

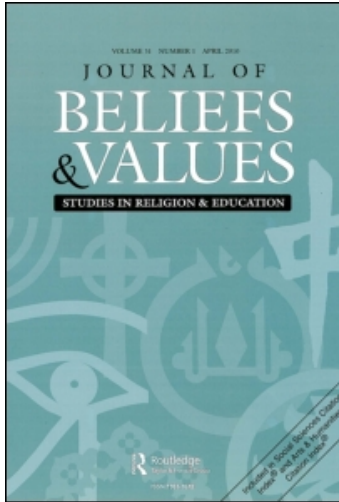
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### The Work Values of Arab Teachers in Israel in a Multicultural Context

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# The Work Values of Arab Teachers in Israel in a Multicultural Context

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**ABSTRACT** *The subjects of this study, 143 Arab elementary school teachers, represent an ethnic and religious minority in Israel, and work in schools based on a Western educational model. Their work values were measured by using the Islamic Work Ethic (IWE) and work individualism scales developed by Ali (1988). Based on the factor analysis of the IWE scale, three factors emerged: (1) personal and organizational obligations; (2) personal investment and dividends; and (3) personal effort and achievement. The relation of Ali's Islamic work ethic and work individualism scales to the traditional Western work values theory is discussed. The results of this study are compared to the findings of Ali (1988, 1992) obtained using the IWE and work individualism scales among Arab students in the United States and Arab managers in Saudi Arabia.*

## General Background

This article presents an overview of teachers' work values in an ethnically and culturally diverse context. The study subjects, Arab elementary school teachers, represent an ethnic and religious minority in Israel. The development of the initially Western work values theory is reviewed, and the relevance of an Islamic work ethic measure, which was used to measure Arab teachers' work values in this multicultural setting, is evaluated.

According to the literature on work values, work attitudes and work behavior are governed to a large extent by values. Values can be defined as constructs that mediate between a person's internal physiological and psychological needs, and the specific activities available to fulfill each need (Gartland, 1984). Research on work values in a wide range of cultural settings indicates that they are key constructs in the socialization process and reflect conditions of education, occupation, politics, religion, culture, and the family milieu (Elizur, Borg, Hunt & Beck, 1991; Morinaga, Frieze & Ferligoj, 1993; Aryee, Chay & Tan, 1994; Zytowski, 1994; Chew & Putti, 1995; Abu-Saad & Isralowitz, 1997; Sidani, 2000). Work values have been defined as qualities that: (a) people desire from their work (Dawis & Lofquist, 1984; Ben-Shem & Avi-Itzhak, 1991); (b) are more fundamental than interests (Super, 1970); (c) reflect a correspondence between needs and satisfaction (Abboushi, 1990; Drummond & Stoddart, 1991); (d) are indicative of preferences and not

moral imperatives (Pryor, 1979); and, (e) are broad tendencies to prefer certain states of affairs over others (Hofstede, 1999).

The organizational significance of work values stems from the fact that they influence a variety of organizational behaviors and outcomes such as performance (Andrisani & Pames, 1983), interest in challenging and non-routine tasks (Bhagat, 1979), satisfaction and the subsequent job behaviors (Blood, 1969), and occupational accomplishment and career mobility (Andrisani, 1978). Thus, the ability to match the needs of an individual to that of an organization may depend, in large part, on the identification of the work values of the individual.

Identification of individuals' work value profiles is useful for: (a) providing an informational basis for employment counselling and career planning (Reichel, Neumann & Pizam, 1981); (b) assessing an individual's level of motivation for certain jobs (Brown, 1976); (c) designing effective motivational systems (England, 1978); (d) influencing an individual's drive for achievement at work and job satisfaction (Mankoff, 1974; Knoop, 1994b; Sidani, 2000); and (e) inducing individuals to be highly involved in their jobs (Randall & Cote, 1991).

The relation of work values to job satisfaction has been extensively discussed in the social sciences (Brief & Nord, 1990; Knoop, 1994a, 1994b; Sidani, 2000). In a review of the research, Katzell (1964) found a consistent and positive association between job satisfaction and the congruence between personal values and job conditions. Mankoff (1974) reported that values play a crucial role in human motivation and achievement. Knoop (1994a) also found that important and achieved values, individually and combined, related significantly to job satisfaction.

Much of the research on work values has been carried out in the West and has focused on the Protestant Work Ethic (PWE) as defined by Weber. Weber considered the PWE to be at the basis of the Western idea that a person has a 'duty' to work, and asserted the existence of a relationship between Protestantism and the development of modern capitalism.

The PWE is based on the Calvinist doctrines that humanity has fallen into a state of sin and that, consequently, it is a human being's duty to engage in unremitting hard work, in the absence of indulgence, as a means of attaining the certainty of salvation (Bendix, 1962). Weber argued that the inherent logic of these doctrines directly and indirectly encouraged self-denial, planning and investment in the pursuit of economic gain. Since Calvinism also tended to eliminate the satisfaction of the creative experience from work, it gave religious sanction to impersonal mechanical labor, low wages and exploitation in the early period of modern capitalism (Bendix, 1962).

While the PWE has been used to examine work values in non-Western societies, efforts have also been made to study and describe the work ethics developed under other belief and social systems. Ali (1988, 1992) has identified an Islamic Work Ethic (IWE) that has its origins in the Quran and the sayings and practices of the Prophet Mohammed and the early Islamic leaders. Unlike the strains within Christianity (Bendix, 1962) and Jewish (Lipset, 1990) thought which view the need for work as a consequence of human sin, Islam views humanity as free from primordial guilt and has a more positive orientation to work. In the IWE, work is considered a virtue

in light of a person's needs, and a means for establishing equilibrium in one's individual and social life. The IWE is oriented more toward life fulfilment than life denial (e.g. 'no one eats better food than that which one eats out of one's work') (Ali, 1992, p. 507). The Islamic traditions on which it is based also emphasize the importance of quality work (e.g. 'Persist in your action with a noble mind . . . . Failure to perfect your work while you are sure of the reward is injustice to yourself') (Ali, 1992, p. 507).

During the first six centuries of Islam, knowledge, trade, industry, agriculture and complex organizations thrived. All forms of work and creativity were honored, and labor organizations that supported both the needs and the professional quality of the workers were developed (Ali, 1992). As Izeedin stated:

the industries and trades were organized into corporations or guilds. These corporations were of great social importance. They maintained the standard of craftsmanship and prevented underhanded competition, thereby insuring a friendly society. Based on religious and moral foundations, they impressed upon their members a sense of duty toward one's craft and toward one another. Honesty and sobriety were characteristic qualities of Moslem artisans. A tradition of mutual aid prevailed. (Izeedin, 1953, pp. 30–31)

According to Ali (1992), the foreign conquests and domination of the Arab world, which began with the Ottoman Empire (1412–1918) and were perpetuated by the modern Western powers, have led to a breakdown of work-related structures and behaviors and to a weakening of the influence of the IWE. The early Western colonial powers (British and French) deliberately instilled Arabs with a sense of inferiority, which has been perpetuated by the continued foreign domination, either through political structures or through the influx of multinational corporations and expatriate labor (Ali, 1992). This historical development has resulted in widespread Arab cultural and social alienation, and a growth of apathy in the workplace (Ali & Al-Shakhis, 1990; Ali, 1992; Barakat, 1993). However, in two studies by Ali (1988, 1992), quite strong support for, and identification with, the IWE was found among Arabs in different settings.

Another important work-related attitude, individualism, was examined in the present study for two reasons. First, it has been shown to provide an understanding of cultural variations among nations (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai & Lucca, 1988; Hofstede, 1999; Miller & Sharda, 2001). Second, individualism in the Western world is thought to enhance organizational performance and productivity (Hennessy, 1990), and it is of interest to examine its role in non-Western societies.

Hofstede (1980), who identified an individualism/collectivism dimension in his multi-country studies, defined individualism as a preference for loosely knit social frameworks in which individuals are obligated only to take care of themselves and their immediate families. Collectivism, on the other hand, represents a preference for tightly knit social frameworks in which people are emotionally integrated into an extended family, clan, organization, or other ingroup that is expected to protect

them in exchange for their unquestioning loyalty. Muna (1980) reported that two-thirds of the Arab executives in his survey thought employee loyalty was more important than efficiency. Furthermore, in collectivist societies, there is no clear line between job life and private life, so relationships (both within and outside of the job) take precedence over work tasks (Hofstede, 1984; Abu-Saad & Hendrix, 1995; Hofstede, 1999). Highly individualistic groups, on the other hand, manifest greater assertiveness in meeting personal objectives and needs, such as the desire to actualize one's gifts and abilities (Hofstede, 1980).

In Western societies, the concept of the individual has been basic to social thought since the Renaissance. The opposite is true of Arab society, which has tended to de-emphasize the individual as an end in and of itself and emphasize instead the network of obligations and responsibilities that the individual assumes as a member of his family and his immediate community. Traditional Arab values put more emphasis on the group than on the individual, on solidarity than on the activity and needs of the individual, and on the communion of persons than on their autonomy. Arab society is a collectivist one, in which, as Barakat stated:

individuals engage in unlimited commitments to the group. Instead of asserting their separateness and privacy as independent individuals, they behave as committed members of a group—hence the significance of family, tribe, neighborhood, community, village, sect, and so forth. Generally speaking, one may claim that the need for affiliation is nurtured at the expense of needs of power and achievement. In fact, however, the latter two needs are often met through affiliation.

No matter what, Arabs assert, 'people are for people' ('An-nass lil-nass); paradise without others, they say, is unlivable ('al-janneh bidoon nass ma bitindas'). Even in the present transitional period, Arabs ... continue to maintain intimate affiliations from which they derive a great deal of intrinsic satisfaction and a strong sense of belonging. Nevertheless, they are exposed to immense family and community pressure, and to constant interference in the most private aspects of their personal lives. Demands for conformity undermine individuality, the formation of independent views, and self-expression. (Barakat 1993, pp. 203–204)

In the setting of the present study, there are a number of differing and perhaps conflicting cultural, social and organizational influences on the work values of Arab elementary school teachers. The Arab minority in Israel, 90% Moslem, is similar to other Arab societies, in that it has a strong social network and a clear and well-defined system of values and customs (Abu-Saad & Hendrix, 1993). However, in the course and aftermath of the establishment of the state of Israel, much of the Palestinian–Arab population was dispersed, and the minority who remained in Israel was left without a political and social leadership. The loss of the society's cultural and political elite has increased its susceptibility to Jewish cultural and economic influences.

One of the primary avenues of external cultural influence is the educational system (K-12) in Israel, which was originally based on the British educational model, and is directed by the Ministry of Education in Jerusalem. This system is *de facto* divided into separate Jewish and Arab systems, which are not equal in terms of *per capita* expenditure for pupils, teaching hours, facilities, professional resources and special curricular programs and opportunities (Swirski, 1999; Abu-Saad, 2001). Conversely, the educational outcomes (i.e. student retention, success on matriculation exams, etc.) in the Arab system tend to be poorer than they are in the Jewish system (Lavy, 1998; Abu-Saad, 2001; HRW, 2001).

The aims of the Israeli educational system, which were set forth in the 1953 Law of State Education are as follows:

to base education on the values of Jewish culture and the achievements of science, on love of the homeland and loyalty to the state and the Jewish people, on practice in agricultural work and handcraft, on pioneer training and on striving for a society built on freedom, equality, tolerance, mutual assistance, and love of mankind. (Mar'i, 1978, p. 50)

No parallel aims have ever been set forth for the education of Arabs in Israel, though some attempts have been made by committees directed and dominated by Jewish educators in the 1970s and 1980s (Al-Haj, 1995). Rather, the general and specific curricular goals that have been developed for Arab education tend to blur rather than enhance the formation of Arab identity. Furthermore, Arab students must learn about Jewish values and culture, but Jewish students are not in turn required to learn about Arab values and culture. As a result, Arab students spend more total hours in the study of the Hebrew language/literature and Jewish culture and history than in the study of Arabic culture, literature and history (Peres, Ehrlich & Yuval-Davis, 1970; Mar'i, 1978, 1985; Al-Haj, 1995). Thus the school system, in which Arab elementary school teachers once studied and now work, is a focal point for the influence of Israeli-Jewish culture and values upon the Arab minority in Israel.

Regarding organizational influences on the work values and behavior of Arab elementary school teachers in Israel, there have been Western influences through the British colonial legacy and the enduring Western structure of the school system, as well as of many other organizations in Israel. Much of the work values research in Israel has applied theory and instruments developed in the West without any discussion as to their cultural or organizational appropriateness (Ben-Shem & Avi-Itzhak, 1991; Popper & Lipshitz, 1992; Mannheim & Seger, 1993). Elizur *et al.*'s (1991) eight-country study indicated that the rank order of work values between Israeli and American samples were quite similar, with achievement, job interest and advancement as the three highest-ranked values, and contribution to society as the lowest-ranked value (in contrast to China, a more collectivist society, in which this was the fourth-highest ranked value).

However, the socialist ideals that were popular, particularly during the early period of Israel's statehood, represent another influence. According to Ben-Hayim

and Berman (1991), historically the General Federation of Labor in Israel (Histadrut) deliberately set about to create a culture in Israeli organizations that was in accord with the vision of a new workers' society based on the collectivist ideals of employment for everyone, equality among employees, solidarity and mutual help. In their recent study of Histadrut organizations Ben-Hayim and Berman (1991) found that this organizational culture was changing, especially in newer organizations, where the main focus instead was upon personal rewards, job satisfaction, and attachment to the immediate workplace (rather than to the labor union or working class); although approximately one-third of the employees in the newer organizations still held more traditionally collectivist work values. Historically, the employees of Israeli (Jewish and Arab) schools, including principals, teachers and higher administrative officials have been members of the Histadrut labor union.

### **The Study**

Given the diverse cultural context described above, the purpose of this study was (1) to identify dimensions of work values among a sample of Arab elementary school teachers in Israel and, (2) to examine the relationship between the dimensions of work values and the work individualism measures and various demographic variables (gender, age and education).

The study was conducted in the spring of 1994 and was based on a random sample of 143 elementary teachers from all Arab schools in the Negev.

### *Instrumentation*

A questionnaire was designed, consisting of two sections: a measure of one's work ethic; and a measure of work individualism.

*The work ethic* was measured using the Islamic Work Ethic (IWE) scale developed by Ali (1988). This scale measures the extent to which people consider hard work and commitment to be a source of self-respect, satisfaction, fulfilment, independence, and success. It also measures the importance they attach to the contribution of their work to the broader community and society. The original scale contained 46 statements, and was slightly revised so as to better apply to the school environment. A response to each statement is made on five-point Likert-type scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5).

*The work individualism* questionnaire was also developed by Ali (1988). It has seven items, of which only six were used in the present study. The scale measures individualism in the work place, emphasizing self-reliance as a source of success, individual rather than group rewards, pride in accomplishments, one's loyalty to self and family, and loyalty to superiors in the workplace. Each item was measured on a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5).

### Data Analysis

The statistical methods used for processing the collected data were: (a) descriptive statistics; (b) factor analysis of the work ethic items; (c) Pearson's correlation between the work ethic factors and the work individualism measures; and (d) *t*-tests to look for differences among the teachers on the work ethic and individualism measures by gender, marital status, educational level and age.

Factor analysis was used to reduce the large number of individual variables or items into related unities or dimensions, and thus facilitate the interpretation of the results (Vogt, 1993). Two criteria were used in order to determine the number of factors: (1) the eigenvalue of each factor equal to or greater than 1.0 (eigenvalue is the total amount of variance accounted for by a factor, or the amount of explained variance due to a factor); and (2) the loading of each item in the factors greater than or equal to 0.4.

### Results

The demographic information collected reveals that 67% of the teachers in the sample were male and 33% were female. Twenty-eight percent of the teachers were between the ages of 19–24, 63% between the ages of 25–34, 8% between the ages of 35–44, and 1% between the ages of 55–64. Regarding educational level, 89% of the teachers had a teacher's college degree, and 11% a university (bachelor's) degree.

Table I depicts the results of factor analysis on the 46 items of the work ethic scale, rotated in the Varmix option, and the communality values for each item. Using a loading of 0.40 as the threshold for inclusion, the items were distributed among three primary factors: (1) personal and organizational obligations; (2) personal investment and dividends; and (3) personal effort and achievement. None of the items loaded on more than one factor above the threshold for inclusion. The three factors have an eigenvalue greater than 1.0 and account for 32% of the total variance (factors 1, 2 and 3 explain 16%, 10% and 6% of the variance, respectively). The Alpha coefficients, which measure the internal reliability of the items in the factors were computed. Since the Alpha coefficients of the three factors were 0.87, 0.76 and 0.73 respectively, the factors were considered reliable. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy is 0.76.

Factor 1 of the work ethic scale (personal and organizational obligations) deals with the personal and social responsibilities of the workers to their jobs and communities, as well as with the organization's obligations to workers and to society. It includes items such as: work should be done with sufficient effort, one should constantly work hard to meet responsibilities, good work benefits both one's self and others, one must participate in social activities, co-operation benefits society, justice and generosity in the workplace are necessary conditions for society's welfare, and people should not be denied their fair wages.

Factor 2 (personal investment and dividends) includes items regarding the need for personal investment in work (i.e. one should carry out work to the best of one's



TABLE I. Dimensions of Islamic work ethics: factor analysis results, varimax rotation and communality

Factors	Loading	Communality
<i>(1) Personal and organizational obligations</i>		
Justice and generosity in the workplace are necessary conditions for society's welfare.	.72	.53
Dedication to work is a virtue.	.71	.54
Co—operation benefits society.	.69	.55
Co—operation is a virtue in work.	.68	.48
Co—operation provides satisfaction.	.67	.51
Good work benefits both one's self and others.	.66	.48
Work should be done with sufficient effort.	.66	.49
One should strive to achieve better results.	.64	.42
One should constantly work hard to meet responsibilities.	.55	.45
Constant struggle for the actualization of ideals and adherence to work values guarantees success.	.49	.32
One must participate in social activities.	.49	.28
More leisure time is bad for individuals and society.	.42	.23
One must participate in economic activities.	.40	.29
One should take community affairs into consideration in one's work.	.40	.26
One should not be denied one's full wages.	.40	.22
<i>(2) Personal investment and dividends</i>		
Work is a source of self—respect.	.80	.64
Work gives one the chance to be independent.	.64	.42
Consultation allows one to overcome obstacles and avoid mistakes.	.59	.42
One should carry work out to the best of his ability.	.50	.25
Those who do not work hard often fail in life.	.50	.32
Work is not an end in itself, but a means to foster personal growth.	.48	.24
Hard work is a virtue in light of the needs of man and the necessity to establish equilibrium in one's individual and social life.	.46	.31
Devotion to quality work is a virtue.	.45	.39
<i>(3) Personal effort and achievement</i>		
Progress on the job can be obtained through self—reliance.	.62	.45
A person can overcome difficulties in life and better himself by doing his job well.	.55	.46
Hard work does not guarantee success.	.55	.40
A successful man is the one who meets deadlines at work.	.44	.25

ability, devotion to quality work is a virtue), and the benefits of dedication to work, such as personal growth, equilibrium in one's individual and social life, self-respect, independence, and success in life.

Factor 3 (personal effort and achievement) deals with the extent to which one considers personal effort and self-reliance on the job as avenues to success. It includes the following items: people can overcome difficulties in life and better themselves by doing their jobs well, a successful person is one who meets the deadlines at work, hard work does not guarantee success, and progress on the job can be obtained through self-reliance.

The six items of the work individualism scale (pride in individual achievements and accomplishments, priority of individual over group incentives and rewards, highest loyalty to self and family, self-determination of one's own best interests, self-reliance as a source of success, and the necessity of loyalty to superiors for organizational survival) were used individually in the analysis (as was done by Ali, 1988). In addition, they were computed into an individualism index for which the Alpha coefficient is 0.62.

Analysis of the correlations between the work ethic factors and the work individualism items separately, and as a scale, revealed that the work ethic factor, personal and organizational obligations, was significantly correlated to two of the work individualism items: (a) pride in individual achievements ( $r = .27, p \leq .01$ ), and (b) self-reliance as a source of success ( $r = .26, p \leq .01$ ). The personal investment and dividends factor correlated significantly with four of the work individualism items: (a) pride in individual achievements ( $r = .35, p \leq .01$ ), (b) priority of individual over group rewards ( $r = .27, p \leq .01$ ), (c) highest loyalty to self and family ( $r = .17, p \leq .05$ ), and (d) self-reliance as a source of success ( $r = .21, p \leq .01$ ). The third factor, personal effort and achievement, was significantly correlated to five of the six work individualism items: (a) pride in individual achievements ( $r = .22, p \leq .01$ ), (b) highest loyalty to self and family ( $r = .18, p \leq .05$ ), (c) self-determination of one's own best interests ( $r = .24, p \leq .01$ ), (d) self-reliance as a source of success ( $r = .36, p \leq .01$ ), and (e) the necessity of loyalty to superiors for organizational survival ( $r = .17, p \leq .05$ ). Two of the work ethic factors (personal investment and dividends, and personal effort and achievement) were significantly correlated to the individualism index as a whole ( $r = .36, p \leq .01$  for both), while the correlation of the third work ethic factor (personal and organizational obligations) was considerably weaker than that of the other two factors ( $r = .18, p \leq .05$ ).

The *T*-test was used to compare teachers' responses by gender, age and educational level on the work ethic dimensions and individualism scale. Female teachers scored significantly higher than male teachers on the work ethic factor of personal effort and achievement ( $t = -2.18, p \leq .05$ ), and the work individualism item of self-determination of best self-interests ( $t = -3.75, p \leq .01$ ). There were no significant differences between teachers by age or educational level.

## Discussion

The results present a complex picture in which the multicultural setting of the study is reflected. The emergence of three highly reliable factors from the analysis of the IWE scale indicates that it is an appropriate instrument for use with the Arab minority in Israel, despite the Israeli and Western cultural and organizational influences on this population. The strongest factor, personal and organizational obligations, reflects the collectivist nature of Arab society, in so far as values about individual effort and obligations are not separated from values about the importance of one's contribution to community and society, and the obligations of the organization to its employees. It is unlikely that the work values instruments developed in the West would have been able to pick up on the combination that is represented

in this dimension. The emergence of this factor as the strongest work ethic factor supports previous research in collectivist/Arab societies (Hofstede, 1984; Abu-Saad & Hendrix, 1995) which has found no clear distinction between one's job and personal life, but a unity dominated by the network of social relationships and obligations.

The 'Western' origins of the school organization (in an individualist/capitalistic society) do not seem to have altered these teachers' collectivist values and expectations with regard to the role and responsibilities of the organization. This finding may be related to the influence of the Histadrut labor union on the school organization, and the similarity of its socialist values to the IWE values regarding the responsibilities of the organization to the workers/society. These value systems, both of which are highly collectivistic, perhaps tend to reinforce one another and to overpower the vestiges of more individualist or capitalist organizational values embedded in the school's original form.

The content of the other two work ethic factors (personal investment and dividends, and personal effort and achievement) focuses more upon the individual duty to and benefits of work, and clearly indicate that they are an important part of the Islamic work ethic, as well as of the work ethic systems developed in the West. Given their stronger emphasis upon the individual, there were more and higher correlations between these factors and the individualism items and index than there were between the first work ethic factor and the individualism measures.

Female teachers scored significantly higher than male teachers on the work ethic factor of personal effort and achievement, and the individualism item of self-determination of best self-interests. They also scored higher than males, but not significantly so, on four of the other items of the work individualism scale, and on the work ethic factor of personal investment and dividends. This finding is likely to be related to the fact that women teachers are a minority who have entered the workforce relatively recently, and are not welcomed by all (Mar'i, 1978; Abu-Saad & Isralowitz, 1992). Thus, they may feel the need to prove themselves as individuals, and have less trust in the will of the organization to look after them and their best interests.

Finally, the results of the present study may be compared to Ali's results when he used the IWE and work individualism scales with Arab students at universities in the United States (Ali, 1988) and Arab managers in Saudi Arabia (Ali, 1992). Different types of analysis were used on the IWE which limits the comparability, but in general the sample of Arab teachers in Israel tended to score somewhat lower on the IWE, and somewhat higher on the work individualism scale, than the subjects in Ali's studies. The Arab minority in Israel is clearly inundated, first and foremost through the educational system, by other cultural influences. The nature of this influence, within the context of the Israeli-Palestinian-Arab conflict, has included the de-emphasizing of Arab identity, culture and values. As Ali (1992) noted, the phenomenon of external political/cultural/economic domination has led to a weakening of the influence of the IWE throughout Arab countries, which is highly likely to be the case with the Arab minority in Israel as well. It is also possible that Arabs in Israel know less about the values of their heritage than those in other Arab

countries, where the school system enables them to learn about and take pride in the values embedded in Arabic-Islamic culture.

The Arab teachers in the present study also scored higher than Arab university students in the United States (Ali, 1988) and Arab managers in Saudi Arabia (Ali, 1992) on all of the work individualism items. This difference may be related to the Western-oriented cultural, social and organizational influences on the Arab minority in Israel. The influence of the women teachers, who were one-third of the sample and who scored higher than men on nearly all of the individualistic measures, must also be taken into consideration. The gender breakdown of Ali's samples is not reported, but among Arab managers and foreign students it is most likely that the vast majority, if not all, were male.

Regardless of these differences, the findings of this study indicate that the IWE and work individualism scales are useful measures for describing the work-related values of Arab elementary school teachers in Israel, and suggest that the many different cultural influences they encounter also play a role in the formation of their work values.

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