

A Cross-National Comparison: Job Satisfaction and Gender

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Comparative gender job satisfaction studies have been inconclusive with some finding that women are more satisfied on the job than men and others finding no difference. Previous research has also identified similarities and differences in gender and job satisfaction globally based on cultural, economic, social, and political factors across countries and world regions. Overall, however, limited cross-national or global research has been conducted in this area. The current study uses International Social Survey Programme data to investigate the role of gender and country on job satisfaction. Findings support previous beliefs about gender differences but with significant country variations.

Keywords: job satisfaction, global comparisons, gender, intrinsic and extrinsic rewards, work relations, work life balance

INTRODUCTION

Job satisfaction has been defined as “a pleasurable or positive emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one’s job or job experiences” (Locke, 1975, p. 1304). People tend to measure job satisfaction by comparing aspects of the job they have with those they want (Locke, 1976). Job satisfaction is related to the value that one places on specific aspects of a job, such as autonomy, pay and benefits, challenge, growth, or meaningful work, and the degree to which such elements are present. The value one places on these various job characteristics may differ based on gender, age, personality, occupation, context, or other factors.

Gender differences in job satisfaction, in particular, have been extensively researched with some studies finding that women have higher levels of job satisfaction than men (Clark, 1997; Zou, 2015; Grönlund & Öun, 2018) and others showing lower (Akbari et al., 2020; Huang & Gamble, 2015; Nair et al., 2017) or comparable levels (Baeza et al., 2018) due to country-specific factors or other variables. Kaiser (2005)

found no gender differences in job satisfaction in Denmark, Finland, or the Netherlands, countries characterized by employment policies supportive of women, but higher levels for women in most other European Union nations. Perugini and Vladislavjević (2019) identified minimal gender-job satisfaction gaps in European countries where women grew up with high levels of gender equality, which resulted in employment expectations similar to those of men. Souza-Poza and Souza-Poza (2000) found higher levels of job satisfaction for women compared to men in only Great Britain, the United States, and Switzerland in their sample of 22 countries. Lee et al. (2020) identified few gender- or ethnic-job satisfaction differences among U.S. federal employees.

Reasons for gender-job satisfaction disparities vary with some researchers attributing them to labor market inequities, resulting in less participation by women, and consequently, lower work and career expectations but greater satisfaction for the employment attained (Clark, 1997; Kaiser, 2005), and others to women self-selecting into jobs aligned with their values (Bender et al., 2005), and particularly to positions that accommodate traditional female responsibilities, or family-friendly work (Glauber, 2011; McCrate, 2005; Goldin, 2014; Hakim, 1991, 2000; Sloane & Williams, 2000; Zou, 2015). The determinants of job satisfaction differ from study to study as do participants, occupations, demographics, and methodologies. As such, further research is needed on gender-job satisfaction to determine to what extent the paradox of women being more satisfied with their work than men in spite of less favorable conditions holds true, and the role of country-specific factors. The current study explores determinants of gender-job satisfaction using cross-national data from the International Social Survey Programme (2015), which represents participants in 37 countries.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The gender-job satisfaction paradox, also called the paradox of the contented female worker, refers to women being more satisfied with their jobs than men in spite of lower pay, fewer promotion opportunities, discrimination, and other unfavorable working conditions (Bender et al., 2005; Clark, 1997). Various explanations have been offered for this phenomenon. One of the most common is that women are socialized to expect less due to labor market segregation and discrimination which lowers aspirations and conditions women's job attribute preferences (Clark, 1997; Gregory, 1990; Gutek, 1993; Konrad et al., 2000). This is referred to as the structural argument.

Another explanation is that women engage in family-friendly employment whereas men prioritize extrinsic factors such as salary, preferences that align with traditional gender roles (Hakim, 1991, 2000; Bender et al., 2005). This argument reflects an ideological perspective which argues that work preferences differ as the result of social norms (Gregory, 1990; Gutek, 1993; Konrad et al., 2000). A third possibility is the presence of an innate female trait or universal female perspective on work. This, however, has largely been eliminated due to the preponderance of studies supporting the other two positions (Kaiser, 2005; Sloane & Williams, 2000). However, study variations, inconsistencies in results, and evolving cultures and social conditions suggest that greater clarity is needed and that alternative explanations may be identified.

Cross-National Gender Differences in Job Satisfaction

Extensive research, much of it using national or regional databases, has explored the gender-job satisfaction gap in specific countries and world regions. A limited number of global and cross-national studies have also been conducted. The preponderance of research on gender-job satisfaction has occurred in the UK, Europe, and the U.S. with an increasing number of studies in Asia, the Middle East, and elsewhere.

Global Studies

Sousa-Poza and Sousa-Poza (2000) and Andrade et al. (2019) both conducted studies using International Social Survey Programme data representing countries in North and South America, Asia, Africa, Europe, and Australia. The former found evidence of the gender-job satisfaction gap only in Great Britain, the U.S., and Switzerland. The latter found no consistent statistically significant differences in

gender job satisfaction across a sample of 37 countries. However, factors thought to be more important to women than men, such as work relations and work-life balance, were more salient for men (e.g., contact with others, being harassed at work, working weekends, and schedule flexibility). Only one intrinsic variable, helping others, was more significant for women than men. All other variables were similar for both genders. An earlier study by Westover (2012) found that gender-job satisfaction differences are not stable but change over time, which is expected as society changes (Clark, 1997; Konrad et al., 2000).

The United Kingdom

Based on data from a large-scale British household survey, Clark (1997) conducted one of the most cited studies on gender-job satisfaction. He found higher job satisfaction for women than men, and that women valued intrinsic job characteristics such as work relations and the work itself while men valued extrinsic aspects such as pay and promotion. Clark explained this phenomenon by suggesting that because women's jobs were worse in the past, their expectations were lower; therefore, they were more satisfied with what they had than men. This was supported in that the differential was not evident for younger or more educated women, those in professional and management positions, in male-dominated jobs, or whose mothers were in professional jobs. These women had higher expectations, and thus, their satisfaction levels were equivalent to those of men. Clark expected that as labor market rewards improved, gender-job satisfaction levels would be similar.

Sloane and Williams (2000) also found evidence of the gender-job satisfaction paradox in the UK but attributed it to women self-selecting into jobs with attributes that they valued. They rejected both the labor market discrimination and innate gender differences in how work is valued perspectives. Job satisfaction did not vary by gender for Scottish academics, however, due to the dataset consisting of highly educated individuals, which contributed to comparable job expectations for men and women (Sloane & Ward, 2000). Another British study found that men were typically promoted more easily and earlier in their careers, resulting in higher job satisfaction initially followed by a decline and then an increase to retirement, or the U-shape pattern (Clark et al., 1996). This pattern was not evident for women.

Zou (2015) examined the relation of work orientations and gender-job satisfaction for British workers. Women's work orientations, or what they valued most focused primarily on intrinsic and human rewards such as relations with their supervisors, enjoyable work, convenient hours, choice of hours, friendly co-workers, and good physical working conditions while men placed higher value primarily on extrinsic rewards such as promotion, pay, fringe benefits, work variety, and opportunities to use initiative. Work orientations reflecting intrinsic rewards, opportunities for development, and positive work relations positively impacted job satisfaction. Part-time female workers were the most satisfied followed by full-time female workers and then men. Work orientations for full- and part-time female workers differed significantly with those of full-time female workers being more similar to men, indicating that full-time career women have different work orientations than part-time women (Hakim, 1991, 2000).

Europe

A European study found that women in 10 out of the 14 countries represented reported higher levels of job satisfaction than men; however, no gender gap was identified in Denmark, Finland, or the Netherlands, which was attributed to greater labor market access for women (Kaiser, 2005). A more recent study, however, found that the gender paradox was evident in Denmark and Finland due to differences in the weights placed on personal and job characteristics, and less evident in the UK and Ireland (Hauret & Williams, 2017). Denmark and Finland are known for gender equality work opportunities and low-cost childcare, which may contribute to higher satisfaction for women, but which also counters the argument in Kaiser's study that these factors equalize the gap.

A study of 32 European countries established that exposure early in life to settings where gender equality was practiced resulted in smaller gender-job satisfaction gaps (Perugini & Vladisavljević, 2019). Women in these contexts, and those who worked primarily in male-dominated occupations, had similar expectations for work as men. Occupation-specific studies in countries characterized by gender equality have generally found little evidence for the gender-job satisfaction paradox. In Switzerland, satisfaction

with work recognition did not differ by gender although the opportunity to use one's abilities was more salient in overall job satisfaction for male physicians and income more relevant for female physicians (Goetz et al., 2016). These findings also contradict findings that men focus on extrinsic rewards and women on intrinsic rewards.

In Sweden, a country known for gender equality, dual-earner families (Edlund & Öun, 2016), and high female labor market participation (OECD Family Database, 2016), women who had recently completed bachelor's and master's degrees exhibited higher job satisfaction levels than their male counterparts (Grönlund & Öun, 2018). This was consistent across five occupations selected for gender-mix variances—civil engineers, police officers, lawyers, social workers, and psychologists. Women had a dual commitment to both career and family and more so than men. Flexibility and job control were less relevant for women than men although workloads were equivalent. Women were not employed in family-friendly occupations to a greater degree than men. Psychological dispositions did not account for the differences. In spite of these equivalencies, women's job satisfaction was higher than men's, leading to the conclusion that "the [gender-job satisfaction] paradox could appear more paradoxical than ever" (p. 543). Neither labor market inequity nor a preference for family-friendly jobs explained the gap.

North America

A meta-analysis of 31 studies of managers and business school students in the U.S. identified differences in job attribute preferences (Konrad et al., 2000). Partially consistent with Clark's (1997) and Zou's (2015) findings, the study established that men prioritized extrinsic rewards such as salary and responsibility while women placed importance on some extrinsic rewards such as physical work environment, good hours, and job security, but primarily intrinsic rewards and work relations, including social relationships, growth, variety, task significance, challenge, and prestige, but the differences were small. Findings also indicated rising aspirations for women over time resulting in ratings exceeding those of men's in challenge, the opportunity to use one's abilities, and various intrinsic values. The gender-job satisfaction gap was smaller for managers than students.

Donohue and Heywood (2004) did not find a gap in gender-job satisfaction for young workers in the U.S. although fringe benefits and job skills played a role. For women in white-collar jobs and smaller firms, satisfaction was less connected to earnings than to childcare benefits. White-collar male workers' satisfaction increased with the presence of retirement plans. Satisfaction for both male and female workers in white- and blue-collar jobs increased when general job skills were required compared job-specific skills as the former are more marketable. Blue-collar male workers were more satisfied than their female counterparts while the opposite was true for white-collar workers. These findings suggest that workers are most satisfied when their jobs are aligned with their preferred work orientations.

Bender et al. (2005) found that women in the U.S. had higher satisfaction levels than men and that female-dominant work contexts had a strong effect on satisfaction for women; however, men and women valued work flexibility differently. When work flexibility that allowed women to fulfill family responsibilities was accounted for, the gap disappeared. This supports the premise that women seek work that provides what they value; in this case, flexibility, thereby supporting the family-friendly explanation for the gap. Female psychology professors in the U.S. and Canada were more satisfied in departments focused on teaching, which is relationship-based, while men were more satisfied in departments emphasizing research (Kessler et al., 2014). Men were more satisfied with their jobs overall, more productive in research, and held higher ranks than women. Age and rank did not explain the gap and all participants had the same job in the same discipline, suggesting that women have different work orientations although these may be the result of social norms that push them toward people-oriented work.

A large-scale study of U.S. federal employees, examining gender and racial differences, found few differences in job satisfaction related to existence (basic life necessities), relatedness (interpersonal relationships), growth (self-worth and self-development), and organizational equity (fair treatment) (Lee et al., 2020). Participation (involvement in decision-making and empowerment) and intrinsic motivation (use of talents, feelings of accomplishment, work significance, enjoyment) were the top determinants for all genders and minority groups. Professional development was more important to men than women and

performance recognition more important to Whites than minorities. Satisfaction with pay and diversity management was more important to minority women than the other groups and least important to White men, but the latter was only marginally related to job satisfaction; workplace participation (relationships with coworkers) showed the biggest effect for White men and the least for non-White females. These findings are inconsistent with those showing that women value intrinsic rewards and work relations (Clark, 1997; Konrad et al., 2000; Zou, 2015).

A Canadian study demonstrated that women below the age of 30 had greater job satisfaction than men (supporting the gender-job satisfaction paradox), but men had more work pride; from midlife to retirement, women had more work pride and men less job satisfaction (Magee, 2014). Men are promoted earlier in their careers; thus, their work pride may diminish by mid-career whereas women's pride increases when they are promoted, which tends to occur later in their careers. Women's job satisfaction may decrease with age as they identify injustices based on salary and promotion, which affects pensions. A meta-analysis showing that older women were less satisfied with promotion and had lower trust in their organizations than their counterparts corroborate this finding and suggests that structural factors prevent women from achieving their aspirations (Ng & Feldman, 2010).

In Mexico, job satisfaction for younger men and women, and those without dependents, was correlated with job flexibility, and did not differ by gender, suggesting that cultural values may be evolving (Baeza et al., 2018). Although Mexican workers traditionally place high value on organizational commitment, the study demonstrated that younger generations, both male and female, considered job flexibility central to job satisfaction. This study suggests that as social norms change over time, determinants impacting job satisfaction also change.

Asia

Contrary to research findings in Western countries, women in China working in large energy, telecommunications, and multimedia electronics manufacturing firms had lower levels of job satisfaction than men, except when they experienced perceived organizational support; gender bias perceptions negatively impacted career satisfaction (Ngo et al., 2014). This finding is similar to earlier research which identified lower levels of job satisfaction for Chinese women compared to men in nine urban districts and across a range of occupations (Loscocco & Bose, 1998). Chinese female retail sector workers were less satisfied with their jobs than men perhaps due to feelings of increased expectations at both work and home; training and workload impacted gender satisfaction equally while pay was more predictive for men; women's satisfaction declined with hours worked (Huang & Gamble, 2015). Traditional cultural gender roles, specifically female responsibility for domestic duties, are largely still intact in China, and women continue to experience discrimination and workplace inequality (Huang & Gamble, 2015).

Female doctors in rural China ranked higher in overall job satisfaction and aspects of job quality (e.g., work environment, salary compared to workload, promotion, autonomy, feelings of achievement) than males, possibly because they are socialized to expect less than men (Miao, 2017), reflecting the labor market inequality argument. Similarly, female neurologists in China had higher levels of job satisfaction than their male counterparts, and equivalent rates of burnout, job stress, and psychological morbidity (depression, anxiety, or hopelessness) (Pu et al., 2017).

Female ophthalmologists in India, another country characterized by gender specific roles, felt their jobs were more challenging compared to their male counterparts due to family responsibilities and the need to work harder to prove themselves; their satisfaction levels at work and at home were lower than those for men but differences were not statistically significant (Nair et al., 2017). In contrast, women scientists in India were more satisfied with their work in research laboratories than men, not due to the work environment but to lowered expectations as the result of labor market discrimination (Dhawan, 1999).

The Middle East

Job satisfaction for female nurses in Iran was lower than that of males on all measures of job satisfaction with one exception which showed equal satisfaction—the nursing profession (Akbari et al., 2020). Pay and benefits, safety, communications, and quality of management were rated the lowest by both male and

female nurses. Other dimensions included satisfaction with the hospital, work relations, supervision, support for quality, and overall satisfaction. Research has demonstrated that job satisfaction for nurses is higher in developed countries (Aiken et al., 2011). In contrast, women doctors in Iraq were more satisfied than men in the following areas: freedom of working methods, work relations, level of responsibility, income, use of abilities, work hours, and variety while men were more satisfied with recognition for their work and physical working conditions, mostly likely due to male gender dominance, which constrains recognition for women (Jadoo, 2020).

Education played a role in job satisfaction for women working in private banks in Kuwait; women with an intermediate level of education were the most satisfied as well as those with education specifically related to the job, such as business (Metle, 2001). However, satisfaction declined with higher levels of education attained, primarily because women's expectations for promotion were not met. Gender comparisons were not made in the study. In Saudi Arabia, female academic staff were significantly less satisfied than their male counterparts, attributed to a lack of involvement in many aspects of life due to cultural gender segregation (Al-Rubaish et al., 2009). However, female staff in female-dominant areas of the university, such as nursing, reported higher levels of job satisfaction.

Australia

In Australia, job satisfaction for female doctoral graduates was based on intrinsic job characteristics while males valued extrinsic characteristics (Kifle & Desta, 2012), in keeping with previous research findings (Clark, 1997; Konrad et al., 2000; Zou, 2015). Young women in Australia with children experienced comparable job satisfaction to men while the gender-job satisfaction paradox held true for the aggregated sample consisting of young, childless women, young women with children, and educated women) and for young women without children at home (Kifle 2014). Also, in another Australian study, underemployment was negatively associated with job satisfaction, and was more evident for males than females (Kifle et al., 2019). Women in Australia are under-represented in the workforce and more likely to be employed part-time, demonstrating substantial gender segregation in spite of a rise in education levels (Australian Government, 2008; Kennedy & Hedley, 2008; Fleming & Kler, 2014). Only 45% of those who worked prior to giving birth return to the workforce a year later and 92% of these women work part-time (Australian Government, 2008).

Although Fleming and Kler (2014) did not compare job satisfaction levels for men and women, their study showed that overeducation, defined as a mismatch between qualifications and minimum requirements for the job held, led to dissatisfaction primarily for women who did not have dependent children. The findings suggest that women with children living at home, may work for reasons other than a desire to utilize their skill sets, and that satisfaction may be derived from their ability to fulfill dual roles, supporting the family-friendly argument for the gender-job satisfaction paradox. When women are overeducated for their jobs, and do not have child-rearing roles in the home, they are more likely to value their careers and be dissatisfied when career expectations are unmet.

Theoretical Implications

Certainly, country-specific differences in gender-job satisfaction exist. These are due to work conditions as well as cultural traditions, labor markets, work orientations, social programs, occupations, education levels, and other factors. Some patterns are evident but with many inconsistencies. Early findings showing that men favor extrinsic rewards and women favor intrinsic rewards have been challenged by recent research (Andrade et al., 2019; Baeza et al., 2018; Grönlund & Öun, 2018). Similarly, distinct economic, social, and cultural contexts provide evidence that in many cases women are less satisfied than men, and face pressures to excel at work yet maintain traditional roles in the home (Huang & Gamble, 2015; Nair et al., 2017). In other cases, due to various education, occupation, or structural factors, the gender-job satisfaction is not evident (Goetz et al., 2016; Perugini & Vladislavljević, 2019; Sloane & Ward, 2000), but once again, with exceptions (Hauret & Williams, 2017; Grönlund & Öun, 2018). Gender-job satisfaction gaps show variation when specific occupations are examined and age also plays a role (Akbari et al., 2020; Jadoo, 2020; Nair et al., 2017; Magee, 2014). Overall, this review makes it evident that global

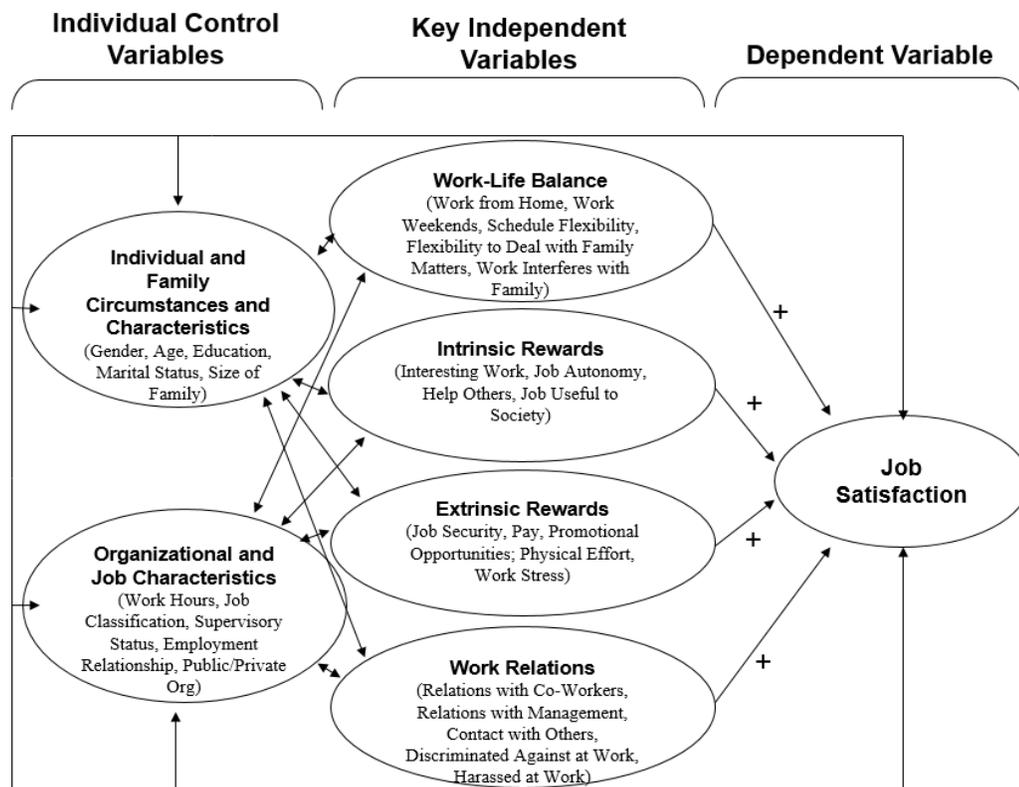
differences in job satisfaction need to be understood in more depth, taking contextual factors into consideration.

Perhaps the most interesting question that arises and one that merits further exploration is determining the extent to which the gender-job satisfaction paradox exists, where, and why, given the gains made in labor market equality for women and evidence in some contexts that women continue to exhibit greater job satisfaction than men in spite of equal educational levels, the same jobs as men, and gender equal societal conditions, making “the paradox . . . more paradoxical than ever” (Grönlund & Öun, 2018, p. 543). Certainly, growing evidence suggests that neither labor market limitations nor work orientation preferences (which may be influenced by social norms) can fully account for the gap. The review has also clearly established that in some countries the paradox does not exist at all, and women struggle with competing demands, maintaining traditional roles, and obtaining recognition for their contributions. Global comparisons, such as those made in this study, are critical to understanding the gender-job satisfaction paradox or absence of it.

Theoretical Framework and Model

The following theoretical model represents a synthesis of the tremendous amount of job satisfaction research done in recent decades. Many studies have pointed to the salience of intrinsic, extrinsic, workplace relationships, and work-life balance variables as drivers of one’s job satisfaction. We also include many additional individual and family circumstances and characteristics control variables and organizational and job characteristics control variables important to framing the context in which an individual works. Additionally, this project includes a gender variable in the individual controls, which allows us to make job satisfaction comparisons by gender and country of origin.

FIGURE 1
FACTORS INFLUENCING WORK CHARACTERISTICS AND JOB SATISFACTION



RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

As noted in our literature review, many studies report that women often report significantly higher levels of job satisfaction than men (Roxburgh, 1999; Clark, 1997; Sousa-Pouza and Sousa-Pouza, 2000; Bender et al., 2005). Still other studies find no significant difference by gender (Brush et al., 1987; Hodson, 2002; Bokemeier & William, 1987; Mobley et al., 1994; Fields & Blum, 1997; Westover, 2009). Regardless, most studies have found that women tend to be less motivated by extrinsic motivators than men, while women tend to be more motivated by intrinsic factors than men (Bokemeier & William, 1987; Hodson, 1989; Clark, 1997; Konrad et al., 2000; Donohue & Heywood, 2004; Westover, 2010).

Hypotheses

The literature review informed the hypotheses for this study, which are as follows:

Job Satisfaction by Gender

H1a: *There will be consistent statistically significant gender differences in job satisfaction levels across countries, while controlling for other work characteristic and individual factors.*

H1b: *There will be consistent statistically significant differences in the main predictors of job satisfaction by gender, while controlling for other work characteristic and individual factors.*

Job Satisfaction by Country

H2a: *There will be consistent statistically significant differences in the main predictors of job satisfaction by country, while controlling for other work characteristic and individual factors.*

H2b: *There will be consistent statistically significant differences in the main predictors of job satisfaction by country, while controlling for other work characteristic and individual factors.*

Job Satisfaction Determinants by Gender and Country

H3a: *Extrinsic rewards will be more salient and provide a greater level of predictability in overall perceived job satisfaction levels for male workers than their female counterparts.*

H3b: *Intrinsic rewards will be more salient and provide a greater level of predictability in overall perceived job satisfaction levels for female workers than their male counterparts.*

H3c: *Work relations will be more salient and provide a greater level of predictability in overall perceived job satisfaction levels for female workers than their male counterparts.*

H3d: *Work-life Balance rewards will be more salient and provide a greater level of predictability in overall perceived job satisfaction levels for female workers than their male counterparts.*

Description of the Data

We follow Andrade and Westover (2018a; 2018b) to examine non-panel longitudinal data from the 2015 Work Orientations Module of the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP)¹, utilizing multistage stratified probability sample to collect the data for each of the various countries with a variety of eligible participants in each country's target population². As Westover noted, "The International Social Survey Programme Work Orientations modules utilized a multistage stratified probability sample to collect the data for each of the various countries with a variety of eligible participants in each country's target population" (2012a, p. 3). The 2015 wave³ comprised 37 countries.

Based on the approach of Westover, “the Work Orientations module focuses on the areas of general attitudes toward work and leisure, work organization, and work content. Variables of interest in the data collected by the International Social Survey Programme are single-item indicators (i.e., with a single survey question for job satisfaction, interesting work, job autonomy, workplace relations, etc., on a Likert scale). For the purposes of this study, the units of analysis start with individuals within the separate sovereign nations. In addition to examining one large sample including all respondents from all participating countries, we examine a separate sample for each age cohort to determine which job characteristics best predict job satisfaction among that particular age cohort and then make comparisons (2012a, p. 3).

Operationalization of Variables

As can be seen in Table 3 below⁴, we build off of the work of Handel (2005) and Kalleberg (1977), we explored intrinsic, extrinsic, work relations, and work-life balance variables in order to examine cross-national differences in job satisfaction and its determinants (see also Spector, 1997; Souza-Poza & Souza-Poza 2000; de Bustillo Llorente & Macias, 2005).

TABLE 2
KEY CHARACTERISTICS RELATED TO JOB SATISFACTION

Dependent Variable:	
Job Satisfaction ⁵	“How satisfied are you in your main job?”
Intrinsic Rewards⁶:	
Interesting Job	“My job is interesting.”
Job Autonomy	“I can work independently.”
Help Others	“In my job I can help other people.”
Job Useful to Society	“My job is useful to society.”
Extrinsic Rewards⁷:	
Pay	“My income is high.”
Job Security	“My job is secure.”
Promotional Opportunities	“My opportunities for advancement are high.”
Physical Effort ⁸	“How often do you have to do hard physical work?”
Work Stress ⁹	“How often do you find your work stressful?”
Work Relations:	
Management-Employee Relations ¹⁰	“In general, how would you describe relations at your workplace between management and employees?”
Coworker Relations ¹¹	“In general, how would you describe relations at your workplace between workmates/colleagues?”
Contact with Others ¹²	“In my job, I have personal contact with others.”
Discriminated against at Work ¹³	“Over the past 5 years, have you been discriminated against with regard to work, for instance, when applying for a job, or when being considered for a pay increase or promotion?”
Harassed at Work ¹⁴	“Over the past 5 years, have you been harassed by your supervisors or coworkers at your job, for example, have you experienced any bullying, physical, or psychological abuse?”

Work-Life Balance	
Work from Home ¹⁵	How often do you work at home during your normal work hours?
Work Weekends ¹⁶	“How often does your job involve working weekends?”
Schedule Flexibility ¹⁷	“Which of the following best describes how your working hours are decided (times you start and finish your work)?”
Flexibility to Deal with Family Matters ¹⁸	“How difficult would it be for you to take an hour or two off during work hours, to take care of personal or family matters?”
Work Interferes with Family ¹⁹	“How often do you feel that the demands of your job interfere with your family?”

Individual and Family Circumstances and Characteristics

Westover states that, “the literature has identified many important individual control variables, due to limitations in data availability, control variables used for the quantitative piece of this study will be limited to the following individual characteristics: (1) Sex²⁰, (2) Age²¹, (3) Years of Education²², (4) Marital Status²³, and (5) Size of Family²⁴ (see Hammermesh 1999; Souza-Poza and Souza-Poza 2000; Hodson, 2002; Carlson and Mellor 2004)” (Westover, 2012b, p. 17). Additionally, an age cohort variable was coded based on the respondents’ birth year: (1) Silent Generation: 1918-1942, (2) Baby Boomer: 1943-1963, (3) Generation X: 1964-1981, and Millennials: 1982-2000 (Westover, 2012b, p. 3).

Organizational and Job Characteristics

Organizational and job characteristics control variables include: (1) Work Hours²⁵, (2) ISCO Job Classification²⁶, (3) Supervisory Status²⁷, (4) Employment Relationship²⁸, and (5) Public/Private Organization²⁹ (e.g., see Hammermesh, 1999; Souza-Poza & Souza-Poza, 2000).

Statistical Methodology

In analyzing the ISSP Work Orientations data, with individuals from 37 countries, we first performed the typical bivariate and multivariate analyses, including correlations, cross-tabulations, trend analysis, ANOVA and ANCOVA procedures, and general descriptive statistics. We then ran OLS regression models by gender and country.

RESULTS

Descriptive Results

Table 2 shows the main study variable results for the 37 countries by gender.

TABLE 2
DESCRIPTIVE DATA BY COUNTRY AND GENDER

VARIABLE	Australia		Austria		Belgium		Chile		China		Taiwan		Croatia		Czech Republic		Denmark		Estonia	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Job Satisfaction	5.17	5.20	5.91	5.67	5.28	5.19	5.64	5.50	4.74	4.58	5.23	5.26	5.25	5.34	5.29	5.27	5.57	5.44	5.21	5.27
Interesting Work	3.81	3.96	4.45	4.17	3.95	3.96	3.81	3.71	2.97	2.89	3.61	3.63	3.65	3.64	3.85	3.64	4.22	4.23	3.69	3.68
Job Autonomy	4.06	4.08	4.39	4.23	4.01	3.94	3.42	3.29	3.71	3.62	3.83	3.82	3.33	3.30	3.95	3.81	4.41	4.35	3.76	3.76
Help Others	3.93	4.17	3.92	3.88	3.87	4.03	3.84	3.93	3.63	3.59	3.94	3.99	3.61	3.79	3.55	3.76	4.01	4.29	3.64	3.78
Job Useful to Society	3.80	4.05	4.23	4.09	3.76	3.92	3.98	3.97	3.87	3.82	3.94	3.93	3.65	3.82	3.89	4.05	3.94	4.21	3.75	3.95
Job Security	3.48	3.64	4.23	4.02	3.76	3.72	3.59	3.69	3.66	3.72	3.64	3.62	3.75	3.77	3.77	3.68	3.92	3.81	4.01	3.85
Pay	2.94	2.76	3.44	2.97	3.07	2.77	2.80	2.61	2.52	2.55	2.91	2.79	2.61	2.42	2.93	2.55	3.25	2.72	2.88	2.51
Promotional Opportunities	2.59	2.66	3.32	2.94	2.71	2.45	2.80	2.71	2.41	2.44	2.75	2.73	2.78	2.65	2.68	2.44	2.89	2.49	2.61	2.52
Physical Effort	2.71	2.23	2.43	1.90	2.62	2.45	2.80	2.14	3.13	2.69	3.15	2.83	2.83	2.24	2.74	2.31	2.56	2.59	3.04	2.30
Work Stress	3.29	3.29	3.13	3.08	3.41	3.43	3.00	2.97	3.08	3.02	3.18	3.11	3.28	3.25	2.98	3.04	3.02	3.29	3.07	3.01
Relations with Coworkers	4.18	4.20	4.47	4.37	4.13	4.13	4.32	4.35	3.93	3.94	4.18	4.21	4.11	4.07	4.12	3.99	4.24	4.21	4.08	4.07
Relations with Management	3.78	3.82	4.21	4.17	3.69	3.62	3.96	4.12	3.76	3.76	4.06	4.08	3.78	3.83	3.78	3.76	3.85	3.73	3.85	3.85
Contact with Others	4.36	4.45	4.30	4.30	4.31	4.36	4.16	4.17	3.85	3.79	4.15	4.17	4.24	4.38	4.20	4.28	4.48	4.65	4.11	4.27
Discriminated Against at Work	1.74	1.77	1.87	1.83	1.79	1.78	1.78	1.82	1.64	1.65	1.88	1.85	1.84	1.78	1.85	1.78	1.88	1.79	1.89	1.84
Harassed at Work	1.69	1.61	1.94	1.89	1.83	1.75	1.90	1.87	1.85	1.84	1.93	1.91	1.91	1.86	1.88	1.86	1.88	1.78	1.89	1.82
Work from Home	3.95	3.97	4.35	4.35	3.92	4.00	3.88	3.78	3.66	3.66	4.14	4.19	4.24	4.29	4.30	4.41	--	--	4.26	4.11
Work Weekends	3.04	3.25	3.56	3.53	3.20	3.26	3.06	3.37	2.38	2.48	2.79	2.99	2.82	3.21	3.15	3.40	--	--	3.30	3.43
Schedule Flexibility	1.71	1.62	1.55	1.57	1.68	1.59	1.60	1.61	1.76	1.52	1.77	1.67	1.41	1.31	1.68	1.52	1.99	1.69	1.59	1.54
Flexibility to Deal with Family Matters	1.84	2.16	2.38	2.48	2.31	2.65	2.29	2.23	1.96	2.06	2.09	2.40	2.31	2.57	2.37	2.47	1.74	2.16	2.29	2.37
Work Interferes with Family	3.17	3.30	4.05	3.99	3.38	3.34	3.74	3.74	3.82	3.75	4.13	4.15	3.63	3.69	3.59	3.61	3.47	3.48	4.09	4.06
Age	51.14	47.86	41.36	40.17	43.38	41.55	46.10	43.55	42.91	40.64	42.70	40.73	40.13	40.33	43.04	43.94	--	--	43.52	45.48
Education	14.45	14.95	11.51	11.93	14.10	14.63	11.83	11.93	10.19	10.00	12.93	13.01	12.74	13.06	13.78	13.56	15.09	15.30	13.13	14.09
Size of Family	3.01	2.94	2.29	2.35	2.91	2.91	3.28	3.80	3.02	3.03	4.45	4.38	3.11	3.35	2.63	2.58	2.76	2.67	2.50	2.59
Work Hours	42.19	32.01	42.80	36.23	41.83	35.39	45.13	40.47	50.53	48.19	48.05	43.04	43.96	40.13	47.72	44.02	38.73	35.33	41.57	38.74

VARIABLE	Finland		France		Georgia		Germany		Hungary		Iceland		India		Israel		Japan		Latvia	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Job Satisfaction	5.42	5.47	5.17	5.08	4.85	5.16	5.41	5.42	5.22	5.11	5.49	5.43	5.60	5.30	5.62	5.47	4.39	4.57	5.41	5.37
Interesting Work	3.91	4.11	3.93	3.98	3.65	3.83	4.18	4.19	3.46	3.38	4.01	4.04	3.49	3.60	3.94	3.86	3.14	3.35	3.88	3.81
Job Autonomy	4.19	4.10	3.93	3.76	4.06	4.06	4.28	4.31	3.72	3.45	4.10	3.81	3.55	3.78	3.95	3.71	2.48	2.40	3.38	3.08
Help Others	3.80	4.09	3.79	3.88	3.98	4.09	3.57	3.80	3.67	3.79	3.97	4.15	3.54	3.60	4.10	4.16	3.33	3.52	3.85	4.03
Job Useful to Society	3.74	4.01	3.87	3.88	4.05	4.22	3.83	3.98	3.88	3.79	3.98	4.13	3.70	3.88	3.94	3.98	3.65	3.62	4.09	4.15
Job Security	3.57	3.60	3.40	3.65	3.64	4.18	4.10	4.08	3.66	3.51	3.96	3.95	3.94	3.87	3.82	4.04	3.28	3.46	3.78	3.78
Pay	3.09	2.75	2.60	2.43	2.56	2.40	3.06	2.73	2.60	2.32	3.02	2.58	3.22	3.33	3.29	2.88	2.30	2.26	2.88	2.48
Promotional Opportunities	2.70	2.64	2.46	2.15	2.55	2.54	3.08	2.79	2.54	2.36	3.09	2.88	3.39	3.47	3.16	2.89	2.04	1.83	2.64	2.49
Physical Effort	2.70	2.40	2.97	2.48	2.95	1.84	2.56	2.39	3.07	2.29	2.80	2.57	3.61	3.45	2.53	2.11	2.71	2.49	3.13	2.70
Work Stress	3.19	3.31	3.44	3.40	2.82	2.42	3.28	3.19	2.91	2.81	3.21	3.33	3.30	3.21	3.04	2.95	3.51	3.47	2.77	3.25
Relations with Coworkers	4.18	4.18	4.03	4.01	4.42	4.44	4.36	4.40	4.10	4.08	4.42	4.37	4.04	3.85	4.33	4.41	3.65	3.77	4.30	4.28
Relations with Management	3.83	3.83	3.48	3.53	4.26	4.34	4.10	4.17	3.88	3.89	4.13	4.01	4.11	3.90	4.10	4.19	3.44	3.54	4.08	4.06
Contact with Others	4.24	4.35	4.31	4.21	3.44	3.44	4.38	4.56	3.92	4.03	4.40	4.57	3.63	3.70	4.16	4.22	4.05	4.40	4.27	4.34
Discriminated Against at Work	1.87	1.83	1.80	1.80	1.91	1.93	1.78	1.76	1.95	1.94	1.79	1.74	1.62	1.37	1.83	1.81	1.89	1.87	1.81	1.82
Harassed at Work	1.85	1.75	1.78	1.74	1.94	1.96	1.92	1.87	1.96	1.96	1.85	1.81	1.70	1.70	1.89	1.87	1.80	1.67	1.91	1.89
Work from Home	3.94	4.11	4.09	4.02	3.63	4.03	4.22	4.35	4.13	4.31	3.90	4.16	2.96	2.68	3.70	3.76	4.32	4.35	4.29	4.41
Work Weekends	3.30	3.45	3.22	3.40	2.59	3.29	3.40	3.50	3.06	3.73	2.93	3.21	2.93	2.73	3.41	3.58	2.58	2.72	3.15	3.39
Schedule Flexibility	1.90	1.74	1.60	1.54	1.59	1.43	1.81	1.64	1.44	1.34	1.68	1.49	1.68	1.86	1.92	1.64	1.52	1.48	1.63	1.42
Flexibility to Deal with Family Matters	1.71	2.16	2.44	2.66	2.01	2.41	2.11	2.49	2.35	2.36	1.73	2.09	2.37	2.32	2.15	2.52	2.58	2.72	1.88	2.15
Work Interferes with Family	3.56	3.48	3.29	3.43	4.56	4.42	3.37	3.53	4.00	4.16	3.51	3.70	2.91	2.98	3.69	3.80	3.70	3.65	3.90	4.01
Age	45.06	44.94	45.64	44.18	43.69	47.64	43.59	43.20	43.80	43.13	46.55	43.59	40.12	42.84	45.16	42.69	49.23	46.30	40.74	44.44
Education	14.43	15.27	15.03	15.24	13.19	14.59	13.31	13.50	12.55	12.84	15.08	16.43	10.77	10.66	13.73	14.35	13.63	13.27	13.17	14.19
Size of Family	2.76	2.65	2.90	2.89	3.07	3.01	2.74	2.72	2.50	2.35	3.06	3.08	5.51	5.96	3.79	3.71	3.31	3.27	2.89	2.72
Work Hours	39.99	36.24	40.71	35.54	41.09	37.04	42.77	32.34	43.71	41.62	46.38	38.54	48.39	37.24	43.95	35.44	45.09	32.56	43.02	39.02

VARIABLE	Lithuania		Mexico		New Zealand		Norway		Philippines		Poland		Russia		Slovak Republic		Slovenia	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Job Satisfaction	5.01	5.01	5.72	5.79	5.40	5.29	5.48	5.38	5.57	5.56	4.87	4.82	5.29	5.22	5.23	5.32	5.31	5.31
Interesting Work	3.56	3.56	3.82	3.84	3.99	4.00	4.05	4.13	3.98	4.00	3.24	3.23	3.70	3.69	3.67	3.63	4.14	4.11
Job Autonomy	3.69	3.61	3.76	3.61	4.11	4.10	4.17	4.18	4.07	4.04	3.03	2.88	3.40	3.31	3.77	3.69	4.18	4.13
Help Others	3.68	3.84	3.96	3.96	4.07	4.25	3.86	4.19	4.10	4.22	3.08	3.17	3.52	3.57	3.61	3.78	4.07	4.26
Job Useful to Society	3.62	3.76	4.02	4.03	3.89	4.11	3.93	4.18	4.05	4.04	3.50	3.61	3.88	3.89	3.94	3.99	3.87	4.11
Job Security	3.58	3.84	3.79	3.81	3.76	3.67	3.79	3.96	3.99	4.01	3.14	3.13	3.77	3.78	3.40	3.47	4.10	4.05
Pay	2.53	2.37	2.83	2.72	3.16	2.62	3.10	2.66	3.33	3.29	2.35	2.18	3.38	3.11	2.81	2.64	3.43	3.14
Promotional Opportunities	2.44	2.55	3.13	2.93	2.85	2.73	2.72	2.49	3.45	3.46	2.31	2.22	3.05	2.96	2.81	2.65	3.02	2.86
Physical Effort	3.04	2.47	2.92	2.31	2.89	2.37	2.46	2.33	3.49	3.03	3.80	3.51	2.84	1.96	2.80	2.19	2.68	2.24
Work Stress	2.90	3.21	2.85	2.65	3.21	3.19	3.20	3.43	3.28	3.08	3.09	3.18	3.25	3.23	3.09	2.89	3.31	3.54
Relations with Coworkers	4.06	4.00	4.25	4.21	4.36	4.32	4.40	4.32	4.04	4.01	3.94	3.91	3.89	3.91	4.15	4.12	4.21	4.08
Relations with Management	3.81	3.79	4.13	4.11	4.07	4.02	3.84	3.77	3.99	3.99	3.63	3.64	3.71	3.74	3.82	3.99	3.71	3.60
Contact with Others	4.13	4.26	4.09	4.17	4.31	4.38	4.23	4.47	4.04	4.11	3.84	3.94	3.80	4.00	4.02	4.22	4.44	4.51
Discriminated Against at Work	1.90	1.78	1.84	1.83	1.84	1.78	1.88	1.89	1.79	1.82	1.72	1.73	1.87	1.83	1.86	1.90	1.84	1.76
Harassed at Work	1.95	1.88	1.93	1.93	1.73	1.65	1.90	1.83	1.91	1.92	1.93	1.88	1.93	1.91	1.93	1.92	1.92	1.82
Work from Home	4.29	4.20	4.11	3.97	4.04	4.05	3.78	4.07	2.62	2.10	4.22	4.17	4.23	4.10	4.31	4.28	3.82	3.75
Work Weekends	3.30	3.33	2.61	2.70	2.94	3.12	3.14	3.32	2.53	2.61	2.90	3.25	3.25	3.58	3.02	3.32	3.11	3.28
Schedule Flexibility	1.54	1.44	1.64	1.63	1.85	1.63	1.77	1.58	2.08	2.30	1.64	1.49	1.34	1.25	1.68	1.53	1.65	1.54
Flexibility to Deal with Family Matters	2.06	2.09	2.39	2.42	1.68	2.01	1.86	2.33	2.41	2.31	2.40	2.50	2.84	2.80	2.51	2.52	1.97	2.21
Work Interferes with Family	3.89	3.81	3.63	3.41	3.32	3.41	3.64	3.60	3.49	3.64	3.65	3.79	4.03	3.80	3.85	4.04	3.67	3.62
Age	40.78	41.61	37.02	34.89	51.12	48.69	45.71	44.53	42.77	43.68	42.18	43.16	40.06	40.39	42.45	44.27	41.78	43.31
Education	13.75	15.20	10.26	11.29	14.68	14.66	13.80	14.49	8.82	9.54	12.73	13.80	12.97	13.61	13.92	13.94	13.45	14.27
Size of Family	2.82	2.88	4.26	4.39	2.78	2.80	2.85	2.81	4.59	4.70	4.28	4.08	2.99	2.95	3.03	3.01	3.51	3.31
Work Hours	44.53	40.78	45.15	40.50	42.18	32.04	39.68	35.00	45.37	42.42	43.83	39.69	42.68	40.34	43.69	39.41	44.82	41.33

VARIABLE	South Africa		Spain		Suriname		Sweden		Switzerland		United Kingdom		United States		Venezuela		All Countries		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Job Satisfaction	5.29	5.24	5.54	5.48	5.32	5.38	5.27	5.17	5.81	5.70	5.34	5.38	5.52	5.39	5.99	5.78	5.35	5.31	
Interesting Work	3.73	3.67	3.90	3.79	3.97	3.91	3.96	4.00	4.37	4.34	3.91	4.01	4.01	4.02	4.42	4.24	3.84	3.83	
Job Autonomy	3.66	3.70	3.67	3.47	4.13	4.10	4.17	4.05	4.36	4.30	4.14	4.05	4.11	4.13	4.17	3.89	3.87	3.78	3.78
Help Others	3.85	3.91	3.71	3.91	3.97	3.95	3.67	4.15	4.08	4.20	3.94	4.18	4.23	4.38	4.66	4.50	3.83	3.96	3.96
Job Useful to Society	3.93	3.98	3.90	4.03	4.07	4.05	3.80	4.18	4.07	4.16	3.73	4.03	4.10	4.17	4.74	4.39	3.91	4.00	4.00
Job Security	3.70	3.69	3.62	3.68	3.79	3.82	3.91	4.07	4.08	4.09	3.70	3.64	3.98	3.94	4.37	4.46	3.77	3.80	3.80
Pay	2.86	2.87	2.77	2.60	2.93	2.65	3.21	2.74	3.27	3.02	2.93	2.63	2.94	2.64	3.47	2.91	2.95	2.70	2.70
Promotional Opportunities	3.24	3.19	2.58	2.42	3.34	3.19	3.11	2.87	3.17	2.94	3.02	2.88	3.16	3.03	3.30	3.02	2.86	2.71	2.71
Physical Effort	3.26	2.81	2.90	2.46	2.84	2.16	2.70	2.61	2.57	2.41	2.82	2.43	3.42	3.55	3.17	2.84	2.91	2.49	2.49
Work Stress	3.14	3.10	3.32	3.24	2.80	2.46	3.38	3.57	3.13	3.13	3.26	3.27	3.19	3.25	3.16	3.33	3.15	3.15	3.15
Relations with Coworkers	4.33	4.33	4.38	4.26	4.14	4.13	4.35	4.27	4.55	4.43	4.34	4.38	4.17	4.07	4.25	4.21	4.20	4.17	4.17
Relations with Management	4.07	4.19	4.09	4.00	3.95	3.92	3.81	3.73	4.22	4.14	3.98	3.93	4.02	3.91	4.16	4.21	3.92	3.92	3.92
Contact with Others	4.00	4.00	4.30	4.39	4.17	4.09	4.17	4.55	4.47	4.54	4.35	4.40	4.44	4.49	4.75	4.77	4.18	4.27	4.27
Discriminated Against at Work	1.81	1.85	1.85	1.77	1.82	1.84	1.87	1.78	1.83	1.83	1.87	1.91	1.79	1.78	1.82	1.81	1.83	1.80	1.80
Harassed at Work	1.90	1.91	1.92	1.89	1.89	1.91	1.90	1.84	1.87	1.85	1.86	1.81	1.82	1.76	1.88	1.89	1.88	1.84	1.84
Work from Home	3.86	3.84	4.29	4.29	3.54	3.51	3.91	4.20	4.04	4.17	4.02	4.11	3.98	3.99	3.82	3.68	3.97	3.98	3.98
Work Weekends	2.97	3.29	2.94	3.13	2.85	3.28	3.39	3.52	3.42	3.41	2.92	3.24	2.90	2.96	3.18	3.34	3.03	3.24	3.24
Schedule Flexibility	1.44	1.34	1.57	1.46	1.66	1.50	1.89	1.76	1.90	1.75	1.61	1.55	1.68	1.59	1.71	1.57	1.68	1.57	1.57
Flexibility to Deal with Family Matters	2.35	2.32	1.96	2.27	2.00	2.08	1.66	2.20	1.72	2.11	2.05	2.25	1.78	2.12	2.59	2.51	2.14	2.34	2.34
Work Interferes with Family	3.57	3.70	3.45	3.47	4.21	4.24	3.42	3.31	3.56	3.68	3.24	3.31	3.49	3.48	3.90	3.80	3.66	3.69	3.69
Age	39.86	39.93	42.91	43.10	42.78	42.10	48.40	46.34	43.97	42.46	44.94	43.28	42.83	44.33	38.82	38.73	43.51	43.11	43.11
Education	11.73	11.64	13.27	14.16	10.28	11.19	13.67	14.41	14.09	13.37	15.37	15.07	13.97	14.35	10.94	11.46	13.04	13.49	13.49
Size of Family	3.15	3.78	3.23	3.17	3.70	3.89	2.77	2.83	3.01	2.80	2.58	2.63	2.48	2.58	5.20	4.56	3.24	3.25	3.25
Work Hours	47.57	42.06	43.97	36.51	43.91	36.56	40.52	36.99	43.67	32.80	43.11	33.30	44.88	37.94	42.64	39.49	43.78	38.01	38.01

Figure 2 shows the mean job satisfaction levels by gender across the 37 countries included in the 2015 wave of ISSP Work Orientations data. It is important to note the general variation across countries and the different between genders within the same country. Figure 3 highlights the gender differences within countries by subtracting the mean male score from the mean female score. All countries in Figure 3 with positive differences (pink bars) exhibit the gender-job satisfaction paradox to some extent with the female average job satisfaction being higher than the male. Georgia and Japan show the highest female over male job satisfaction difference and India, Austria, and Venezuela have the highest male over female job satisfaction difference.

FIGURE 2
MEAN JOB SATISFACTION BY GENDER

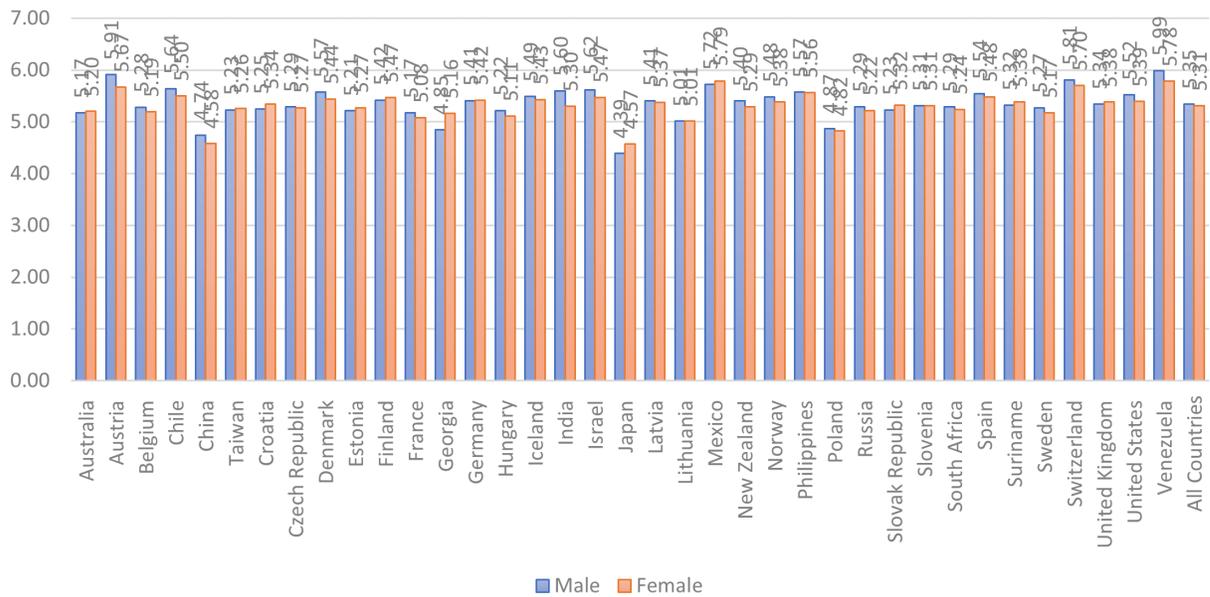
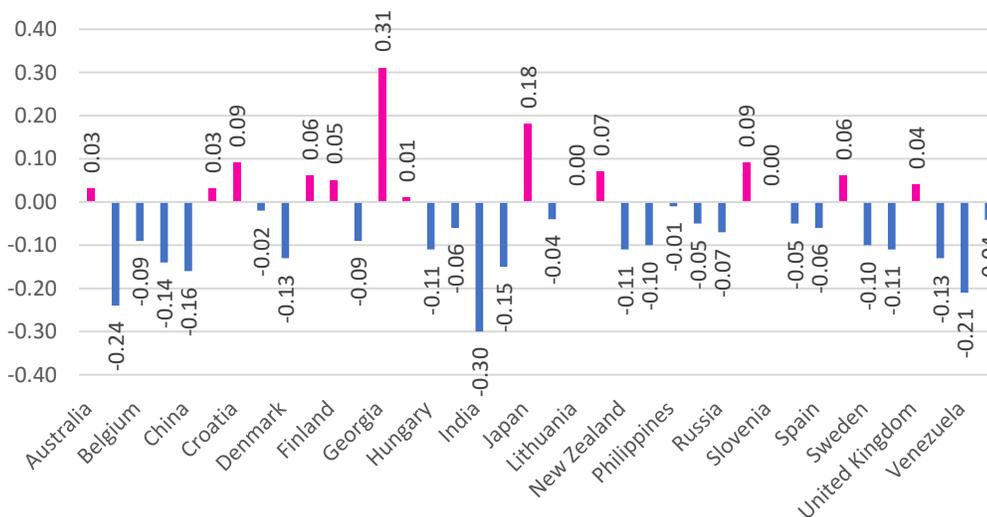


FIGURE 3
JOB SATISFACTION BY COUNTRY: FEMALE LESS MALE



Viewing the all countries data at a macro level sheds some insight into which descriptives, if any, may contribute to the gender-job satisfaction paradox. Figure 4 shows the descriptive score on average for all countries. Gender differences within each descriptive are highlighted by the differences between the male and female bars. Diving into these differences, Figure 5 shows the summated differences between females and males for each descriptive. That is, for each descriptive, each country male score was subtracted from the female score to reveal the summated difference for that descriptive. Positive values (pink) suggest larger female over male scores and negative values (blue) suggest larger male over female scores. This comparative study shows significant differences in Pay, Promotional Opportunities, and Physical Effort as demonstrated by the largest negative bars (blue) and Work Weekends, Flexibility to Deal with Family Matters, and Help Others as demonstrated by the largest positive bars (pink). This analysis will look further into Physical Effort and Work Weekends to examine the country to country differences as well as the in country gender differences to better understand these differences.

FIGURE 4
ALL COUNTRIES AVERAGE DESCRIPTIVES BY GENDER

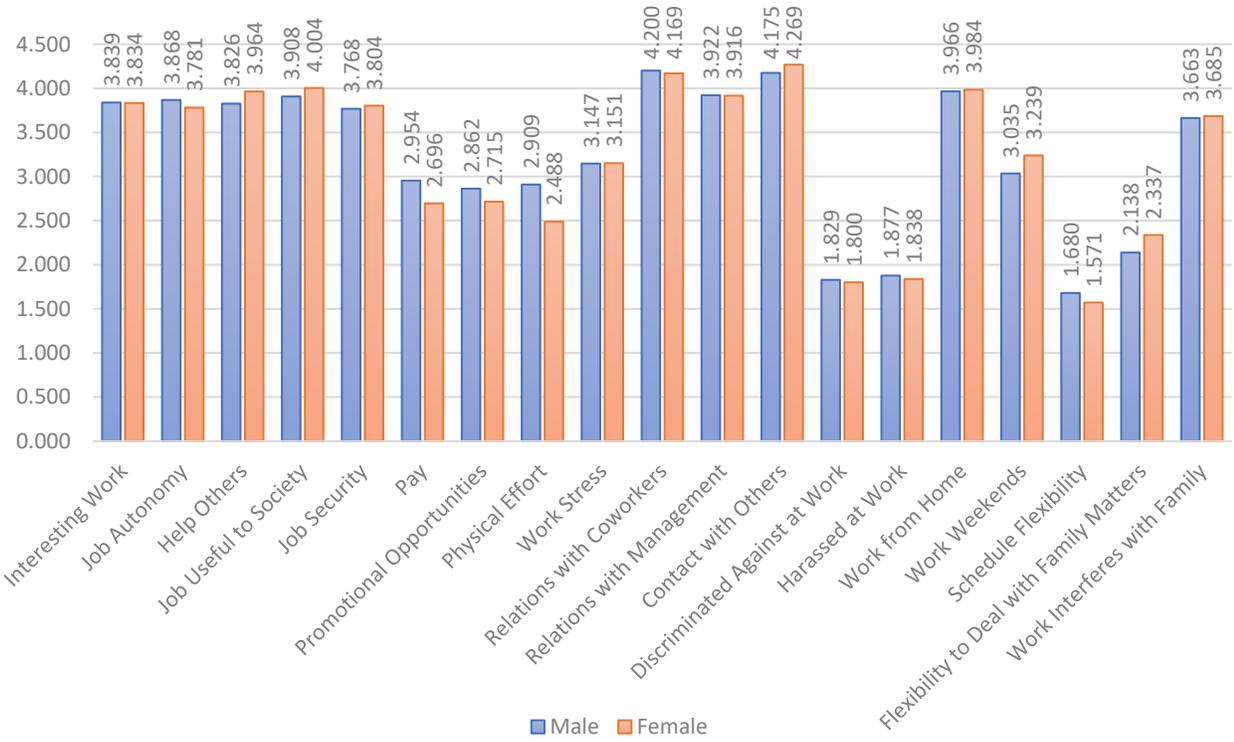


FIGURE 5
SUMMATION OF DESCRIPTIVES BY COUNTRY FEMALE LESS MALE

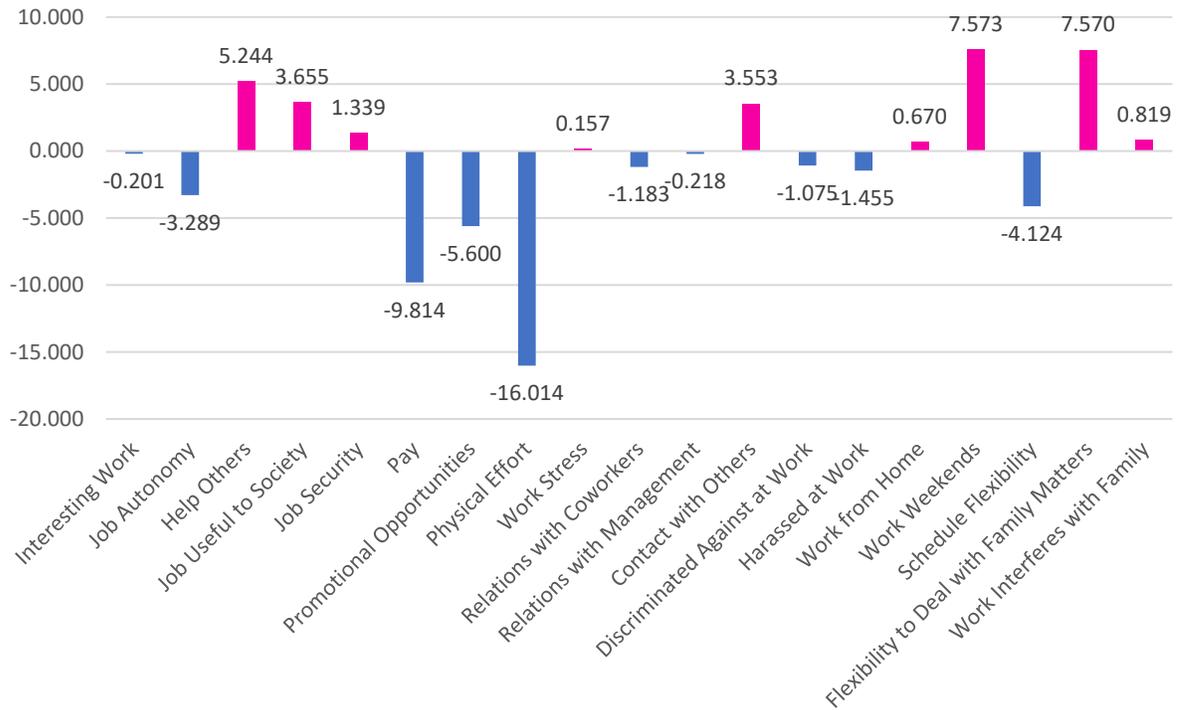


Figure 6 looks at Work Weekends which has a large positive difference in Figure 5 suggesting higher female scores by country. All countries contribute to this positive difference with the exception of Austria and Switzerland which appear to have a slightly higher score for males. There is clear country to country variation of the female to male difference.

FIGURE 6
WORK WEEKENDS DESCRIPTIVE VALUES BY GENDER AND COUNTRY

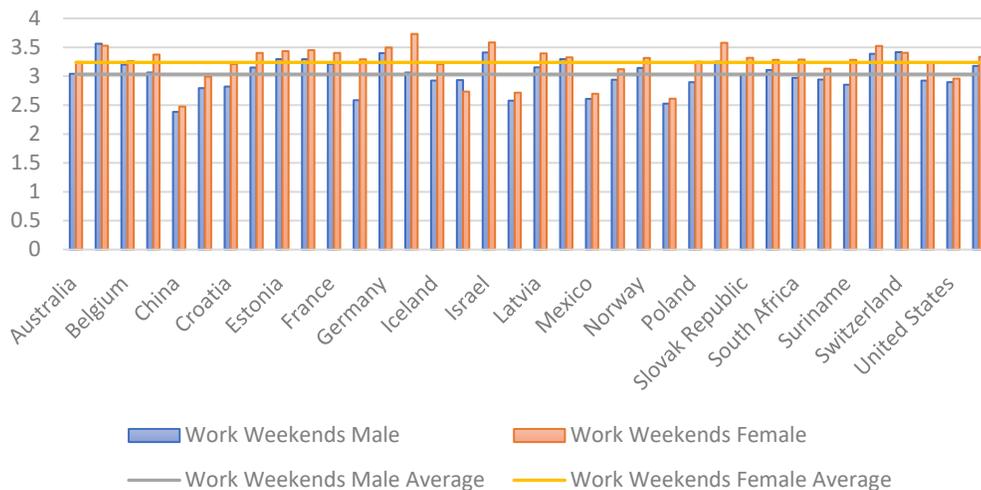
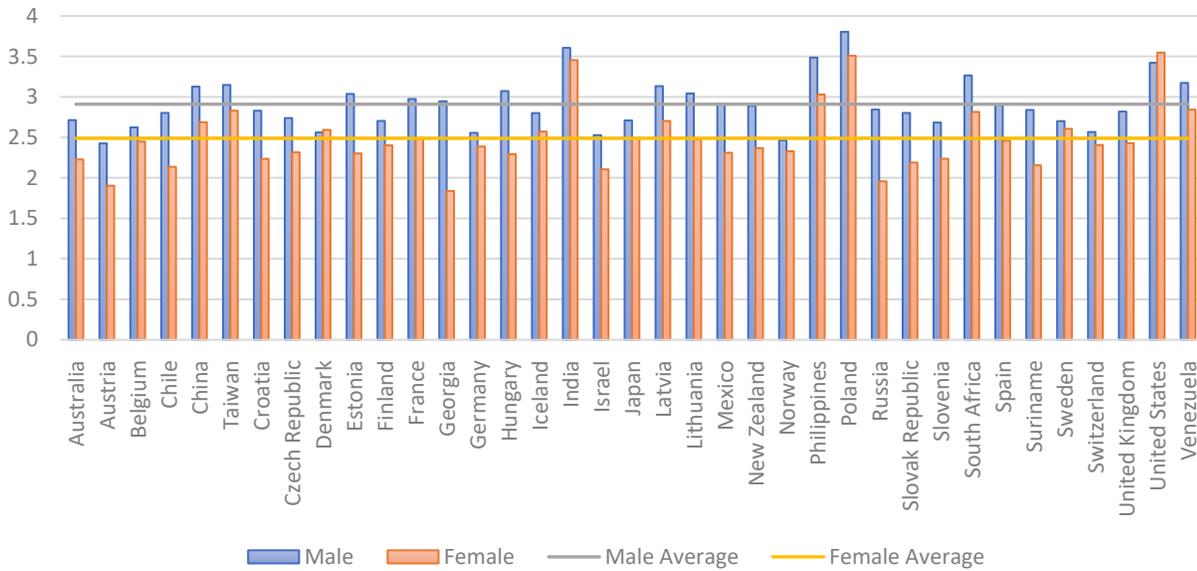


Figure 7 takes a closer look at physical effort which has a large negative difference in Figure 5 suggesting higher male scores by country. All countries contribute to this negative difference with the exception of Denmark which appears to have a slightly higher score for females. While a large amount of countries appear to have an equivalent male to female difference to the average, there are countries throughout the graphic that have smaller or larger differences.

FIGURE 7
PHYSICAL EFFORT DESCRIPTIVE VALUES BY GENDER AND COUNTRY



Regression Results

All independent variables by gender were regressed on job satisfaction to analyze their influence. Figure 8 shows the adjusted R square values for each country by gender. All values were significant ($p < .001$). This combined model accounts for 42% of male and 43.6% of female variation within the model. There is clear variation between males and females of the same country as well as country to country. It is also apparent that in some countries, the model is a much better fit for one gender over the other. Several countries within Asia and South America have very low adjusted-R squared values suggesting lower model fit.

FIGURE 8
MODEL FIT: JOB SATISFACTION MODEL ADJUSTED R-SQUARED BY
GENDER AND COUNTRY

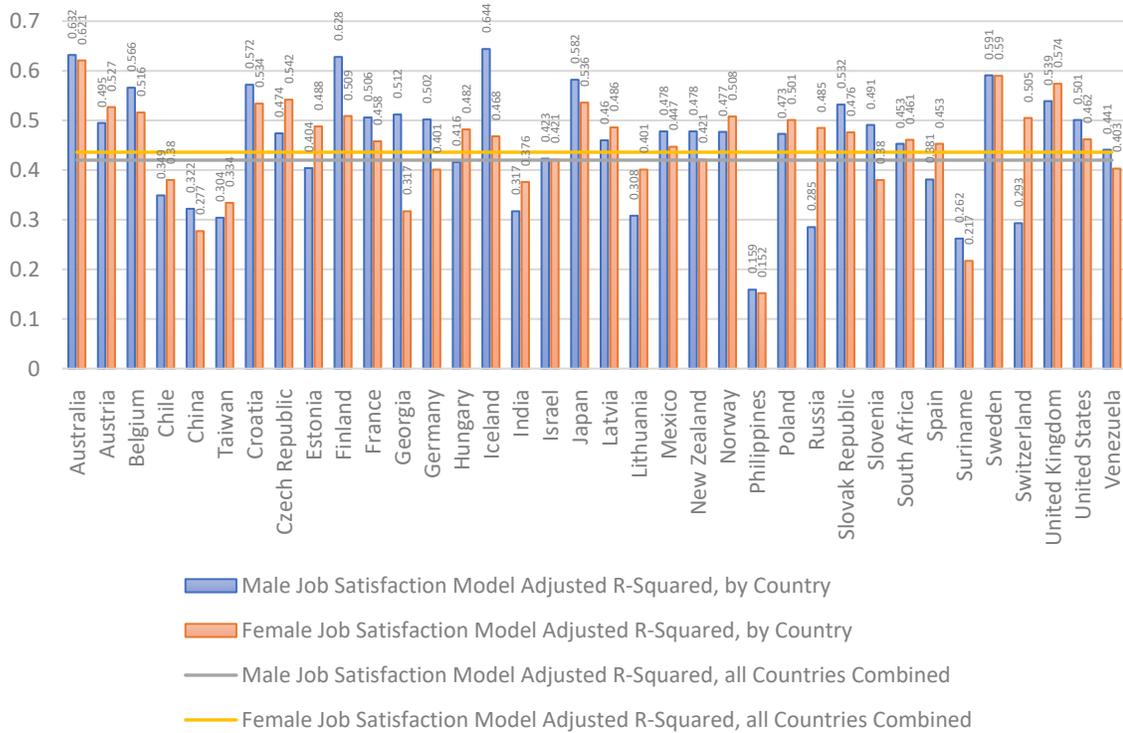
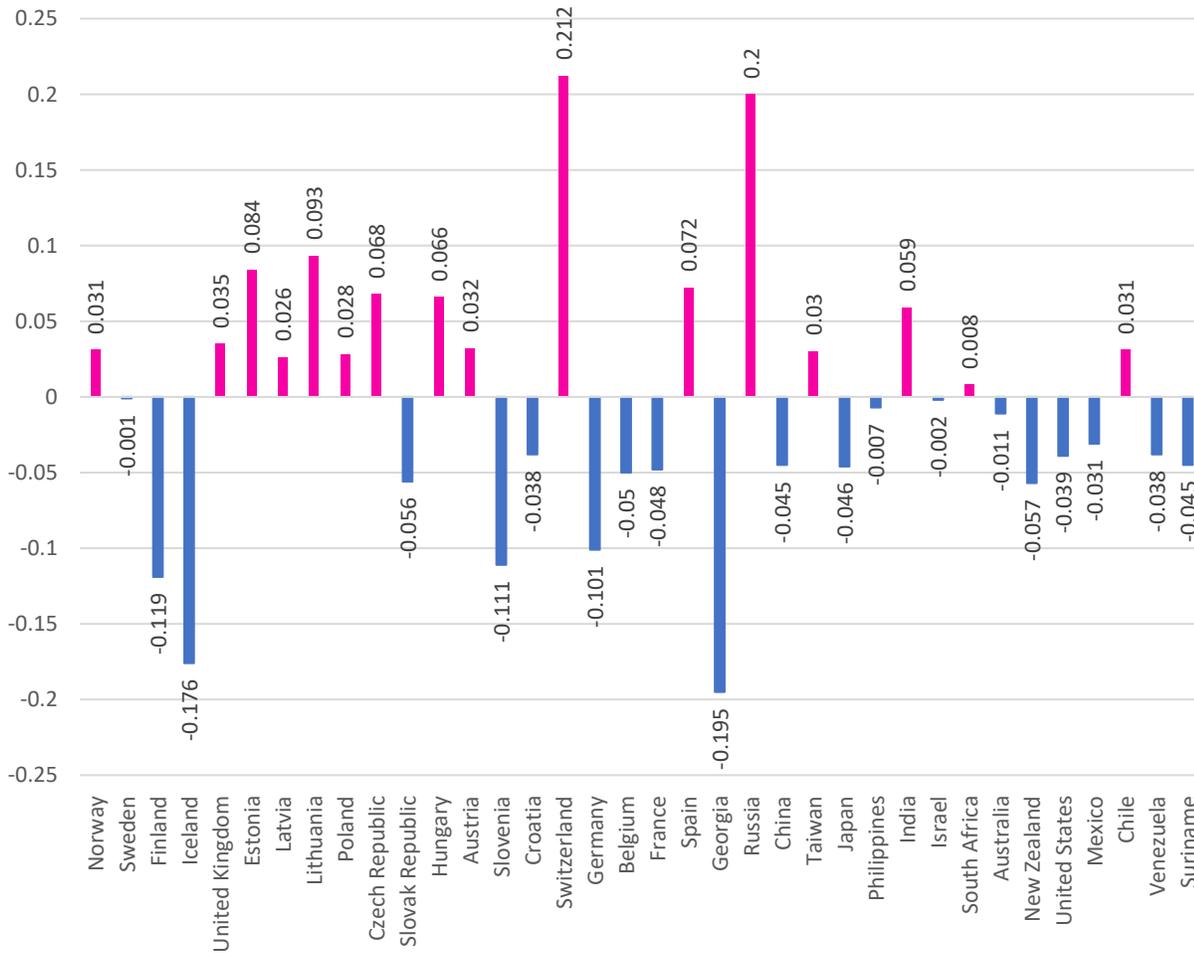


Figure 9 highlights the difference in adjusted R-squared values between the genders within each country. This representation was created by taking the female adjusted R-squared value less the male adjusted R-squared value. It emphasizes the countries where the model predicts job satisfaction more or less for one gender over the other. Positive numbers (pink) indicate a higher female adjusted R-squared value and negative numbers (blue) indicate a higher male adjusted R-squared value. Switzerland and Russia have some of the biggest female over male gaps and Georgia, Iceland, and Finland have some of the largest male over female gaps. This particular study will look further into Switzerland and Georgia to better understand the nature of this difference in model fit.

FIGURE 9
FEMALE LESS MALE ADJUSTED R SQUARE VALUES BY COUNTRY



As indicated above, Switzerland had one of the highest female less male adjusted R-squared values as seen in Figure 9. This indicates that the model better predicts female job satisfaction over male job satisfaction. Figure 10 shows a complete set of the beta values for the descriptives in Switzerland. This figure points out which descriptives contribute the most to changes in job satisfaction. In the case of Switzerland, Interesting Work and Relations with Management contribute highly to overall job satisfaction. Both these Interesting Work and Relations with Management will be further explored in this analysis.

FIGURE 10
JOB SATISFACTION MODEL: SWITZERLAND BETA VALUES BY GENDER

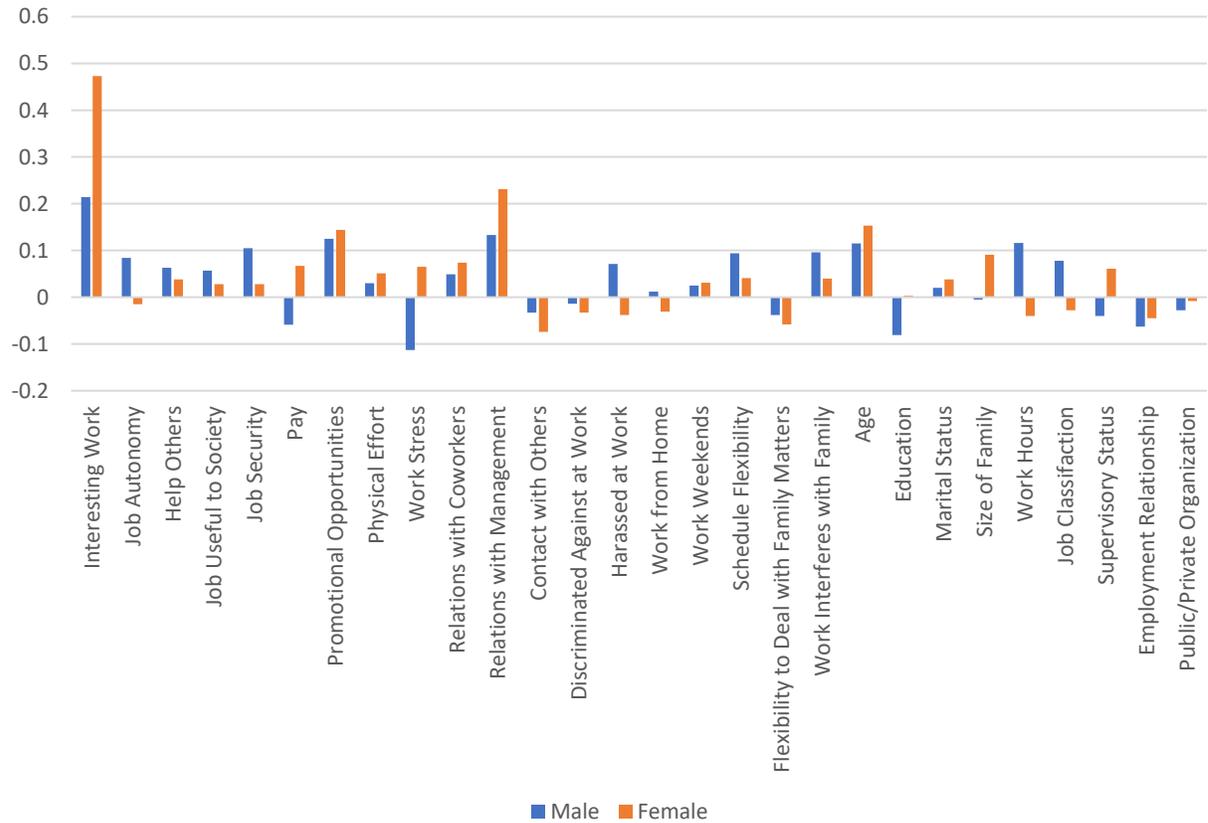
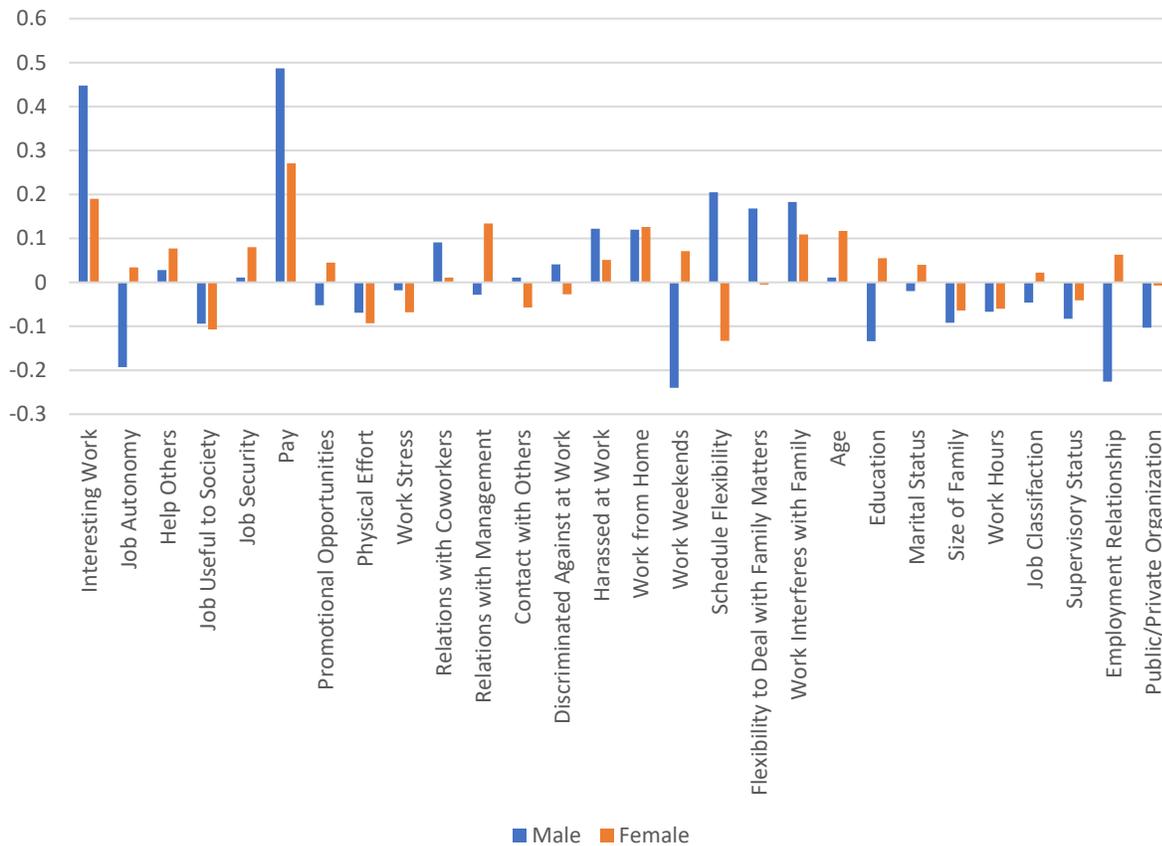


Figure 11 takes a closer look at the beta values for Georgia which had one of the lowest female less male adjusted R squared values as seen in Figure 9. This indicates that the model better predicts male job satisfaction over female job satisfaction. This graph shows which descriptives contribute largely to job satisfaction. In the case of Georgia, Interesting Work and Pay contribute highly to job satisfaction.

FIGURE 11
JOB SATISFACTION MODEL: GEORGIA BETA VALUES BY GENDER



Looking at the significance of the beta values in Table 3, Interesting Work and Relations with Management beta values generally have high significance across the countries and genders. Further researching the trends of these variables with high confidence, may uncover some of the different micro variations that contribute to the macro level differences that are seen. Figure 12 looks directly at Relations With Management and Figure 13 looks at Interesting Work. For example, the overall adjusted R-squared values for the Philippines were low suggesting low model fit (see Figure 8) and the Relations with Management and Interesting work beta values were low as well (see Figure 12 and Figure 13). Thus, across the board there is evidence that this western model may not explain job satisfaction equally across all countries and gender.

TABLE 3
JOB SATISFACTION MODEL DATA BY GENDER AND COUNTRY

VARIABLE	Australia		Austria		Belgium		Chile		China		Taiwan		Croatia		Czech Republic		Estonia		Finland		France		Georgia		Germany	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Interesting Work	0.351***	0.158***	0.119*	0.052	0.439***	0.321***	0.190**	0.120	0.033	0.295**	0.064	0.098***	0.372***	0.337***	0.306***	0.328***	0.166*	0.227***	0.336***	0.426***	0.345***	0.375***	0.448***	0.190*	0.317***	0.327***
Job Autonomy	0.049	-0.074	0.009	0.033	-0.024	0.119**	-0.209**	-0.140	0.004	-0.060	-0.068	-0.053	0.105*	0.043	0.051*	0.043	0.065	0.084	0.152**	-0.060	0.067	0.034	-0.193*	0.034	0.070	0.108*
Help Others	-0.101	-0.018	0.155*	0.059	0.024	0.088	0.006	-0.001	-0.088	0.087	0.089*	0.058	0.018	0.088	0.015	0.011	-0.006	0.019	-0.026	0.058	0.081	0.014	0.028	0.077	-0.033	-0.017
Job Useful to Society	0.081	0.177**	0.042	0.044	0.049	0.091	0.136	0.152	0.127	-0.016	0.039	-0.047	0.251*	0.055	0.055	-0.054	0.043	0.026	0.050	-0.034	-0.035	0.046	-0.094	-0.107	-0.021	-0.017
Job Security	0.136**	0.082	0.028	0.179**	-0.012	0.023	0.113	0.055	0.148	0.090	0.102*	0.097*	0.251**	-0.086	0.132**	0.050	-0.032	0.046	0.089	0.071	0.003	-0.024	0.011	0.080	0.089*	0.028
Pay	0.128*	0.112*	0.143**	0.104	0.108**	0.026	0.028	0.078	0.046	0.216	0.098*	0.117**	0.201*	-0.040	0.065	0.088	0.280***	0.127*	0.063	0.152*	0.123	0.165**	0.487***	0.271***	0.130**	0.060
Promotional Opportunities	0.012	0.125*	0.132*	0.082	0.059	0.136**	0.109	0.070	0.056	-0.101	-0.054	0.054	-0.002	0.061	0.151**	0.011	0.052	0.036	0.077	0.067	0.143*	0.084	-0.052	0.045	-0.037	0.052
Physical Effort	0.069	-0.038	-0.042	-0.065	0.125*	-0.051	-0.072	-0.065	-0.133	0.123	-0.035	0.078	0.249**	0.037	-0.019	0.105*	-0.040	-0.023	0.028	-0.080	0.075	-0.021	-0.069	-0.093	0.068	0.056
Work Stress	-0.134*	-0.207***	-0.080	-0.050	-0.096**	-0.130	-0.111	-0.074	-0.011	-0.096	-0.035	-0.147**	0.038	-0.036	-0.140**	-0.103*	-0.041	-0.019	-0.106*	-0.174**	-0.047	-0.211***	-0.018	-0.068	-0.165***	-0.223***
Relations with Coworkers	-0.037	0.092	0.063	0.156**	0.056	0.058	0.114	-0.025	0.018	0.130**	0.128*	0.099	0.190	0.099	0.084	0.139**	0.185**	0.145**	0.115*	0.039	0.089	0.139**	0.091	0.011	0.055	0.123*
Relations with Management	0.365***	0.219***	0.153**	0.226***	0.293***	0.133**	0.135	0.190*	0.218	-0.094	0.190***	0.198***	0.193*	0.228	0.119*	0.265***	0.128	0.171**	0.277***	0.272***	0.325***	0.180**	-0.028	0.134	0.208***	0.195*
Contact with Others	0.130*	-0.009	-0.042	0.035	0.056	0.016	0.036	0.044	-0.058	-0.055	0.026	-0.058	0.158*	-0.057	0.018	0.112*	0.030	0.080	0.090	0.007	0.039	-0.034	0.011	-0.057	0.111*	0.035
Discriminated Against at Work	0.012	0.082	0.131*	0.047	-0.016	0.020	0.061	0.112	-0.006	-0.057	0.017	-0.001	0.078	-0.014	0.107*	-0.014	0.093	0.022	0.043	-0.075	0.027	0.021	0.041	-0.027	0.114**	0.111*
Harassed at Work	-0.008	0.026	-0.057	-0.007	0.071*	-0.043	0.052	-0.013	0.008	-0.037	0.010	-0.027	-0.038	0.019	0.066	0.020	-0.037	0.026	0.040	-0.028	-0.031	0.025	0.122	0.051	0.006	-0.012
Work from Home	0.047	0.044	-0.029	-0.013	0.021	0.002	0.011	-0.011	-0.134	0.002	-0.050	-0.043	0.138	0.157	0.004	-0.010	-0.032	0.026	-0.041	-0.036	-0.044	0.002	0.120	0.126	0.047	-0.004
Work Weekends	-0.098	-0.080	-0.048	0.055	-0.016	-0.011	-0.039	-0.046	0.045	-0.055	-0.007	-0.037	0.076	0.003	-0.127**	-0.053	0.022	-0.020	0.059	-0.033	-0.029	-0.083	-0.240*	0.071	-0.091*	-0.055
Schedule Flexibility	0.040	0.062	-0.045	0.045	-0.007	0.072	0.071	0.007	-0.006	0.049	0.043	0.034	-0.060	-0.135	0.023	0.040	0.015	0.111	0.068	0.016	-0.126	-0.037	0.205*	-0.133	0.022	0.066
Flexibility to Deal with Family Matters	0.011	0.045	-0.165**	-0.043	-0.030	-0.028	-0.139*	-0.123	0.056	-0.142	-0.014	-0.006	-0.081	-0.069	-0.030	0.011	0.012	-0.071	0.069	0.022	-0.016	-0.082	0.168	-0.005	-0.019	-0.082
Work Interferes with Family	0.138*	0.200***	0.145**	0.048	0.128	0.130**	0.059	0.264***	-0.003	0.112	0.201**	0.139**	0.179*	0.165	0.044	0.188***	0.078	0.155**	0.128*	0.143*	0.064	0.063	0.183*	0.109	0.175***	0.101*
Age	0.009	0.056	-0.100	-0.073	0.048	0.044	0.148*	0.008	-0.190	0.030	0.082	0.101	0.044	-0.014	0.127*	0.062	0.077	0.113*	0.164**	-0.003	0.133*	-0.020	0.011	0.117	0.035	0.081
Education	-0.005	0.003	-0.067	-0.119*	-0.040	-0.137**	0.019	0.050	-0.118	-0.074	-0.036	-0.062	0.117	-0.016	-0.010	-0.060	0.032	-0.019	-0.019	0.021	0.074	-0.131*	-0.134	0.055	-0.035	-0.006
Marital Status	-0.099	-0.006	-0.166*	-0.071	0.012	-0.040	0.021	-0.029	-0.294**	-0.17*	-0.056	-0.078	-0.062	-0.127	0.060	-0.055	-0.051	0.027	0.066	0.001	0.005	0.009	-0.020	0.040	-0.064	0.052
Size of Family	-0.086	0.005	-0.094	-0.014	0.001	-0.003	-0.042	0.051	0.177	-0.007	-0.066	0.002	0.004	-0.006	0.109*	-0.036	-0.043	0.012	0.046	0.007	0.041	0.026	-0.092	-0.064	-0.046	0.121*
Work Hours	0.052	-0.010	0.085	0.076	0.044	0.106*	0.165*	0.054	-0.177	0.073	-0.052	0.042	0.197*	-0.040	-0.024	0.015	-0.027	0.025	-0.064	-0.003	-0.113	0.046	-0.067	-0.060	-0.010	0.080
Job Classification	-0.030	-0.041	0.077	-0.038	-0.051	-0.007	0.048	-0.022	0.132	-0.174	-0.059	-0.127*	-0.125	-0.037	0.035	-0.070	0.036	-0.131*	0.099	0.092	-0.005	-0.038	-0.046	0.022	-0.029	0.047
Supervisory Status	0.049	-0.008	-0.038	0.021	0.018	0.032	0.022	-0.027	-0.115	-0.104	-0.022	-0.036	-0.070	-0.043	0.012	-0.010	0.006	-0.017	-0.057	-0.042	-0.017	0.112*	-0.083	-0.041	0.053	0.067
Employment Relationship	0.015	-0.028	0.004	-0.018	-0.049	-0.002	0.017	0.027	0.068	-0.096	0.007	0.068	-0.237*	0.009	-0.066	-0.008	-0.011	0.047	-0.069	0.002	0.103	-0.031	-0.226*	0.063	0.038	-0.066
Public/Private Organization	-0.062	-0.001	-0.067	-0.068	-0.016	0.026	0.030	-0.026	-0.074	-0.111	-0.018	-0.026	-0.117	-0.142	0.050	-0.021	-0.047	0.062	-0.013	-0.028	-0.048	-0.068	-0.103	-0.007	0.020	-0.028
N	204	233	277	274	432	432	231	204	119	137	618	481	121	94	316	340	251	327	222	242	201	261	104	202	391	350
Adj. R-SQUARED	0.632	0.621	0.495	0.527	0.566	0.516	0.349	0.380	0.322	0.277	0.304	0.334	0.572	0.534	0.474	0.542	0.404	0.488	0.628	0.509	0.506	0.458	0.512	0.317	0.502	0.401
F	13.43***	14.55***	10.67***	11.85***	21.10***	17.39***	5.40***	5.45***	3.00***	2.88***	10.60***	9.59***	6.73***	4.81***	11.12***	15.33***	7.06***	12.08***	14.32***	9.94***	8.33***	8.86***	4.85***	4.33***	15.04***	9.38***

Beta Values; Level of significance: * = p < .05; ** = p < .01; *** = p < .001

VARIABLE	Hungary		Iceland		India		Israel		Japan		Latvia		Lithuania		Mexico		New Zealand		Norway		Philippines		Poland	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Interesting Work	0.047	0.197**	0.391***	0.357***	0.142*	-0.039	0.294***	0.335***	0.357***	0.242***	0.317***	0.247***	0.235**	0.342***	0.414***	0.129	0.199	0.313**	0.292***	0.427***	0.171**	0.190**	0.321***	0.201**
Job Autonomy	-0.051	0.034	0.027	0.084	0.281***	0.591*	0.084	0.052	0.062	-0.036	0.049	0.052	-0.041	0.031	-0.001	-0.076	0.107	-0.190	0.030	0.023	0.087	-0.041	0.005	0.102
Help Others	0.085	0.088	-0.026	-0.083	0.015	-0.049	0.013	0.102	-0.010	-0.017	0.015	0.087	-0.037	-0.021	-0.009	-0.043	-0.100	0.053	0.044	-0.066	-0.039	-0.073	0.058	0.043
Job Useful to Society	0.059	0.121	0.055	0.049	-0.064	0.537	0.115	0.065	0.099	0.060	-0.002	-0.082	-0.026	0.044	0.051	0.182	0.185	-0.061	-0.036	0.069	-0.041	0.048	0.072	0.028
Job Security	0.160*	0.208**	0.038	-0.009	-0.046	0.258	-0.014	0.070	0.050	0.050	-0.072	0.072	0.098	0.038	0.046	0.152	0.098	0.069	0.083	0.075	0.090	0.185*	0.151*	0.182**
Pay	0.271**	0.088	0.108*	0.087	-0.184*	-0.021	0.000	0.046	0.144**	0.117*	0.180**	0.230***	0.198*	0.084	0.111	0.183*	0.133	0.206	0.184***	0.179***	0.043	0.032	-0.040	0.026
Promotional Opportunities	-0.057	-0.020	0.162**	0.148*	0.177**	-0.152	-0.055	0.047	0.016	-0.006	0.026	0.135*	0.105	0.007	-0.031	0.154	0.090	0.081	0.081	0.059	0.035	0.035	0.016	0.000
Physical Effort	-0.075	0.019	-0.087	-0.074	-0.065	0.203	-0.031	-0.039	-0.008	-0.098	0.003	-0.041	-0.212**	0.157*	-0.090	0.055	-0.085	0.022	0.060	0.091	0.009	0.111	-0.107*	-0.116*
Work Stress	0.033	-0.140*	-0.124*	-0.019	0.096	-0.301	-0.050	-0.089	-0.134**	-0.288***	-0.243***	-0.002	-0.119	-0.045	-0.081	-0.163	-0.092	-0.153	-0.094	-0.070	-0.045	-0.182*	-0.068	0.006
Relations with Coworkers	-0.068	0.040	0.129*	0.200***	-0.097	0.144	0.048	0.215***	0.183***	0.106	0.087	0.089	0.002	0.084	0.013	0.198	0.185	0.140	0.128*	0.135**	-0.020	0.081	0.058	0.091
Relations with Management	0.259**	0.227**	0.234***	0.238***	0.165*	0.053	0.278***	0.161**	0.199***	0.234***	0.233**	0.157*	0.186*	0.285***	0.281***	0.098	0.232*	0.297**	0.203***	0.226***	0.042	0.073	0.359***	0.289***
Contact with Others	0.078	0.031	-0.045	-0.013	0.010	-0.498	0.064	0.013	0.016	0.050	0.023	-0.063	-0.043	-0.090	0.003	-0.072	0.001	-0.009	0.051	0.001	0.148**	-0.045	-0.095	0.063
Discriminated Against at Work	-0.142*	-0.026	0.057	-0.007	-0.031	0.100	0.072	0.064	0.033	0.012	0.020	0.020	0.002	0.085	-0.013	0.051	0.113	-0.079	0.027	-0.020	0.179***	-0.029	0.108*	0.073
Harassed at Work	-0.142*	-0.060	0.043	-0.015	0.054	0.113	0.021	-0.054	0.006	0.013	0.058	-0.051	0.073	-0.047	0.020	0.073	-0.055	0.214*	0.025	-0.005	0.109*	0.106	-0.084	0.069
Work from Home	0.075	-0.013	0.017	0.128*	0.024	-0.256	0.021	0.085	-0.030	-0.021	-0.101	-0.043	-0.049	-0.046	-0.053	0.001	-0.023	-0.005	0.029	-0.010	0.106	0.058	0.004	0.012
Work Weekends	-0.018	-0.028	-0.055	-0.112*	-0.096	-0.371	-0.009	-0.060	-0.024	-0.057	-0.018	-0.073	-0.179*	0.004	-0.059	-0.143	0.053	-0.031	-0.148**	-0.054	-0.007	0.014	-0.021	0.137*
Schedule Flexibility	0.094	-0.139*	-0.009	-0.003	-0.029	0.348	0.056	0.008	-0.026	0.077	-0.026	-0.031	-0.161	-0.013	0.035	0.080	-0.130	0.057	-0.017	-0.006	0.046	0.072	0.063	-0.033
Flexibility to Deal with Family Matters	-0.118	0.016	-0.067	-0.025	-0.210**	0.124	-0.003	0.001	0.002	-0.011	-0.063	-0.030	-0.160	0.007	-0.187**	0.035	-0.265**	0.085	-0.147**	0.008	0.004	-0.031	-0.065	0.079
Work Interferes with Family	0.141	0.132*	0.018	0.180**	0.152*	-0.220	0.150**	0.162**	0.039	0.087	-0.075	0.274**	0.016	0.187*	0.049	-0.045	0.010	0.002	0.082	0.118*	-0.027	-0.037	-0.011	0.011
Age	0.055	0.052	-0.032	0.061	-0.151*	-0.163	0.007	-0.015	0.091	0.057	0.140*	0.228***	0.040	0.002	-0.035	-0.052	0.244*	0.153	0.085	-0.006	0.009	0.128	-0.030	-0.027
Education	-0.165*	0.041	-0.044	-0.070	-0.209**	0.273	-0.017	-0.013	-0.003	0.027	0.005	-0.103	-0.015	0.049	-0.126	0.029	-0.060	-0.003	0.034	-0.049	-0.051	0.049	0.023	-0.014
Marital Status	-0.004	-0.047	-0.030	-0.008	-0.006	0.470	-0.058	-0.005	0.001	-0.024	0.048	-0.042	-0.027	-0.089	-0.142*	-0.109	-0.057	-0.012	0.007	-0.075	-0.002	-0.004	0.012	-0.068
Sex of Family	-0.069	0.141*	-0.036	0.032	0.022	0.312	0.086	0.041	0.037	-0.043	-0.026	0.055	-0.008	-0.075	-0.015	-0.008	-0.080	0.005	0.000	-0.015	0.028	-0.027	0.028	0.037
Work Hours	0.113	-0.021	-0.073	-0.094	-0.099	-0.161	0.080	0.051	-0.049	-0.053	0.067	0.009	-0.005	-0.037	0.055	-0.008	0.187	-0.052	0.005	-0.005	0.033	-0.017	0.037	0.063
Job Classification	-0.169	-0.098	0.089	0.111	-0.052	-0.271	-0.023	0.033	-0.099	0.031	-0.085	-0.001	0.010	0.059	-0.174**	0.123	0.033	-0.032	0.108	0.072	-0.163**	-0.063	-0.016	-0.002
Supervisory Status	0.054	-0.016	-0.002	0.023	0.044	0.373	-0.021	-0.052	0.010	-0.016	0.033	-0.051	0.027	0.014	-0.091	0.016	0.025	0.112	0.016	0.011	0.030	0.075	0.035	-0.069
Employment Relationship	-0.042	0.065	0.090	0.127*	0.139	-0.435	0.001	0.038	0.039	-0.106*	-0.076	-0.050	-0.118	0.117	0.037	0.177*	0.016	0.026	-0.024	-0.006	-0.172*	-0.107	-0.049	-0.049
Public/Private Organization	-0.009	0.022	0.007	-0.109	-0.100	-0.087	-0.005	-0.018	0.041	-0.079	-0.048	-0.134**	-0.020	-0.107	-0.049	-0.251**	-0.051	0.123	-0.009	-0.071	-0.042	0.082	0.089	-0.034
N	172	231	197	260	263	41	282	288	315	235	243	288	177	202	198	140	112	114	297	325	377	237	256	259
ADJ. R-SQUARED	0.416	0.482	0.644	0.468	0.317	0.376	0.423	0.421	0.582	0.536	0.460	0.486	0.308	0.401	0.478	0.447	0.478	0.421	0.477	0.508	0.159	0.152	0.473	0.501
F	5.36***	8.63***	13.67***	9.13***	5.33***	1.86***	8.63***	8.46***	16.59***	10.86***	8.37***	10.03***	3.80***	5.80***	7.44***	5.02***	4.63***	3.94***	10.62***	12.95***	3.54***	2.51***	9.16***	10.25***

Beta Values; Level of significance: * = p < .05; ** = p < .01; *** = p < .001

VARIABLE	Russia		Slovak Republic		Slovenia		South Africa		Spain		Suriname		Sweden		Switzerland		United Kingdom		United States		Venezuela		All Countries	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Interesting Work	0.248**	0.124*	0.209*	0.176**	0.176**	0.176**	0.364**	0.176**	0.242***	0.249***	0.144	0.090	0.442***	0.398***	0.214***	0.473***	0.358***	0.370***	0.344***	0.437***	0.097	0.016	0.279**	0.295***
Job Autonomy	-0.051	0.030	-0.052	0.049	0.140*	0.170*	0.022	0.070	0.053	0.084	-0.032	-0.250**	-0.052	0.108*	0.084	-0.015	0.004	0.055	-0.047	-0.022	0.071	-0.011	0.018	0.020*
Help Others	0.036	-0.002	0.067	0.036	-0.072	-0.185*	0.047	-0.104	-0.113	0.126	-0.097	0.157**	0.097	0.157**	0.083	0.038	0.002	0.003	-0.053	0.063	0.022	0.289*	0.017	0.028**
Job Useful to Society	-0.050	0.066	0.163*	0.111	0.008	0.151*	-0.077	-0.008	0.124*	0.027	0.035	0.274*	-0.028	-0.061	0.057	0.028	-0.058	-0.022	0.004	-0.082	0.134	-0.108	0.042***	0.031**
Job Security	-0.028	0.006	0.153*	0.131*	0.002	0.085	0.065	0.235***	0.060	0.039	0.151*	0.062	0.088	0.061	0.105*	0.028	0.042	0.019	0.089*	0.060	-0.047	-0.125	0.061***	0.064***
Pay	0.109	0.178**	0.051	-0.081	0.285***	0.192**	0.133*	0.018	0.075	0.119*	-0.020	0.077	-0.035	0.088	-0.059	0.067	0.052	0.102*	0.176***	0.034	0.108	0.061	0.092**	0.105***
Promotional Opportunities	0.064	0.123	-0.082	-0.021	0.112	0.076	-0.087	0.023	0.070	0.098	0.195**	0.061	0.050	0.139*	0.125*	0.144**	0.162**	0.060	0.035	0.074	-0.027	0.069	0.060***	0.055***
Physical Effort	-0.042	0.014	0.039	0.031	-0.029	0.071	0.046	-0.030	-0.007	-0.036	0.040	-0.001	-0.030	-0.064	0.030	0.051	0.092	0.068	0.029	-0.054	-0.004	-0.018	0.009	0.002
Work Stress	-0.060	-0.143**	0.083	0.044	0.064	-0.134	-0.042	-0.063	-0.023	-0.048	0.039	-0.070	-0.232***	-0.013	-0.113*	0.065	-0.148**	-0.173***	-0.152**	-0.077	-0.127	-0.087	-0.030***	-0.093***
Relations with Coworkers	0.176**	0.103	0.115	0.087	0.041	0.072	0.038	-0.003	0.020	0.097*	0.005	0.110	0.078	0.179***	0.049	0.074	0.088	0.089*	0.011	0.040	0.091	-0.147	0.075***	0.084***
Relations with Management	0.177**	0.144**	0.357***	0.402***	0.279***	0.176*	0.271***	0.339***	0.289***	0.195***	0.221**	0.153	0.212***	0.175***	0.133*	0.231***	0.246***	0.328**	0.193***	0.219***	0.113**	0.367**	0.226**	0.224***
Contact with Others	0.025	-0.024	-0.153*	-0.096	-0.044	-0.037	0.001	0.023	0.043	0.003	-0.072	-0.202	0.009	-0.082	-0.033	-0.074	0.030	-0.040	0.097*	0.035	0.212**	-0.047	0.019*	0.000
Discriminated Against at Work	0.038	0.189**	-0.078	0.069	0.100	0.038	-0.010	0.039	0.063	0.134**	0.037	-0.035	0.099*	0.031	-0.014	-0.033	-0.126**	0.054	0.107**	0.134**	0.151*	0.110	0.040***	0.034***
Harassed at Work	0.022	-0.064	0.075	0.019	0.052	0.072	-0.021	0.031	-0.018	0.063	0.132*	-0.102	-0.023	-0.008	0.071	-0.038	0.084*	0.040	-0.007	-0.006	0.081	0.164	0.036**	0.011
Work from Home	0.031	-0.096	-0.026	-0.033	-0.028	-0.067	-0.004	0.000	0.050	-0.009	0.041	-0.098	0.071	0.048	0.012	-0.031	-0.005	0.048	-0.050	0.027	-0.122	0.053	0.005	0.007
Work Weekends	-0.046	0.104*	-0.058	0.002	0.031	0.132	-0.062	-0.057	-0.046	0.007	-0.042	0.004	-0.139**	-0.003	0.025	0.031	-0.011	-0.042	-0.081*	0.032	0.127	-0.040	-0.033***	-0.015
Schedule Flexibility	0.044	-0.054	-0.062	0.028	-0.063	-0.185*	0.081	-0.045	-0.012	-0.049	-0.006	0.178*	0.022	0.032	0.084	0.041	-0.024	0.051	0.011	0.062	0.122	0.013	0.019*	0.006
Flexibility to Deal with Family Matters	-0.003	0.012	-0.143*	-0.041	-0.113*	-0.106	-0.063	-0.087	-0.095	-0.040	-0.273***	-0.036	-0.067	-0.039	-0.038	-0.058	-0.004	-0.036	-0.086*	0.011	-0.048	0.203	-0.044***	-0.027**
Work Interferes with Family	0.093	0.144**	0.096	0.123*	0.098	0.061	0.164**	-0.026	0.050	0.029	0.051	0.075	0.037	0.142**	0.096	0.040	0.121*	0.046	0.042	0.096*	0.063	0.173	0.086**	0.109**
Age	-0.047	0.103*	-0.027	0.063	0.052	0.009	0.058	0.034	0.052	-0.077	0.002	-0.005	-0.025	0.003	0.115	0.153**	0.068	0.120**	0.017	0.094*	-0.078	0.160	0.029**	0.040***
Education	-0.103	0.002	-0.133*	-0.100	-0.001	0.046	0.005	-0.047	-0.027	-0.069	-0.033	-0.120	0.018	-0.044	-0.081	0.003	-0.096*	0.023	-0.093*	-0.158***	-0.083	-0.165	-0.051***	-0.037***
Marital Status	-0.012	-0.139**	-0.068	-0.075	-0.019	-0.031	0.017	-0.061	0.020	-0.009	-0.122	-0.092	0.040	0.025	0.020	0.038	-0.057	-0.026	-0.072	-0.063	-0.033	-0.003	-0.022*	-0.034***
Size of Family	-0.060	-0.002	0.014	-0.136*	0.026	0.001	0.037	-0.110*	-0.040	-0.002	-0.037	-0.053	-0.054	-0.046	-0.005	0.091	-0.037	0.023	-0.050	0.030	-0.005	0.149	-0.012	0.001
Work Hours	-0.082	-0.009	-0.036	0.055	0.023	0.086	0.054	0.073	0.012	0.034	-0.072	-0.143	0.003	-0.011	0.116*	-0.040	0.045	-0.008	0.001*	0.068	0.000	-0.053	0.001	0.011
Job Classification	-0.062	-0.023	0.014	-0.183*	-0.095	0.056	0.014	-0.094	-0.027	0.164*	-0.095	-0.186	0.047	0.084	0.078	-0.028	-0.088	0.108*	0.067	-0.011	-0.025	-0.459**	-0.011	-0.006
Supervisory Status	-0.038	-0.082	-0.152**	-0.014	0.142*	-0.046	-0.067	-0.005	-0.032	0.055	-0.045	0.082	0.005	0.053	-0.040	0.061	0.040	-0.023	-0.009	0.001	-0.083	0.004	-0.004	-0.005
Employment Relationship	0.015	0.022	0.008	-0.099	-0.059	-0.006	-0.056	0.046	-0.032	0.000	-0.043	0.051	0.065	0.015	-0.063	-0.045	0.042	0.075*	-0.019	0.058	-0.075	0.091	0.005	0.008
Public/Private Organization	-0.115*	-0.008	0.040	0.136*	-0.076	-0.078	-0.060	-0.029	-0.046	-0.045	-0.022	-0.047	-0.038	-0.069	-0.028	-0.008	-0.042	-0.073	0.035	-0.104*	0.033	-0.136*	-0.021*	-0.033***
N	307	310	191	248	220	304	284	274	336	320	223	163	261	303	344	338	347	390	409	403	172	105	9481	9235
ADI: R-SQUARED	0.285	0.485	0.532	0.476	0.491	0.380	0.453	0.461	0.381	0.453	0.262	0.217	0.391	0.590	0.293	0.505	0.539	0.574	0.501	0.462	0.441	0.403	0.420	0.436
F	5.35***	11.38***	8.71***	9.02***	8.54***	5.45***	9.36***	9.34***	8.37***	10.42***	3.01***	2.61***	14.44***	16.54***	6.07***	13.29***	15.44***	19.68***	15.65***	13.32***	5.82***	3.51***	245.79***	256.25***

Beta Values, Level of significance: * = p < .05; ** = p < .01; *** = p < .001

FIGURE 12
JOB SATISFACTION MODEL:
RELATIONS WITH MANAGEMENT BY GENDER AND COUNTRY

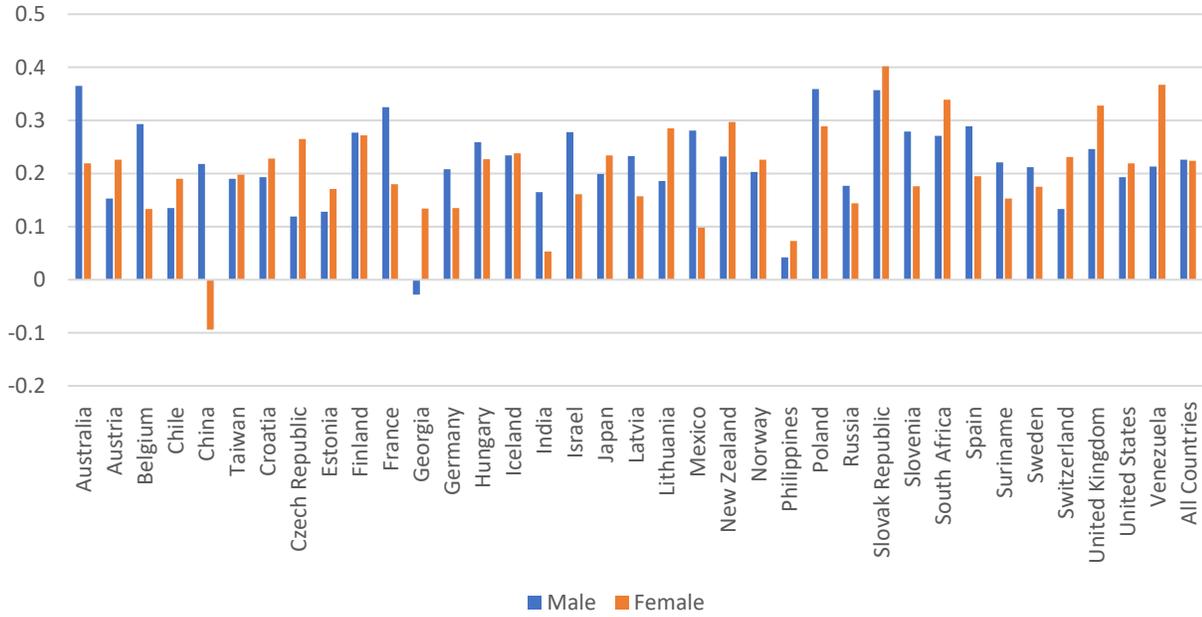
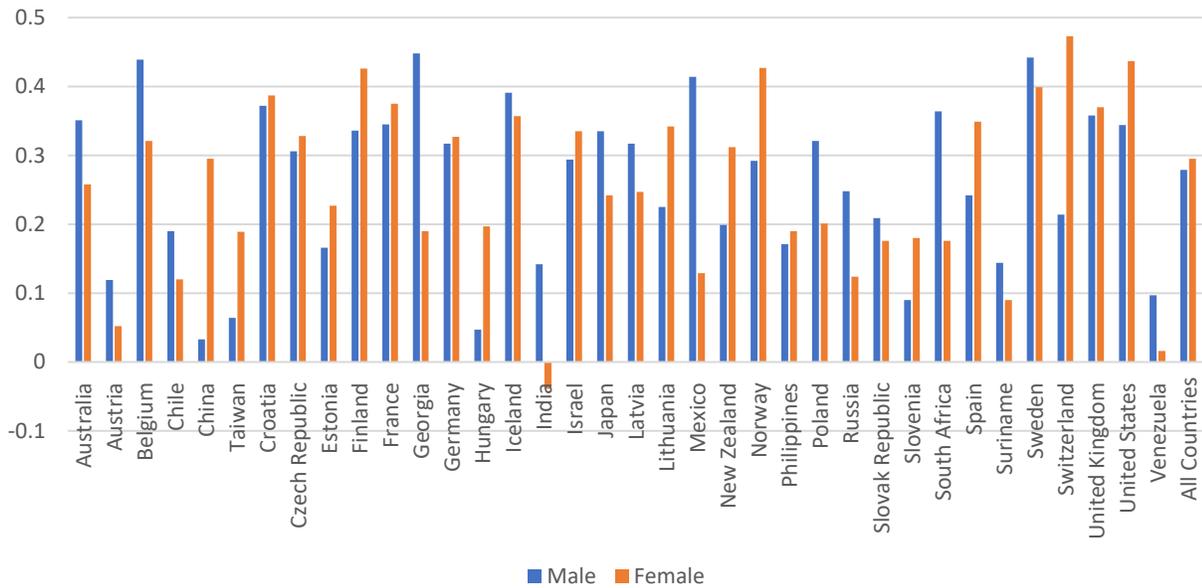


FIGURE 13
JOB SATISFACTION MODEL: INTERESTING WORK BY GENDER AND COUNTRY



DISCUSSION

Based on the results presented herein, does the gender-job satisfaction paradox still exist? Considering the model and its suitability from a global vantage point, it illustrates what so much of what past literature has stated – that women are, overall, more satisfied with their jobs than their male counterparts despite less favorable conditions (see Clark, 1997; Donahue & Heywood, 2004). The summative findings also support previous assertions that while intrinsic elements of the job are valued by both genders, women are more influenced by these factors than men. Women value work characteristics that allow for working on the weekends, job flexibility and the role of helping others. Men are more satisfied by extrinsic characteristics such as pay, promotional opportunities and the element of physical effort. These findings, on a global scale, continue to sustain the conclusions reached in past research.

Yet when zooming into to look at results at the country level, findings indicate there are some countries – and even more specifically among one gender or another within a country – that are not as well explained by the model presented. More specifically, the model does not provide as strong of predictive measures in certain variables of job satisfaction within the Philippines, Suriname, Taiwan, China and Chile. While the model in Sweden, Russia, Lithuania, India, Switzerland provides a closer fit for females, it is not as adequately account for males in these countries. The opposite is true only for Georgia where the model predicts satisfaction more closely for men than for women. Additionally, when examining these findings from an individual standpoint, there is much more variability amongst different countries that do not match the overall global averages. An assessment of individual countries illustrates some interesting deviations from the model presented. These findings support the reality that this model does not explain gender differences and job satisfaction with as much exactness in some countries as it does in others.

The four categories that summarize the key characteristics related to job satisfaction, provide an organized way of systematically examining specifics about individual countries and pinpointing where some anomalies occur. The first category relates to job satisfaction and gender. In considering the mean satisfaction scores between men and women, overall, the results indicate that men and women have roughly similar job satisfaction mean scores. When considering these results individually, some expected patterns emerge. For example, findings indicate that Switzerland and Russia align very well with the traditional assertion that women are more satisfied with their jobs. This gap in satisfaction between genders in Switzerland supports Sousa-Poza and Sousa-Poza's findings (2000) and indicates that the gap still exists.

Kaiser's assertions that women in most European nations have higher job satisfaction levels than men are also supported in this study. The outcome of this study slightly varies from Goetz et al.'s findings in their assertions that there were no gender differences when it came to job satisfaction (2016). Yet this study may not take into consideration the specificities tied to job satisfaction that Goetz et al. addressed (*ibid*). However, further examination reveals that there are unique and unexpected outcomes in these findings, as well. For instance, the job satisfaction scores of men in Georgia and Iceland indicate they are higher than the women in these countries. the greatest disparity between men and women in any one country appears in Georgia. The potential rationale for this is not directly addressed in the literature, however, Perugini and Vladisavljević (2019) suggest that there is a link between early exposure to gender equality led to less gender-job satisfaction gaps. There may be an assumption drawn here that perhaps there were less settings in which gender equality was visible within these countries. Another interesting finding in this category is that when considering each country individually, the majority of countries actually indicated that male respondents scored higher in job satisfaction than did women.

In the second category which consists of considering intrinsic and extrinsic variables surrounding job satisfaction and gender, women, overall, had higher scores in intrinsic values while men had higher scores in extrinsic variables – just as would be expected according to the model and much of the literature (see Hakim, 1991; Bender et al., 2005). The findings in this study indicate, however, that intrinsic variables, overall, are the greatest predictor for job satisfaction for both women and men. One conclusion from this finding might be that if gender roles influence the strength of extrinsic and intrinsic factors in influencing job satisfaction, then traditional gender roles and values in general are changing. Yet again, an individualized approach reveals that there is still a lot of variability amongst countries.

One interesting example in this category of variables has to do with actual physical labor required on the job. For example, within the United States, more women than men indicated *physical effort* as being a variable linked with job satisfaction. This is a finding that substantiates past findings (see Konrad et al, 2000; Clark, 1997; Zou, 2005) that women in the U.S. valued a physical work environment as part of their job satisfaction. It is impossible to understand the nuances and reasoning behind this preference without further investigation to understand why some extrinsic factors rank higher in job satisfaction predictability for women in the US than others. Such results, however, illustrate that a Western country that mostly aligns with this model that would place intrinsic factors at the forefront of female job satisfaction, does not necessarily align completely with the model.

In Denmark, the *physical effort* variable was also slightly higher for women than men. While Kaiser found that there were not gender gap differences in Denmark (2005), a more recent study done by Hauret and Williams (2017) indicates that there are differences in job satisfaction related to gender when looking at specific job characteristics. This study supports the 2017 findings but still does not provide reasons as to why Danish women value this specific characteristic of their job more than their male counterparts. Another interesting anomaly in this study as it relates to extrinsic and intrinsic factors is found the results from Venezuela and China where males had higher scores than females in the *help others* category. There is not much previous research to draw upon regarding these outcomes. Perhaps there are similarities between these two countries that could be explored to understand the impetus behind these intrinsic drivers amongst male job satisfaction. Is it possible that that similar societal issues insert unexpected and underexplored factors into the job satisfaction equation? Discovering such outliers amongst two or more countries suggests an opportunity to conduct research to determine whether there might be similar components and qualities amongst countries that lead to similar unexpected outcomes.

Revisiting Georgia, the predictability of men's job satisfaction scores is in alignment with the traditional expectations in that pay was a significant contributor to male extrinsic factors, but men also scored high on the intrinsic side in the *interesting work* variable. This is another considerable disparity between men and women in Georgia's outcomes. Mexico's disparity between men and women in this category was even higher, while men in South Africa, Poland and Belgium also scored significantly higher than their female peers when it came to selecting *interesting work* as a factor in their job satisfaction. This trend of *interesting work* being a higher component for men than women accounts for just over half of the countries in the study. In the balance of the countries, of particular note, China, Switzerland, Spain, Norway, Lithuania and the United States, women scored higher in *interesting work*. Are there any connections that might be made regarding the gender preferences in either division of these countries when it comes to the role interesting work plays in job satisfaction? The variation is significant enough to warrant further investigation.

Looking at other intrinsic and extrinsic variables provides equally surprising and interesting findings. For example, in India, women scored higher in the pay variable as a predictor of job satisfaction than their male counterparts. What factors play an influential role in this unanticipated outcome? Australia, China, Lithuania and the Philippines do not follow the global trend in which *promotional opportunities* are attributed to males rather than females. This is interesting when considering Australia's background. While past research finds that the gender-job satisfaction paradox is a common occurrence, there is also the assertion that women are also under-represented in the workplace (Australian Government, 2008; Kennedy & Hedley, 2008; Fleming & Kler, 2014). It makes sense, under such conditions, that women would be more motivated by promotional opportunities as a means to find more adequate footholds in the workforce.

Prior research indicates that women in China often experience lower levels of job satisfaction than men for a myriad of reasons including dual work and home responsibilities influenced by traditional gender roles, as well as needing to work harder to prove themselves (see Nair et al., 2017; Huang & Gamble, 2015; Loscocco & Bose, 1998). These findings give insight to the outcomes in this study that women in China are motivated even more than men by promotional opportunities. Could there be similar landscapes in the work environment for Lithuania and the Philippines that would explain similar outcomes or are there even more nuanced contributing factors not examined here? The additional information we do have from past

studies indicates that there are layers of research yet to be done in order to further elucidate the contributing elements for such anomalies.

The third segment of variables addresses work-life balance, and it reveals more instances of countries that have preferences that run contrary to the predictable norms. The traditional expectation is that the factor *work weekends* plays a more significant role in predicting job satisfaction for females, who might also be managing family responsibilities and find the weekend option makes allowance for this duality. Yet in Austria and Switzerland, findings in this study indicate that *work weekends* is more of a prediction for job satisfaction with males. In one previous study in Switzerland found that job satisfaction did not necessarily differ by gender (Goetz et al., 2016), which could lead to a potential conclusion that there may be less gender bias when it comes to work – as well as the adoption of less traditional gender roles. Is it possible that Swiss men are more involved in the family responsibilities, thus making weekend work options more of a preferred option or are there additional reasons for this shift from the norm?

The global average in this study indicates that *flexibility to deal with family matters* is a higher predictor for women, yet there are a number of countries where *flexibility to deal with family matters* is a higher predictor for job satisfaction for men. Such findings lead back to the previous conjecture that perhaps these countries have a less westernized, traditional view of gender roles and caretaking within the family unit. The fourth and final variable group, workplace relationships, proved to be a significant predictor of job satisfaction for both genders. When it came to *relations with management*, most countries leaned towards a higher scoring variable for job satisfaction for women. There were, however, instances in Australia, Belgium, France, Israel and Poland where there were significant scores in favor of being more of a predictor of job satisfaction for males. Once again, these unique findings reveal there are multiple unknown factors that, if studied, would greatly contribute to an overall understanding of these outcomes when looking at the individual countries. From the current information we have, it is impossible to determine why there are such divergent and unexpected outcomes on a country-by-country basis. The value in this particular study is found in highlighting where the gaps between expectations and reality exist. It gives direction so as to know where to begin a deeper examination. Referring to past research illustrates how additional research can add depth to the findings in understanding potential factors that contribute to the gaps.

CONCLUSION

It is useful to have a snapshot of the global view of gender and job satisfaction, and it is also helpful to understand how individual countries within that global perspective deviate from some or many of the trends. There is a wealth of exploration to be done in examining these individual pieces of the larger findings in an attempt to understand the nuances surrounding these gaps in expectations versus the outcomes discovered in this study. There is the possibility that changes in gender dynamics all over the world have upset the original explanations as to why the gender-job satisfaction paradox exists. Has the idea that women have been socialized to expect less been replaced with a more updated set of ideals? Perhaps more traditional expectations given way to modernized ways of viewing the world and the roles of gender within that world. Social norms are evolving, as well. Greater access to higher education or a lack of education can also make a difference. Surely there are numerous factors at play that upend expectations. These and additional consideration could explain the sometimes-wide range of differences amongst countries.

The job-satisfaction model in this study appears to lean towards a more western-centric, traditional approach, but even that does not fully explain these results. There are a variety of reasons why certain countries do not fall within “conventional” parameters. Geopolitical aspects vary widely between countries, and they may account for certain variations in the outcomes. There are socioeconomic differences as well as legal and compliance issues between countries that may also be highly influential in these differences. The nature of the workforce and types of job play a role in the outcomes examined. Cultural and intercultural differences need to be considered in this conglomeration of additional influences, as well. The literature in this study gives a glimpse of some of these issues in terms of cultural and other aspects related specifically to certain locations within the world. There are also threads of similarities that run through different regions of the world that may identify patterns that could be applicable elsewhere.

Conducting additional research has the potential to develop a new or modified model focused on understanding job satisfaction in connection with gender. Taking the approach to examine these particular factors on a country-by-country basis is a perfect place to start conducting multiple investigations. The gaps of disparity located in this study provide the necessary coordinates to know where to unearth more information to understand the differences. It is useful to have a snapshot of the global view of gender and job satisfaction, and it is also helpful to understand how individual countries within that global perspective deviate from some or many of the trends.

While the current model is capable of harnessing aspects of job satisfaction in a way that more thoroughly examines the gender-job satisfaction paradox, it has also unearthed the need for deeper examinations to be done. There is more work to do in determining additional aspects and influences that explain job satisfaction and how that plays into the differences detected between men and women.

ENDNOTES

1. Here we use one of four waves of cross-sectional data and therefore we cannot specifically test the direction of causality among the variables examined as easily as we might with panel longitudinal data. However, we provide a conceptual framework that hypothesizes the path of causality. Additionally, ISSP Researchers collected the data via self-administered questionnaires, personal interviews, and mail-back questionnaires, depending on the country. For a full summary and description of this research, see <https://www.gesis.org/issp/modules/issp-modules-by-topic/work-orientations/2015/>.
2. ISSP Researchers collected the data via self-administered questionnaires, personal interviews, and mail-back questionnaires, depending on the country. For a full summary and description of this research, see the International Social Survey Programme methodology description here: <http://w.issp.org/about-issp/methodology/>.
3. Australia, Austria, Belgium, Chile, China, Taiwan, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Hungary, Iceland, India, Israel, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway, Philippines, Poland, Russia, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Suriname, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela.
4. Each variable is a single-item indicator.
5. Response categories for this variable include: (1) Completely Dissatisfied, (2) Very Dissatisfied, (3) Fairly Dissatisfied, (4) Neither Satisfied nor Dissatisfied, (5) Fairly Satisfied, (6) Very Satisfied, (7) Completely Satisfied.
6. Response categories for these variables include: (1) Strongly Disagree, (2) Disagree, (3) Neither Agree nor Disagree, (4) Agree, and (5) Strongly Agree.
7. Response categories for these variables include: (1) Strongly Disagree, (2) Disagree, (3) Neither Agree nor Disagree, (4) Agree, and (5) Strongly Agree.
8. Response categories for this variable include: (1) Always, (2) Often, (3) Sometimes, (4) Hardly Ever, (5) Never.
9. Response categories for this variable include: (1) Always, (2) Often, (3) Sometimes, (4) Hardly Ever, (5) Never.
10. Response categories for these variables include: (1) Very Bad, (2) Bad, (3) Neither good nor bad, (4) Good, and (5) Very Good.
11. Response categories for these variables include: (1) Very Bad, (2) Bad, (3) Neither good nor bad, (4) Good, and (5) Very Good.
12. Response categories for these variables include: (1) Strongly Disagree, (2) Disagree, (3) Neither Agree nor Disagree, (4) Agree, and (5) Strongly Agree.
13. Response categories for these variables include: (1) Yes, (2) No.
14. Response categories for these variables include: (1) Yes, (2) No.
15. Response categories for this variable include: (1) Always, (2) Often, (3) Sometimes, (4) Hardly Ever, (5) Never.
16. Response categories for this variable include: (1) Always, (2) Often, (3) Sometimes, (4) Hardly Ever, (5) Never.
17. Response categories for this variable include: (1) Starting and finishing times are decided by my employer and I cannot change them on my own,

18. Response categories for this variable include: (1) Not difficult at all, (2) Not too difficult, (3) Somewhat difficult, and (4) Very difficult.
19. Response categories for this variable include: (1) Always, (2) Often, (3) Sometimes, (4) Hardly Ever, (5) Never.
20. Categories for this variable include: (1) Male, (2) Female.
21. Continuous variable.
22. Continuous variable.
23. Response categories for this variable include: (1) married, (2) civil partnership, (3) separated from spouse/civil partner(s), (4) divorced from spouse/ legally separated, (5) widowed/ civil partner died, (6) never married/ never in a civil partner
24. Continuous variable.
25. Continuous variable.
26. Categories for this variable include: (1) Managers, (2) Professionals, (3) Technicians and Associate Professionals, (4) Clerical Support Workers, (5) Services and Sales Workers, (6) Skilled Agricultural, Forestry and Fishery Workers, (7) Craft and Related Trades Workers, (8) Plant and Machine Operators and Assemblers, (9) Elementary Occupations, and (10) Armed Forces Occupations
27. Categories for supervising others: (1) Yes, (2) No.
28. Categories for this variable include: (1) Employee, (2) self-employed without employees, (3) self-employed with employees, and (4) working for own family's business.
29. Categories for type of organization: (1) Public, (2) Private.

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