Female Arab teachers in Israel in an era of cultural change: Between commitment to family and commitment to work

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Abstract

Processes of openness and individualization in Israeli Arab society enhance women's drive to fulfil their professional ambitions, conflicting with sustained Arab traditional family values. The purpose of this study is to examine the importance Israeli Arab women teachers attribute to their roles at home and at work, the dual commitment conflict, and the contribution of spouses and employers to moderating or intensifying it. In this quantitative study, participants (546 women teachers, married with children, aged 25-60) from various districts in Israel responded to questionnaires regarding (1) family-work conflict level, (2) indexes of functioning in both frameworks, and (3) husbands' and employers' support level. The findings indicate that participants' perception of family as central intensifies the family-work conflict. Spouses and employers contribute to moderating, or, alternatively, aggravating the conflict. Spouse support correlates with citizenship behavior at work and reduction of withdrawal behaviors,

such as lateness and absenteeism. The study highlights the multi-variable complexity of Israeli Arab teachers' family-work conflict and the processes involved, contributing to research knowledge. The study's practical implications call for dialogue between spouses, concerning family/work needs and home role division, given working mothers' contribution to family economy and the positive effect of their spouses' support.

Keywords: Arab teachers, family-work conflict, citizenship behavior, withdrawal behavior, spouse support

* Introduction and theoretical background

* Cultural background

Arab society upholds values of solidarity, cooperation, commitment, mutual faith, support and deep feelings of belonging to the family, both nuclear and extended. This sense of faithful mutuality lies at the base of this collectivist society, whose norms are maintained by means of sanctions and pressures emanating from both the small group, that is, the nuclear family, and from the extended group. These norms include, among others, *acquiescence* to the supremacy of the patriarch in the family, and the understanding that power relations in the family are by definition hierarchic (Abd El Majid & Cohen, 2015; Hamamura, 2012). Woman's inferior status in Arab traditional society is a characteristic of many societies in the Middle East (Arar & Abu-Rabia-Queder, 2011; Hamamura, 2012). From early childhood, she is required to work at home and in the field, and is married off at a young age. The considerations that determine the match relate to the social status of the girl's family, the local customs, the kind of location, and materialistic and financial factors, from which the woman's own wishes are excluded. After her marriage, the woman remains attached to her father's family, and he and her brothers are considered her custodians. Moreover, although the daughter's inheritance rights are established in the Koran and entitle her to half of the son's inheritance, she usually has to relinquish her share. The Muslim law concerning the daughter's right to inherit is all but ignored in Arab society (Abd El Majid & Cohen, 2015; Abu-Kaf & Braun-Lewensohn, 2015). The daughter is deprived of her share in her father's inheritance to avoid family assets from spilling out, and her brothers usually compensate her with various gifts. Even when

married, she has no independence. She is forbidden to be seen in the public realm and to approach strange men (Chatib & Isacowitz, 2012), and she has to toil throughout the day. The number of children she has largely determines her status: a large family is influential in traditional society and is of a considerable advantage owing to the superior work power (Galili & Feuerstein, 2009; Osezki-Lazar, 2005).

In recent decades, Israeli Arab society undergoes demographic, cultural, ideological and social change. Processes of urbanization lead to reduction in agricultural occupation, and at the same time, along economic changes, the need for an additional provider in the family rises. These processes contribute to an increase in women's employment in Arab society (Jabareen, 2015; Sidani, 2005). Arabs living side by side with Jewish population in Israel are exposed to modern, democratic and liberal ways of living, which raises their awareness of the possibility of different social arrangements that have more gender equality. In addition, young Israeli Arabs have higher education than in the past, which is higher than that of some Arab countries at present, and

their level of education keeps rising (Arar & Rigbi, 2009).

These changes accelerate processes of modernization and the shaking away of the manacles of tradition among members of the young generation. This is evident in the decrease in the power of the extended family and the increase in the autonomy of the nuclear family to determine its goals and ways of life (Daud, 2002; Kenaana, 2005). Transformations are manifest in the rises in standard of living and demands for more freedom in choosing one's occupation, birth control and increase in individual economic wellbeing, especially due to the shift to commerce (Himaisi, 2012; Zoabi et al., 2015). These transformations are accompanied by an evolution of career pattern behaviors among women, who yet keep fulfilling their traditional roles. Gradually, Arab society begin to perceive women working out of their homes as an accepted and appropriate norm (Feldman et al., 2001). Occupation out of their homes empowers working mothers in Arab society, allowing them to utilize their education and expand family incomes, and is growingly perceived as an important instrument of social mobility

of the nuclear and extended family and as a means for redefining women's collectivist and individualistic goals (Feldman et al., 2001).

Owing to these changes, along acceptance of cultural traditional limitations, Arab women usually choose to work near their homes, in the local public sector or in white-collar professions, as nurses, teachers and social workers (Arar & Abu-Rabia-Queder, 2011). The teaching profession offers Arab women a change in their status in addition to an opportunity to make the most of their education, and allows them and their families a higher degree of social mobility and career development (Shapira, 2006).

The career trend brings about a sense of overload and stress, feelings that threaten women's ability to efficiently direct resources to all their commitments (Cinamon, 2009; Cinamon et al., 2016). Arab women of career are in conflict between work requirements and those of home and family (Segal, 2007).

* Family-work conflict

Family-work conflict occurs when an individual is required to perform parallelly a number of roles at home and at work that are contradictory. The dual commitment to family and work requires time and energy (Duxbury et al., 2008). The conflict might be two-sided, between work and the family, or between the family and work. According to this view, work-family conflict rises when factors related to work interfere with family life (WIF: work interference with family). On the other hand, family-work conflict rises when factors relating to family life interfere with work (FIW: family interference with work) (Amstad et al., 2011; Chen et al., 2009).

Research presents conflicting findings concerning the issue of the family-work conflict that Arab women experience. Thus, for example, it has been found that the Arab woman commitment to her family does not necessarily produce a high level of stress owing to work-family conflict (Heilbrunn & Davidovitch, 2011; Yang et al., 2000). Cinnamon (2009) points out that in collectivist cultures, women report lower levels of work-family conflict in comparison with women in individualistic cultures. She explains that the low level of work-family conflict in collectivist cultures derives from the high importance these women attribute to both their roles in

the family and their commitment to the household (Cinamon, 2009). Another study offers an additional explanation for the low work-family conflict level. This relates to the fact that more than half of the businesses in Arab society are family businesses in the hands of women. Within this framework women get more help both from their nuclear and from their extended family (Heilbrunn & Davidovitch, 2011; Barnett et al., 2005).

* Functioning at work

Due to the contribution of employees to success or failure in attaining organizational goals, organizations tend to invest much in their employees' professional development (Hameed & Waheed, 2011). As early as 1958, Hughes (1958) offered a framework for measuring success at work, which included objective and subjective parameters. By his definition, objective parameters are given to direct examination and verification, while subjective success parameters, such as role satisfaction, for example, are experienced by the worker herself or himself (Heslin, 2005). In the spirit of this classification, extensive research has examined work and career success from a subjective aspect. Subjective

parameters include the level of flexibility and independence at work, professional development in the workplace, perception of rewards and compensations awarded to employees (Rodrigues et al., 2015), organization-related factors such as superior-employee relationship that predict salary promotion, advancement options (Wayne et al., 1999), and employer's support of employee's professional development (Maurer & Chapman, 2013). These parameters comprise the concepts of boundary-less career, defined in the research as a career that does not depend on traditional arrangement in the organization, and therefore enables a large measure of independence and flexibility (Poon et al., 2015). Research of employees' functioning in workplaces, among them the system of education, focuses on workers' organizational behavior, defining two kinds of organizational behavior: organizational citizenship behavior (OCB), and organizational misbehavior (OMB).

* Organizational citizenship behavior

An employee whose work experience is positive might volunteer to invest in his work beyond what is expected of him by definition. This

kind of behavior is termed organizational citizenship behavior (OCB), and is defined as a series of positive and efficient actions initiated and performed by the worker not by the obligation of a formal contract commitment demanded by the employer (Tepper & Taylor, 2003; DiPaola & Tschannen-Moran, 2014).

Organizational citizenship behavior is contributory both to the worker and to the organization. It improves a wide range of personal functions, strengthening social interrelations within the organization (Day & Carroll, 2004), and is beneficial for successful performance at work that leads to salary improvement or reward for improved outcomes (Allen et al., 2006). Organizational citizenship behavior is highly important in the field of teaching, since the educational framework is based on teamwork and on moral and emotional commitment to developing people, and on large measures of caring and empathy (Jimmieson et al., 2010; Oplatka, 2012). Moreover, an additional study indicates that in educational organizations it is highly important to foster motivation for organizational citizenship behavior among employees, as it might help them fulfil their basic obligations and promote the organization towards attaining its goals (Bolino et al., 2010).

* Organizational misbehavior

Organizational misbehavior (OMB) that includes withdrawal behavior is an index of negative aspects of workers' functioning that can harm the organization and its workers (Rotundo & Spector, 2010; Shapira-Lishchinsky & Rosenblatt, 2009). By definition, organizational misbehavior refers to "any intentional, conscious action of a member in an organization that frustrates expectations and shared organizational norms and/or social values, customs and accepted norms of behavior" (Herzog, 2000, p.42). Such behaviors include lateness, absenteeism, tendency to leave the organization, lack of consideration for the organization or colleagues, intentional waste of resources, unwillingness to cooperate, and deliberate damage (Rotundo & Spector, 2010; Shapira-Lishchinsky & Rosenblatt, 2009).

In summary, Arab society is characterized by collision between traditional values, according to which women are required to be highly committed to the family, and constant

spilling in of modernity and equality urging career promotion and work out of the home. This collision between the dual commitments – to work and to the family – causes an overload and a conflict between work demands and those raised by the family (Babkoff-Kimchi, 2004; Segal, 2007).

Although previous studies have examined the family-work conflict among women from collectivist societies, who try to fulfil themselves through career behavior, no study has yet investigated this behavior and its ramifications in Israeli Arab society, which is undergoing significant cultural transformations. The current study examined the ways by which Arab teachers who were mothers coped with their conflicting roles at work and at home, and the importance they attributed to the two commitments. In addition, the study focused on systematic aspects, such as the contribution of spouses' and the employers' support to moderating the conflict, to strengthening organizational citizenship behaviors and reducing organizational misbehaviors among these teachers.

* **Research method**
* *Sample description*

The research sample comprised of 546 female teachers in Israeli Arab high schools of the Haifa, North, South, Jerusalem and the Center districts. The participants' age range was 25-60, and the main criterion for choosing the study participants was their being mothers of young children. The average number of children was 2.49, the average appointment percentage was 90.5. The sample district division by percentage was as following: the North district 35%, the Haifa district 25%, the center 25%, Tel Aviv 2%, Jerusalem district 3% and the South district 10%. Thus, the sample represents teachers from different areas in the country. The low percentage of teachers from the Tell Aviv district derives from the low numbers of Arab teachers in this district.

It should be specified that in the state of Israel there are two systems of education anchored by law and parallel in conditions, an Arab system and a Jewish one. The existence of the two systems is a realistic necessity, given the unique culture and language of each of these societies. Each of the systems includes elementary schools, junior high schools and high schools.

Sometimes, junior high- and high school are under the same roof, and called comprehensive schools. In both systems, the majority of the workers are women.

*Research tools

Commitment to family and functioning in the family were examined by means of three questionnaires, as specifies below.

The **Life Role Salience Scale** questionnaire examines the level of importance women attribute to life roles. In the current study, we used the Hebrew version, developed by Cinamon (2000). The study participants graded their answers on a five-grade Likert scale – the higher the grade, the higher the importance attributed to the role. The inner validity found in Cinamon's study (2002) ranged between α=0.72 and α=0.86 for the various items, and in the current study the inner validity was α=0.83.

Work-Family Conflict Scale questionnaire (Gutek, 1991) examines the level of the two sides of the dual conflict, family-work and work-family conflict in women. In the current study, we used the Hebrew version developed by Cinamon (2000). The study participants graded their answers on a five-grade Likert scale – the higher the

grade, the higher the level of conflict. The inner validity found in Cinamon's study (2002) ranged between α=0.78 and α=0.81 respectively, and in the current study the inner validity was high as well – α=0.88.

Support and flexibility questionnaire (Cinamon, 2000; Loerch et al., 1989) examines the level of support the participants have received and the level of flexibility they have in their work. The study participants were requested to grade their answers on a five-grade Likert scale – the higher the grade, the higher the level of support as they perceive it. The inner validity found in Cinamon's study (2002) ranged between α=0.77 and α=0.87 for the various items, and in the current study the inner validity was good as well – α=0.84.

Functioning at work was examined by means of four questionnaires. In the **Organizational Misbehavior** questionnaire (Vardi & Weitz, 2004), the participants were asked to what extent a statement characterized their behavior on a five-grade Likert scale – the higher the grade the higher the frequency of the organizational misbehavior. The inner validity of the original questionnaire was high: α=0.84. In the current study

as well, the inner validity found was high: α=0.94.

In the **Organizational Citizenship Behavior** questionnaire (Somech & Drach-Zahavy, 2000), the participants were asked to what extent a statement characterized their behavior on a five-grade Likert scale – the higher the grade the higher the frequency of the organizational citizenship behavior. The inner validity of the original questionnaire was high: α=0.90. In the current study as well, the inner validity found was high: α=0.90.

The **Absenteeism questionnaire** (Shapira-Lishchinsky & Rosenblatt, 2009), asked the participants to mark the number of days on which they were absent from school in the 3 months before completing the questionnaire (except for birth leave, vacations and strikes). This questionnaire showed a high inner validity in the current study: α=0.85.

Lateness (Shapira-Lishchinsky, 2007) is defined as arriving to class 6 minutes or more after the class appointed time. The participants were asked to mark the number of days on which they arrived late to work in each of the 3 months before completing the questionnaires. The questionnaire's inner validity was high: α=0.90.

Personal data questionnaire was developed by the researcher for this study to examine the background variables of the research participants. The data examined included marital situation, age, school type (state, non-vocational, etc.), years of work experience, number of weekly work hours, age of children a home, and teaching for Bagrut exams.

* Research procedure

Data gathering began with an application to the chief scientist in the Ministry of Education for a formal license to hand out the questionnaires to high school teachers in the Arab sector. The questionnaire was handed to the teachers of the schools that gave their consent to participate in the study, with an attached letter of explanation. The teachers completed the questionnaires on their own in their free time with no time limit.

* Ethics

Prior to conducting the research, we received confirmation from the chief scientist as well as the consent of the schools' principals. The purpose of the research was explained to the research participants, and they were reassured that the questionnaires were anonymous, their data would be under

discretion, and participation in the study is on a voluntary basis.

* Findings

To examine the association between the importance that Arab teachers-mothers attribute to their family and work roles and their spouses' and employers' support, and indexes of organizational citizenship behavior and organizational misbehavior, as well as their contribution to the intensification of the conflict, we checked associations between operative variables that measure all of the research components.

* *Descriptive findings of research variables*

Table 1: averages and standard deviations

Table 2 presents associations between the importance attributed to work roles, the importance attributed to family roles, the extent of support provided by spouses and employers, indexes of functioning at work and the intensity of the two kinds of conflict – family-work and work-family conflict.

Table 2: Pearson correlations between indexes of functioning at work and functioning at home (N-546)

*p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

Significant negative associations were found between attributing importance to family roles and attributing importance to work roles and the three indexes of withdrawal behaviors: lateness, absenteeism and organizational misbehavior. In addition, significant positive correlation was found between the importance attributed to work roles and organizational citizenship behavior. Moreover, the findings indicate that among teachers who attribute high importance to family roles, the family-work conflict is of a higher level of intensity.

The findings consistently indicate a significant positive effect of the support participants received from colleagues and employers at school, as well as the support they receive from the spouse at home, and a significant negative effect on the three indexes of withdrawal behaviors: organizational misbehavior, lateness and absenteeism. The data indicates that the support the participants have received from work and family moderates the intensity of the two kinds of conflict: the work-family conflict and the family-work conflict (see **Table 2**).

For a comprehensive and integrative view of the associations between the independent variables, the dependent ones and the mediating

ones, an investigation was conducted by means of Structural Equation Modeling. The investigation includes variables positioned hierarchically: attributing importance to home and to work as perceived by the teacher, and the support the teacher receives from her spouse and her superiors at work. The two kinds of conflict, family-work and work-family conflicts are included further. Eventually, the chart delineates the functional outcomes of the mother and teacher at her work. The finding is delineated in **Chart 1.**

The goodness of fit of the structural equation model is high and meets the accepted requirements (TLI=.929, CFI=.945). The explained variance rates in each equation in the model, except for the work-family conflict, are higher than 10% and significant.

The rectangular forms represent variables directly measured in the questionnaires: observed variables, or manifested variables. The elliptical forms represent latent variables, composed of a number of relevant questionnaire items.

The model presents a wide, complex system of associations. Thus, for example, the three indexes of withdrawal behaviors were found as having direct negative associations to attributing importance to work roles and positive associations to family-work conflict. In addition, positive associations were found between the importance attributed to work functioning and organizational citizenship behavior. However, the support teachers receive from their spouses does not reduce the frequency of withdrawal behaviors at work, as compared to the support they receive in the workplace that is associated with reduction in the frequency of organizational misbehavior (Beta= -.27 p<.001), and rise in the frequency of organizational citizenship behavior (Beta= .26, p<.001).

To complete the data, we conducted a calculation of the direct and indirect associations in the model, as presented on **Table 3**.

Table 3: Indirect effects in the model of structural equations

An examination of the indirect associations that completes the picture of direct associations found a full, significant indirect association between attributing importance to family roles and withdrawal behaviors, by mediation of the family-work conflict (Indirect=.05, p<.05). It also found a partial indirect association

between attributing importance to family roles and lateness, through the family-work conflict (Indirect=.03, p<.05). Regarding attributing importance to family roles and absenteeism through the family-work conflict, the higher the attribution of importance, the higher the intensity of the family-work conflict and the higher the frequency of absenteeism (Indirect=.05, p<.05) (see **Table 3**).

* Discussion

The Arab teachers' attitudes towards their dual commitment, to family and to work, the intensity of the conflict they experience and the effect of these factors on their level of functioning at work were examined by means of a multiple variable model. The variables include the level of importance attributed to family and work roles and its contribution to functioning in both realms, the family-work conflict and the work-family conflict. The level of functioning at work was examined based on organizational citizenship behavior and withdrawal behaviors. Factors moderating and aggravating the conflict were examined as well, including the level of support given by the spouse to his wife (the teacher), and

the support from her superiors and colleagues at work.

The findings indicate that attributing high importance to the work role raises the level of organizational citizenship behavior and reduces the frequency of withdrawal behaviors. In addition, mediating associations were found between the importance attributed to family roles and withdrawal behaviors through the family work conflict. Thus, the innovation of this study lies in the discussion of the issue of stress and overload at work and the crossover effect on the family, among Arab teachers and mothers. This population is characterized as having long workdays at school, in addition to necessarily investing much time for their schoolwork at home, preparing classes, checking assignments and maintaining availability for the parents, the principal etc. Therefore, findings indicating that in spite of their commitment to both realms, family and work, and the need to divide their time between work and their family the teachers demonstrate high levels of functioning at work, add another layer to the volume of knowledge about this issue. In other words, despite the teacher's perpetual commitment to her

family and the conflict between her work and family commitments deriving from attributing importance to both realms, she demonstrates high levels of importance attributed to work, increase of organizational citizenship behavior and low frequency of the three indexes of withdrawal behaviors, i.e., organizational misbehavior, lateness and absenteeism.

Apparently, as previous research indicates, teachers and mothers succeed in maintaining clear boarder lines between work and family, and therefore, overload in one realm does not harm the other (Ashforth et al., 2000; Qadach et al., 2020; Da'as et al., 2019; Pleck, 1977). Moreover, developmental processes among women in Israeli Arab society promote their career ambitions while maintaining their total commitments to the family and its traditional values (Katana, 2007). The findings lead to the conclusion that these processes are enhanced by the functional separation of the family realm and the work realm. This separation is conceived as efficient for both spheres, as it enables the teachers to avoid work distraction in the family unit, and it can be explained by the intensity of family and social relationships in Arab

society, in spite of its exposure to the more liberal Jewish society.

The traditional expectation from women in Arab society is that they give up professional promotion to avoid shaking the patriarchal social structure, and behave according to the accepted norms (Addi-Raccah, 2006; Osazky-Lazar, 2005). The current research findings show that the mediating factor, that is, the bi-directional conflict, family-work and work-family conflict, is highly affected by the level of importance the woman attributes to her roles, both at home and at work. A high intensity of the bi-directional conflict leads to an increase in the three indexed of withdrawal behaviors at work. The fact that most of the teachers do not characteristically demonstrate withdrawal behaviors and succeed at their work might point to a way for normalizing and accepting the phenomenon of working women among many circles in Arab society. In this respect, apparently, a sense of challenge and opportunity that requires teachers to demonstrate abilities and skillfulness in coping successfully with work demands contribute to their professional and personal satisfaction, and might serve as the engine for confronting and overcoming conflicts

of varying intensities (Oplatka, 2015). The courage to dare and cross the family confinement positions the teacher and mother under a magnifying glass in a society that looks into her performance closely. In practice, she is required to balance wisely her commitment to her work and to her family in order to fulfil the expectations deriving from her teaching role, reduce her withdrawal behaviors and increase her organizational citizenship behavior.

Despite tradition, working women feel they can reduce some of their commitments to their family and be helped by family members in taking care of the household (Arar & Rigbi, 2009). Owing to the husband's central position in the Arab family nucleus, the extent of support on his side of his wife's work and her commitment to it has significant implications on her ability to act and keep her position (Barnett et al., 2005). The research findings point to the importance of the support the teacher receives from her spouse as well as form her employer, moderating the conflict she is subjected to, followed by a rise in the indexes of her functioning at work.

Discussion of this issue calls attention to new values that children of these working mothers are exposed to, such as higher equality of opportunity in the family unit, which calls for a dialogue between men and women and more cooperation between them. Family dialogue and cooperation might reduce tensions concerning the obligation to take care of the children and educate them, as Segal describes (2007). Preventing such tensions might reduce the number of situations in which teachers would prefer to be absent from work in order to cope with society's expectations from them as wives and mothers. Nevertheless, the very characteristic of Arab society as a collectivist and patriarchal society equips the teachers and mothers with abilities to contain and sustain changes and pressure, as compared to women of individualistic cultures (Cinamon, 2009). In Arab society, women undergo socialization processes that teach them to take more responsibility for their household than their spouse, and in their conception, this responsibility includes providing for the family's livelihood. This is in line with studies showing that Arab women receive help form the extended family regarding child rearing, and that this help enables them to take responsibilities at work and contributes

to reduce the conflict between work and the family (Heilbrunn & Davidovitch, 2011).

It might be still early to develop expectations regarding the processes that accelerate woman empowerment in Arab society, processes that involve a rise in women's important share in the family economy and in their position in decision making as well. That is to say, although the system of values currently developing in Arab society is more democratic and more liberal, studies show that in cases of conflict between work and the family, women tend to prioritize the family needs (Reif, 2012). Therefore, similarly to other studies' findings, a high level of conflict between work demands and family life predicts organizational misbehavior in the workplace (Hershcovis et al., 2007).

Furthermore, women's roles take deep meanings in the systematic context discussed here. Thus, for example, women's participation in expanding their family income will improve the economic situation of their families and help them gradually escape from conditions of economic distress, with all their characteristics. Moreover, the current study suggests the potential for developing a theoretical framework delineating the interrelations between the commitment of the Israeli Arab teacher to her work and her functioning within the family unit. This framework takes into consideration the religious, tradition and value complexity that characterizes Arab society in Israel, and the rise in teachers' role requirements in the implementation of educational reforms that aggravate the teachers' role overload and the levels of stress they experience.

The findings of the current study are relevant to a field of occupation characterized by a female employee majority, such as the teaching profession. It seems, therefore, that in this field, employers understand the teachers' family needs and are aware of the conflict potential. Therefore, they support the teachers, and this support contributes to a higher level of functioning at work, and benefits the organization and its goals as well. Further research is recommended to examine whether this tendency of employers to be supportive and considerate exists in achievement professions where there is no female majority. The research findings of this study do not enable conclusions regarding other kinds of workplace.

The collision of modern values of equality and liberalism with traditional patriarchal values in Arab society contributes to the conflict that Arab women experience, in spite of the growing support they receive from their spouses and their superiors at work. Therefore, further research should investigate the gender issue from the male point of view as well. It should look into the stress the teachers' spouses, who share the processes of change in the family, experience. Research should examine their reactions to these changes, and the effect they have on their attitude towards their wives. In addition, the children's point of view should be looked into, as well as that of other relevant factors in the extended family.

Israeli Arab society lives side by side with the liberal Jewish society, whose values cross over to Arab society and accelerate the transformations occurring in it. Comparative research on teachers with families in the two societies would shed light on the origins of the conflict teachers in both societies experience, and its effect on their functioning at home and at work, in light of the pressures they are given to.

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