and rituals of the various cultures in order to examine their relative importance in different cultural contexts.

A CULTURAL MATRIX OF EAPs, STYLES OF COPING, SOCIAL SUPPORT, RITES AND RITUALS

One associates the experience of stress with the frantic, rushed lifestyles of post-industrial, information intensive societies such as the USA, UK, Germany, France, etc. There is no doubt that the USA, in particular, with its strong inclination towards vertical individualism, has a noted tendency for generating its own culture-specific types of stressful encounters and experiences. For example, being a few minutes late often calls for an apology in the USA, while such apologies are generally unnecessary in collectivistic countries such as Mexico, Brazil, Egypt, etc. The experience of stress is a fundamental and universal aspect of human existence. However, its existence is pervasive not only in modern industrialized and information societies, but also in emergent economies and developing countries. Hooker (2003) noted that cultural patterns as well as various religions evolve in dissimilar fashions in order to deal with different kinds of environmental and ecological stressors that are present in different parts of the world. Far from being a country which has a monopoly on the ongoing experience of stressful encounters, the USA and other industrialized countries in the G-8 network have enjoyed one of the least stressful environments in the world. The kinds of stressors that Americans and other members of the industrialized world experience tend to differ from those of the developing world (Hooker, 2003). The environments of the industrialized societies are basically stable and predictable (Triandis, 1994a). When one rises in the morning and switches on the light, one does not worry about whether it will work or not. One does not anticipate major problems in getting to work, but when a problem occurs, one may experience some symptoms of stress. When one arrives at work, there is a high probability that one's job will still be there. Until recently, one did not have to worry about terrorist attacks in metropolitan areas of the USA and Western Europe.

In contrast, there are areas of the world where the electrical supply systems gets disrupted frequently, the transportation system is often unreliable, and the blood supply at the hospitals (if it exists in the first place) may be contaminated with hepatitis or HIV. The food and water supplies may also be similarly contaminated or scarce, and the economy is often paralysed by hyperinflation and bouts of massive unemployment. The national government may be in a constant state of fiscal crisis. Corruption characterizes

many governmental decisions and transactions. Terrorist acts are also frequent. These experiences are inherently stressful to citizens of these countries (Hooker, 2003).

In dealing with these stresses and stressful events, each country (with the exception of a few pre-industrial societies) provides its own culture-specific mechanisms for coping and adaptation. Such mechanisms evolve over time and are designed to cope with stresses regardless of whether they are primarily psychological (i.e. as is the case in affluent vertical individualistic countries of Western Europe and the USA), or physiological and environmental (i.e. as is the case in Sub-Saharan Africa and in the majority of countries of Northern Africa, Mongolia, and western China). In our view, these culture-specific mechanisms and distinct world views for coping with stresses can be conceptualized and classified in terms of the two dimensions of culture. The first dimension is concerned with the appropriateness of expressing emotions versus controlling one's emotions so that they do not interfere with judgmental processes. We call this dimension *Affective versus Rational* — a concept similar to Trompenaars' (1993) neutral vs. affective relationships. *Affective* cultures encourage expression of emotion as it relates to others. In a business situation, managers of affective cultures such as Brazil, Mexico, Italy, and Turkey may openly express emotions such as frustration, anger, or joy more freely compared to members of *rational* cultures such as the USA, UK, Singapore, and Japan.

The second dimension is concerned with the distinction between *rule-based* and *relationship-based*. Relationship-based cultures are the oldest in historical terms and the most prevalent type in terms of their geographic distribution (Hooker, 2003). Individual behaviour is largely regulated by members of one's clan, sometimes peers, but usually superiors such as parents, older siblings, bosses, or government officials. Children are likely to be watched and socialized by the entire community. Good examples of relationship-based cultures are found in the majority of the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The People's Republic of China, India, Egypt, Zimbabwe (formerly the British colony of Rhodesia), and Colombia are also good examples of relationship-based countries. For example, the President of one Chinese University from the People's Republic of China was sympathetic to the needs of a faculty member, a friend of one of the authors of this paper, whose son needed some help in getting admission to a good university. His performance on the national merit examination was not adequate for getting admission to the leading universities of China. The President of the University worked closely with the concerned faculty member and his son and found them a suitable alternative. Such incidents are rare in rule oriented cultures — the President of an University does not get involved with assisting a faculty member with his/her personal concerns.

Rule-based cultures, on the other hand, are much more concerned about doing things by adhering to established rules and procedures. One cannot walk into a park or walk onto a public beach without noticing a set of rules that one must abide by. Commercial agreements are often ratified by written contracts and disputes are settled by appeals to volumes of regulations, case law, and statutory law. It is not uncommon to find lawyers advising their clients who might wish to have an affair with a co-worker in the rule-based and highly litigious USA to draw up written contracts with their lovers, to avoid possible charges of sexual harassment or discrimination. However irrational and unnecessary such contracts might appear to be from the perspective of relationship-oriented societies,

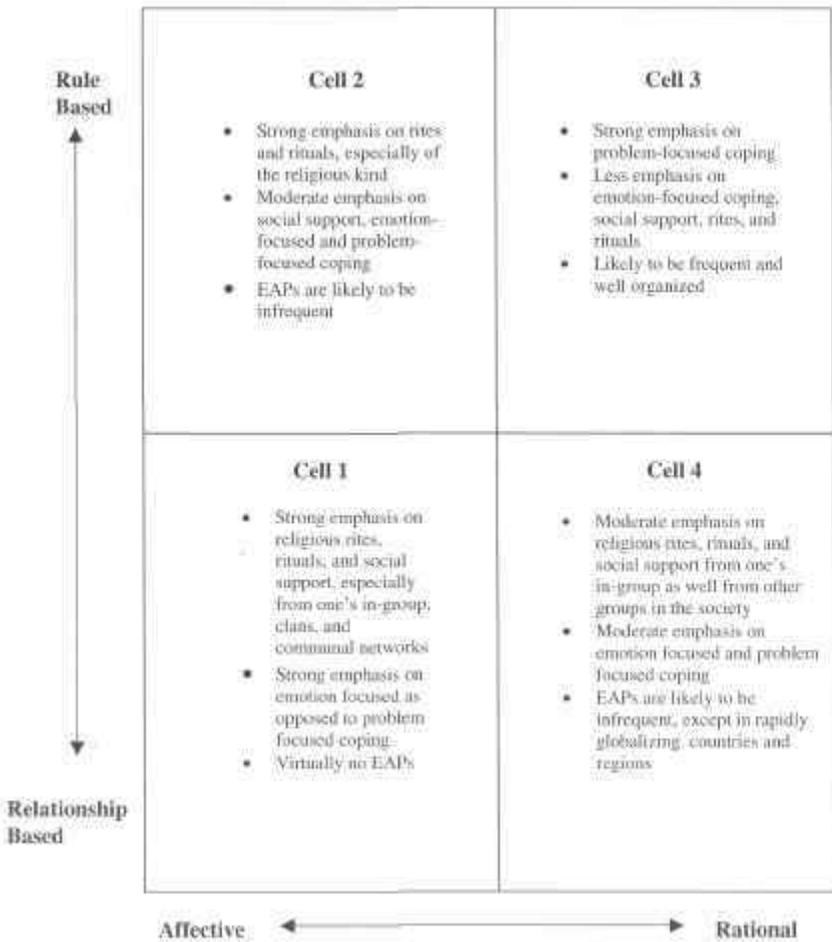


Figure 2. A cultural matrix of styles of coping, social support, rites and rituals and differential emphasis of EAPs

the fact remains that rule-based societies have rules, regulations, and procedures and they form the cornerstone in the conduct of human and organizational affairs.

The cultural matrix presented in Figure 2 is based on the application of the two dimensions as discussed. As shown in this figure, these two dimensions are relevant not only for explaining the differential emphasis of two distinct styles of coping, but also for the therapeutic roles of rites and rituals and social support mechanisms that different cultural contexts provide. *Problem-focused coping* is a proactive attempt to alter or manage the situation (e.g. 'Got the person responsible for creating the excess workload to change his or her mind' or 'Made a plan of action and worked on it'). In contrast, *emotion-focused coping* is an attempt to reduce or manage distress associated with the onset of stress (e.g. 'Looked for the silver lining in the cloud', 'Tried to look on the brighter side of things', or 'God willing things are going to get better in the near future'). These coping styles are rooted in the classic work of Lazarus and his colleagues (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984) and have been found to be relevant in cross-national contexts (Bhagat et al., 1994, 2004).

Rites and rituals in a culture serve as important mechanisms for regulating the effects of a highly uncertain, stressful environment. These culture based mechanisms help interpret stresses and stressful events by appraising them selectively and in cognitive terms (Rothbaum et al., 1982; Segovis et al., 1985). A sense of coherence emerges that makes the experience of stressful life and work events more tolerable (Antonovsky, 1979). The positive effect of rites and rituals is also found in research on 'faith and spirituality' (Plante and Sherman, 2001). Social support has long been recognized as an effective mechanism for coping with stresses (Haslam and Reicher, 2006; Kuo and Tsai, 1986; Quick et al., 1997; Semmer, 2003; Spiclberger et al., 2003; Thompson and Prottas, 2006). The fact that one's network of superiors, co-workers, associates, family and friends can provide valuable information, resources, and emotional support is known since the work of House (1981). The relevance of social support is more clearly spelled out in Spielberger et al. (2003).

Given the structure of the matrix (Figure 2), we are now in a position to present four propositions which explain the differential emphases and emergence on EAPs, different styles of coping, rites and rituals and social support. It is important to remember that EAPs act as only one of the several potential mechanisms for assisting an employer to cope with dysfunctional consequences of work and non-work stresses. One's style of coping (i.e. problem-focused or emotion-focused), as well as culture specific rites and rituals, and social support serve as additional mechanisms for dealing with stressful experiences. These mechanisms are likely to be particularly useful in those societies where EAPs are not prevalent or are rare. EAPs in individualistic, rule oriented and rational cultures are likely to be effective substitutes for some of the culture specific rites and rituals and other social support systems of collectivistic, relationship oriented and affective cultures.

In affective cultures, an individual can freely express some of his or her emotions in the presence of his or her co-workers and supervisors without experiencing embarrassment, shame, and repercussions. Social support is much more readily available from one's immediate work group and the need for seeking organized forms of counselling such as EAPs rarely arises. These cultures put a strong emphasis on organized rites and rituals and social support mechanisms for dealing with stressful experiences. Cause—effect relationships are often understood in associative versus abstractive modes of reasoning (Glenn and Glenn, 1981). In affective cultures, associative modes of reasoning are common. Associative mode of thinking emphasizes associations among events that may or may not be logically connected. In abstractive cultures, logical and Judeo-Christian modes of thinking are emphasized and cause—effect relationships among events are subject to scientific scrutiny. In contrast, contextual information, however unscientific it may be, tends to be regarded as somewhat relevant in associative cultures. Emotion-focused coping is often a function of one's social and interpersonal context, i.e. with whom and where one feels comfortable in expressing one's emotions. In our view, such types of coping strategies are more likely to be emphasized more compared to problem-focused coping in affective and relational cultures (Cell 1). In addition, nations characterized by these cultural attributes are not likely to be affluent and work organizations do not have the necessary resources to provide organized forms of EAPs. Countries like Mongolia, Saudi Arabia, the majority of Middle Eastern

countries including Tunisia and Algeria in Northern Africa, and regions of some of the emerging economies such as parts of Western China, rural India, and Brazil are good cases in point.

Proposition 1: Cultures that are both affective and relationship-based (Cell 1) are likely to foster strong emphases on religious rites and rituals and social support mechanisms. Emotion-focused coping will be more strongly emphasized compared to problem-focused coping and EAPs are likely to be virtually non-existent in these cultural contexts.

Cell 2 consists of societies where there is a strong emphasis on organized rites and rituals, especially of the religious variety and moderate emphasis on social support. EAPs are likely to be infrequent in these societies. A majority of the Catholic countries as well as countries emphasizing the Eastern Orthodox doctrine tend to fall in Cell 2. Historically speaking, religious rites and rituals are formally recognized as well as institutionalized in the various practices found in these societies. Hooker (2003) notes that these rites and rituals are designed for managing stress related reactions whether they originate from the domain of work or non-work. Social support mechanisms are likely to be well developed along with moderate emphases on both problem-focused and emotion-focused styles of coping. The rule based orientation of these cultures tends to lower the value of purely emotion-focused coping as a strategy for dealing with stress reactions. One has to engage in some amount of problem-focused coping simultaneously and then seek appropriate emotional and instrumental support from one's significant others, in-groups, and collectives.

Countries and regions in Cell 2 are affective in the sense that members of these cultures can openly express their deep feelings in public, including the workplace without fear of reprisal, but at the same time they must abide by certain rules set forth by the society. Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Turkey, and many of the islands in the Aegean Sea exhibit these cultural attributes. In our survey of the literature, we did not find many examples of institutionalized EAPs in the Cell 2 classification of cultures. Republics of the former Soviet Union, such as Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Azerbaijan also exhibit these cultural attributes. We found virtually no EAPs in these countries. Our proposition dealing with the cultural variations for the relative lack of existence of EAPs in Cell 2 is as follows:

Proposition 2: Cultures that are both affective and rule-based (Cell 2) are likely to foster strong emphasis on religious rites, rituals, and moderate emphasis on social support mechanisms. Emotion-focused and problem-focused coping are likely to be moderately emphasized and the existence of EAPs is not prevalent.

In Cell 3, we examine the relative emphasis of EAPs, coping styles, social support, organized rites and rituals in cultures that are rational and rule based. Excellent examples of countries in this cell are the USA, UK, Germany, France, Sweden, Denmark, and much of Nordic and Western Europe, excluding southern European countries like Spain, Portugal, Greece, and Italy. The primary emphases in these cultures

are on orderliness, rationality and cost—benefit analyses. These cultures are generally high on the dimension of vertical individualism where the values of self-reliance, competition, and avoidance of long term relationships are defining characteristics (Triandis, 1995, 1998).

Protestant Relational Ideology (PRI) governs the nature of interactions among individuals in the workplace in these cultures - most strongly in the USA (Sanchez-Burks, 2002, 2004). This ideology encourages members of work organizations to avoid situations involving expression of emotional issues and concerns. Extending Sanchez-Burks' thesis to other Protestant, Anglo-Saxon cultures, we find that work organizations in these cultural contexts (Cell 3), perhaps with the exception of France, tend to foster development of interpersonal relationships which are typically void of social and emotional concern. The tendency is to delegate the responsibility of an individual's well-being to either a company sponsored EAP or institutionalized support systems inherent in the network of social welfare agencies as is the case in Nordic European countries (e.g. Sweden, Denmark, Norway). We find EAPs to be most prevalent in Cell 3 of the cultural matrix. The EAPs are also well organized and readily available to the members of the organization.

Organized acts of ritual, especially those based on religious doctrines, while they do exist, are not sought after for dealing with dysfunctional effects of stressful encounters. Especially in Northern Europe, such rites and rituals are often perceived as being unscientific and superstitious. There is a strong engineering-based approach to nature and society, and an emphasis on creating a predictable and controllable environment. Such a cultural predisposition develops the sense that one can perhaps control some aspects of one's life (Hooker, 2003). One escapes from chronic and episodic forms of work and non-work stress by segmenting personal and professional life and not letting concerns from one domain spill over into the other domain.

EAPs originated in the cultural context of the countries represented in Cell 3 (Figure 2). These are affluent countries and actively participate in the global economy. Work organizations, particularly those strongly involved in multinational and global transactions, are required to maintain consistent and often flawless performances on the part of their employees, especially in their managerial and executive ranks. This is a necessary condition for sustaining global competitiveness. EAPs are created to provide affective and instrumental social support and counselling that employees experiencing distress do indeed seek and need. By creating an organized mechanism for providing necessary counselling and support systems outside the workplace, organizations in this cultural context are able to maintain a constant stream of activities and maintain reasonable high levels of productivity without much disruption. In addition, these EAPs are presumably rational and scientifically valid counselling mechanisms and their effectiveness is often evaluated (Cooper et al., 2003).

Proposition 3: Cultures that are both rational and rule-based (Cell 3) are likely to foster a greater emphasis on problem-focused coping and less emphasis on emotion-focused coping, religious rites, rituals, and social support mechanisms. EAPs are likely to be most prevalent in these cultural contexts. In addition, they are also likely to be well developed and organized.

Work organizations in Cell 4 of the cultural matrix include domestic and global companies from the sub-continent of India, and most of Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, Singapore, Thailand, Taiwan, South Korea, and possibly Japan. The People's Republic of China, which has emerged as the third largest economy in the world following the USA and Japan, is also a good case in point. However, one should be careful in noting that in the contexts of China and India, we are largely concerned with those regions which are highly developed or are in the process of becoming so. Our research reveals that cities in the major industrialized centres of Southeastern China, as well as global city regions in Southern India, are more likely to have employee assistance programmes of one kind or another, modelled after the USA or UK variety. These programmes will exist primarily in major transnational Western corporations and focus primarily on expatriate issues.

However, EAPs provided in these cultural contexts are limited in scope and often do not encompass the wide range of counselling services that are typical of the EAPs in Western Europe and the USA. In fact, counselling programmes targeted at separating work related emotional issues from non-work related issues are notably absent. In our view, these cultures foster an integrative view of work and family (Bhagat and Krishnan, 2005; Larson et al., 2001) and do not endorse the Anglo-Saxon notion that one's work related concerns and activities somehow must be segmented from one's non-work related concerns in designing therapeutic and preventive measures. Given the emphasis on rationality in these cultural contexts, problem-focused coping is likely to be emphasized almost as much as emotion-focused coping. We suggest that these two coping activities will be moderately emphasized in the cultures represented in Cell 4. In a related vein, social support related activities and rites and rituals will also be moderately emphasized. Most of these countries and regions are currently experiencing rapid expansion due to their increased participation in global commerce. It is reasonable to suggest that it is likely that due to lack of precedent, time, and resources in implementing EAPs, organizations tend to rely more on work and non-work social support mechanisms on the part of employees.

Proposition 4: Cultures that are both relationship-based and rational (Cell 4) are likely to put moderate emphasis on religious rites, rituals, and social support mechanisms from one's in-group as well as from other groups in society. There is likely to be moderate and equal emphasis on problem-focused and emotion-focused coping styles. EAPs are likely to be present in globalizing regions of these cultures but they may be limited in scope.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MATRIX

We developed the cultural matrix along with the four propositions in order to provide a robust theoretical foundation as to why, when and where (i.e. in which cultural contexts) EAPs are likely to be emphasized more compared to other culturally derived mechanisms of social support, organized rites and rituals and styles of coping. All of these adaptational mechanisms help individuals and their families deal with dysfunctional consequences of stressful experiences. The point is that some cultures are uniquely

prepared to help employees cope with stresses by providing institutionalized (available either from the private or the public sector) forms of EAPs, compared to other cultures. While the economic resources of the countries play key roles, culture-specific methods of coping with stresses are also of vital importance. In our matrix, we have sought to discern the relative importance of these mechanisms that are available to individuals undergoing stressful experiences in their lives - especially those experiences that are particularly detrimental to their work effectiveness. Furthermore, in developing the above four propositions, we have sought to emphasize the following:

1. Nations of the world differ in terms of these two fundamental attributes of culture, which we believe to be most relevant for understanding the selective emergence of different styles of coping, social support, and various forms of rites and rituals. While there are other relevant variations of culture (Lyde et al., 1995), these two dimensions provide the deep structure of cultural differences among societies that are particularly relevant for understanding the relative pervasiveness of EAPs in the cultural matrix (Figure 2).
2. Cultural contexts provide the necessary informational cues to engage an individual in coping related activities that are sanctioned by the norms and obligations inherent in the culture. A vertical individualistic culture, such as the USA which happens to be strongly rational and rule-based, is unlikely to foster strong expressions of emotion-focused coping activities in the domain of work (see Sanchez-Burks, 2004, for a detailed rationale for this point of view). On the other hand, a vertical collectivistic culture such as India, Mexico, or Brazil is much more likely to allow for expression of emotional concerns in the workplace, even if it means that one's co-workers might be temporarily distracted from focusing immediate task related issues and concerns.
3. The cultural matrix also provides a strong culture-specific rationale for the existence of EAPs. It should be clear that EAPs, as formal and institutionalized activities of the work organization, exist in cultures which are predominately individualistic, rational, and rule-based. On the other hand, cultural contexts that are collectivistic, affective, and relationship-based are likely to emphasize stronger social support mechanisms as well as organized rites and rituals that are inherent in their social and cultural contexts.
4. Even though it has not been explicitly discussed, it should be clear that a vast majority of the collectivistic countries (over 80 per cent) are not affluent (Triandis, 1994b) and therefore lack the necessary financial and institutional resources to develop and implement EAPs. Another reason for the prevalence of EAPs in the Western versus Eastern cultures is concerned with the rule-oriented versus relationship-based concerns emphasized in the former cultures. Most Western and North European cultures and the USA and Canada deemphasize the importance of relational concerns. Italy, Portugal, Spain, and some other Southern European cultures are the few exceptions to this rule (Hooker, 2003). The salient norm in work organizations of these rule-oriented cultures is to encourage one to resolve one's emotional concerns and other related issues pertaining to one's psychological well-being by seeking organized forms of counselling, whether

in the form of clinical or therapeutic interventions or employee assistance programmes.

5. Confidentiality of the individual seeking help and guidance through EAPs is a crucial value enshrined in Western cultures. One is not easily persuaded to reveal to significant others one's lack of control over one's environment. Such lack of control typically has adverse connotations for one's self-esteem and sense of mastery and may further exacerbate feelings of distress. However, issues of confidentiality and privacy are not nearly as important in a majority of the Eastern cultures. Helping a colleague who is experiencing distress is considered a moral duty as well as a social obligation in China, India, much of South America, and Africa. The Hindu worldview prevalent in India and the Confucian doctrine in East Asia, for example, strongly emphasize the need to empathize with others, especially with members of one's in-group (Hooker, 2003). In the majority of these countries, there is a nothing inherently shameful about losing one's sense of control over one's immediate environment once in a while. These societies are more willing to accept the concept of fate in the conduct of human affairs. Fatalism is a key variable in Eastern cultures, especially in India, parts of Southeast Asia, and in the Middle East (Triandis, 1994a). Our analysis of the EAP literature leads to the distinct impression that an East-West divide characterizes the prevalence and emphasis of EAPs. Countries in the Pacific Rim region (primarily collectivistic in their orientation) of the world which are experiencing rapid economic growth are beginning to implement EAPs, but the scale of implementation lags behind the Western cultures.

IMPLICATIONS FOR MANAGERIAL HEALTH AND EFFECTIVENESS

Multinational and global corporations are routinely confronted with highly competitive and turbulent environments that place their employees at risk of professional and occupational obsolescence, job loss, and adverse psychological, behavioural, and health consequences. Senior managers have greater decision latitudes which enable them to cope with the demands of active jobs (Karasek, 1979; Karasek and Theorell, 1990; Theorell, 2003). However, they are by no means immune from job and life dissatisfaction, emotional exhaustion, depression, cardiovascular risks, and consumption of sleeping pills, tranquilizers, and antidepressants (Karasek, 1979; Quick and Tetrick, 2003; Spielberger et al., 2003). Managers of multinational and global corporations must deal with new sets of demands that change most of the time. These changing demands make them vulnerable to experiencing dysfunctional effects of stress on an ongoing basis. Dealing with the demands of an electronic age, cross-border transactions including mergers and acquisitions, constant pressures for downsizing and outsourcing of key services, management of virtual organizations as well as threats of terrorism are phenomena that uniquely characterize today's work environments of multi-national and global managers. The guidelines in the *Handbook of Occupational Health Psychology* (Quick and Tetrick, 2003) should be considered when designing and implementing EAPs. Insights from the present analysis that are relevant for enhancing managerial and organizational effectiveness are as follows:

1. Managers of multinational and global corporations who are culturally sensitive (i.e. are aware of differences in coping styles, importance of rites and rituals, and social support mechanisms), are more effective in dealing with employees in various subsidiaries around the world.
2. Awareness of cultural differences in organized rites and rituals, social support systems, etc can also lead to the creation and implementation of appropriate institutional processes and mechanisms for facilitating peer group support and other problem solving activities in the organization and elsewhere. For example, despite the prevalent belief that a majority of the Asians are likely to enlist the help of their friends and relatives in seeking social support, such is often not the case (Taylor et al., 2004). These researchers report that some Asian groups, however collectivistic they may be, are often disinclined to seek social support from the members of their in-groups, friends and families. They are concerned that seeking such social support might lead to a disruption of harmony in their family and in-group (Taylor et al., 2004). Designers of EAPs need to be aware of these kinds of culture-specific issues. These concerns are not always clear from stereotypical assumptions about how an ethnic group might utilize social support mechanisms in dealing with stressful experiences. Ideas presented in Hooker (2003) on working across cultures are helpful in this regard.
3. We need to reemphasize the need for managers of multinational and global corporations to be more sensitive to differences that exists in coping styles, social support mechanisms, and organized rites and rituals of various cultures. Traditional EAPs need to be redesigned to fit to the requirements of a changing global environment. In Japan, for example, one company renamed an EAP initiative as 'Personal Consulting Services' in order to avoid being labelled as psychological counselling (Iwasaki, 2000). In Argentina, due to rapid inflation and the confiscation of personal bank accounts, companies began to offer legal and financial counselling to their employees. Systematic guidance was offered to help employees to avoid bank withdrawal restrictions offunds from banks and other financial difficulties associated with the financial downturn in Argentina. This guidance was provided along with more traditional forms of counselling for traumatic stressful events, such as kidnapping and robberies that were taking place in Argentina at that time (Lambardi and Lardani, 2002). These adaptations by organizations to their existing programmes were indeed helpful in dealing with the stressful demands of a turbulent economy.
4. While EAPs are increasing in importance, our analysis suggests that some countries will be slower to implement EAPs. This is due to existence of some culture-specific methods for dealing with dysfunctional consequences of both work and life stress. However, the utility and effectiveness of EAPs are not necessarily compromised by institutionalizing them in some countries that are different in terms of their cultural orientations from the Western countries. It is just that the pace of implementation of EAPs in these countries is going to be constrained until the managers learn the intricacies with culture-specific modes that are implicit in these national contexts.

Our analysis suggests that cultural backgrounds of employees might provide helpful cues that are often useful in helping them cope with dysfunctional consequences of stress.

However, such cues are not understood and interpreted with an individualistic perspective that exists in the countries where EAPs originate. Therefore, EAPs that are consistent with the cultural values of the society are going to be of considerable significance in enhancing the individual's or the group's ability to cope with stresses in this era of globalization.

In a recent book edited by Zeitlin and Herrigel (2000), various authors examine the theme of 'Americanization and its limits' in dealing with applications of US technology and other knowledge management-based systems in post-war Europe and Japan. They conclude that while the major patterns are largely applicable, there are unique country-based variations in the evolution and application of technologies in various countries of post-war Europe. The Italian steel industry did not fully adapt to the US model and the German rubber industry was far from what we have seen in the US rubber industry. In particular, in the Japan context, many of the US manufacturing technologies were greatly modified to conform to the indigenous cultural beliefs and values. The point is that US manufacturing and process technologies needed to be reinvented and selectively adopted to the unique national and cultural demands of post-war Europe and Japan. Similarly, our analysis suggest that EAPs also need to be modified in order for them to function harmoniously with the dominant culture-specific modes of coping with stresses and social support mechanisms in the present era. Taking this approach will increase the effectiveness of EAPs — whether they are sponsored by the work organization or are offered in the institutional context of the society — in dealing with adverse consequences of rising levels of work and non-work stress in the global era. However, one must also remember that there are no guarantees that EAPs when appropriately adapted to the contextual demands of the culture are likely to remove all of the dysfunctional effects of stresses and maintain managerial health and effectiveness. What we can hope for is a sense of mastery in the near future as long as our understanding of the various causes and consequences of the evolving patterns of stress continues to deepen.

Quick et al. (2003) note that organizations need to proactively identify and manage known health risks. EAPs clearly can aid in this process. Managers of Western organizations are often informed about the benefits of EAPs by appropriate public health officials and bulletins. However, the roles of the public health officials are limited in the context of many developing countries (e.g. Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria). Therefore, human resources managers also have to undertake the task of conveying the importance of EAPs in coping with negative effects of stresses in these countries.

One thought comes to mind. Professional and academic associations such as the International Association of Applied Psychology and International Congress of Psychology, can play important roles in disseminating useful knowledge pertaining to the benefits of EAPs along with other culture-specific methods of dealing with various kinds of stresses that adversely affect employee effectiveness. As of 2003, the Council on Accreditation which includes EAPs from the United Kingdom, Puerto Rico, and Japan, has started to play a stronger role in establishing an international accreditation programme for EAPs whose standards are not necessarily based on US standards (Masi, 2003). Based on a review of twelve different international professional EAP organizations, Masi (2003) made the first attempt at outlining worldwide guidelines for EAPs. However, a number of challenges still remain. According to Masi (2003), they are as follows:

1. It is necessary to have an interpreter from the developing country to assist with the translation of EAP documents (usually written in English) of the Council on Accreditation (COA) so that they are made available in the native language of the country (e.g. Chinese, Spanish, or whatever the case may be) where EAPs are being implemented.
2. There are also some additional roles that can be played by international organizations (i.e. World Health Organization), academic congresses (i.e. International Association of Applied Psychology, International Congress of Psychology, etc), and international journals (i.e. *Applied Psychology: International Review*) to disseminate important research findings to senior managers and decision-makers of organizations, both domestic and global. There is a need for more research on the functioning and effectiveness of EAPs in non-Western and collectivistic countries of the globe. Such research will be helpful in determining the validity of the theoretical schema that we have advanced in this paper.

The present analysis is offered for developing systematic insights into the interplay of EAPs in their current form, and the cultural contexts in which they function. Assessment of EAPs in dealing with the dysfunctional consequences of work and non-work stress and enhancing managerial health and effectiveness should also be an ongoing concern — not only on the part of human resources managers of corporations, but of governmental agencies and various international organizations. It is our hope that the theoretical insights presented in this analysis will facilitate future researchers and practitioners in understanding some of the complexities associated with implementing EAPs in various international and cultural contexts.

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