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Re-Examination of Hofstede's Cultural Value Orientations Among Beginner Palestinian Arab Teachers in Israel

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Abstract

The purpose of the study was to examine the cultural values orientations of beginner Palestinian Arabs teachers in Israel using the four main dimensions of Hofstede's model of national culture. Cultural value orientations were measured using The Cultural Attitudes Inventory Instrument. Beginner Palestinian Arab teachers in Israel scored high on collectivism and uncertainty avoidance, while scoring relatively low on masculinity and power distance. MANOVA controlling for demographic variables indicated that beginner Palestinian Arab teachers differed by age, and the interaction between gender and marital status or age on specific dimensions. Older teachers (aged 30+ years) expressed higher uncertainty avoidance than younger teachers. The findings indicate that beginner Palestinian Arab teachers in Israel have maintained some of the values found to typify Arab societies traditionally (e.g., collectivism, uncertainly avoidance); but also deviate in some areas (e.g., power distance), perhaps due to their exposure to Western-oriented Israeli educational and organizational influences.

Keywords: Cultural values; Work values; Beginner teachers; High schools; Palestinian Arabs; Israel.

1. Introduction

Cultural value orientations represent the basic, core beliefs of a culture. These basic beliefs deal with humans' relationships with one another and with their world. Culture is the complex system of meanings that a group has in common and this set of ideas may be very different from the culture of another group. Culture touches every aspect of a society and affects the thinking and acting of every member of a group. Yet because culture is so pervasive and basic to a group, there are subtleties about the culture that group members may understand but are unable to articulate to others outside of the group. This is the fundamental problem of understanding a different culture from one's own: members of the culture may not be able to clearly articulate the culture to an outsider since the culture is such a basic part of their lives (Kluckhohn, 1951; Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1994).

The cultural differences between nations and their organizations raise the question of whether what can be applied to organizations of one country is applicable to the organizations in another country. Thus, the main objective of this study was to examine the work values orientations of beginner Palestinian Arabs teachers in Israel using the four main dimensions of Hofstede's (1984) model of national culture, which were hypothesized to explain the implications of national culture on organizational performance in different cultures. Although this model has been subject to methodological and theoretical criticisms, it is still considered to be among the most relevant and helpful models for clarifying how the national culture of a given society may affect managerial behavior, and the effect of subsequent consequences of this behavior on managerial performance (Mead, 1994; Obeidat, 2012).

2. Theoretical Background

Culture refers to a "rich complex" of beliefs, meanings, norms, and practices that describe and prescribe appropriate actions and behaviors (Schwartz, 2006). Different cultural value orientations have been discussed by numerous social scientists over the years (Hofstede's, 1984; Kluckhohn, 1956; Triandis, 1989). Hofstede (1980) identified four cultural dimensions to analyze work-related cultural values in different countries around the world. These dimensions include power distance, uncertainty avoidance, collectivism versus individualism, and masculinity versus femininity (see Figure 1). Furthermore, Hofstede suggested that the power distance and uncertainty avoidance

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dimensions described organizational characteristics, while the other two dimensions, collectivism vs. individualism and masculinity vs. femininity, described individual characteristics.

Figure-1. Spectrum of Hofstede's four cultural dimensions

	DIMENSIONS	
Low		**High**
Egalitarian	Power Distance	Embraces Hierarchy
Comfortable with Uncertainty	Uncertainty Avoidance	Uncomfortable with Uncertainty
Individualist	Collectivism vs. Individualism	Collectivist
Nature Important	Masculinity vs. Femininity	Power Important

The first dimension, power distance, refers to the power inequality between superiors and subordinates (see Figure 1). In high power distance organizations, organizational hierarchy is obvious. There is a line between administrators and subordinates. There is a considerable dependence of subordinates on supervisors, and a preference for autocratic or paternalistic supervisors. Power is based on family, friends, charisma, and the ability to use power. Low power distance organizations place emphasis on power distribution. Such organizations tend to have a flat organizational structure, decentralized decision-making responsibility, and a participative management style (Hofstede's, 1984). Therefore, the dependence of subordinates on supervisors is limited, and there is a preference for consultations.

The second dimension, uncertainty avoidance, refers to people's tolerance of ambiguity (Hofstede's, 1984). In high uncertainty avoidance organizations, there are more written rules in order to reduce uncertainty. In low uncertainty avoidance organizations, there are fewer written rules and rituals, and employees' empowerment is encouraged (see Figure 1). Parnell and Hatem (1999), emphasized the effect of religion on this dimension and considered it a crucial factor affecting Hofstede's results. For Muslims, God controls resources (Ali, 2005; Cavusgil *et al.*, 2008) and the Islamic value system requires a commitment to God and a belief that God is pervasive even in material work. Muslims believe that time is, to a certain extent, controlled by God and nothing happens until God wills for it to happen (Ali, 2005; Herbig and Dunphy, 1998). The uncertainty avoidance dimension is considered to be the only dimension in which religion plays an important role (Sabri, 2008).

The third dimension, collectivism vs. individualism, reflects the extent to which culture encourages individual concerns as opposed to collectivist, group-centered concerns. In individualistic cultures, the emphasis is on personal commitment and achievement. By contrast, in collectivist cultures the interests of the group prevail over those of the individual. People with high individualistic values tend to care about self-actualization and career progress in the organization, whereas people with low individualistic values tend to value organizational benefits more than their own interests. Countries that are high on power distance tend to have more collectivist cultures, in which people are dependent on groups and power figures (see Figure 1) (Hofstede's, 1984). It is worth pointing out that there is a negative relationship between this dimension and the power distance dimension. Countries with high power distance, such as Arab countries, tend to be more collectivist.

The fourth dimension, masculinity verses femininity, does not relate to the gender of the subject examined, but rather to the extent to which a particular culture emphasizes values associated with male characteristics (e.g., achievement, aggression, dominance) or those associated with feminine characteristics (e.g., nurturance, helpfulness, affiliation) (Hofstede, 1980;1991;2001; Hofstede's, 1984). A high score on masculinity verses femininity indicates that the society will be driven by competition, achievement and success, with success being defined by the winner/best in field – a value system that starts in school and continues throughout organizational life. Performance is highly valued. Mangers are expected to be decisive and assertive. Status is often shown, especially by cars, watche models and technical devices. A low score on masculinity verses femininity means that the dominant values in society are associated with caring for others. In a feminine society, quality of life is the sign of success, and standing out from the crowd is not admirable (see Figure 1). Furthermore, in high masculinity verses femininity organizations, very few women obtain higher-level, better-paying jobs. In low masculinity organizations, women achieve more equitable organizational status (Hofstede, 1991).

The cultural value orientations that exist in a culture reflect the general leanings of a culture as a whole; however, the beliefs of individuals within a given culture on particular value dimensions may vary and deviate from the general cultural stance. The extent to which there is homogeneity or heterogeneity of individual beliefs within a culture is itself a dimension on which cultures may vary. Triandis (1989), argued that there are "loose" cultures, which tolerate differences in people, and there are "tight" cultures, which are relatively intolerant of differences. Tight cultures have stronger sanctions against norm violations, than loose cultures.

It should also be noted that cultural value orientations may change over time. Research has shown that as cultures become more Westernized and industrialized, they tend to become more individualistic (Belk and Wendy, 1986; McCarty and Hattwick, 1992; McCarty, 1994; Mueller, 1987). Mueller (1987), for example, showed that advertisements from Japan tended to reflect the Western value of individualism rather than the traditional collectivistic nature of Japanese culture.

3. Arab Culture and Arab Management

In approaching the issue of culture in the Arab world, researchers contend that the Arab society has its unique social and cultural environment (Al- Harbi *et al.*, 2017; Attiyah, 1993; Barakat, 1993; Hallinger and Hammad, 2019;

Najm, 2015), which includes the influence of tribal and familial systems on Arab organizations (Ali, 2009; Muna, 1980; Weir, 1995).

Research conducted over the past few decades shows that Arab people are collectivist relative to their Western counterparts, who tended to score high on individualism and low on collectivism (Hofstede, 1980) https://www.hofstede-insights.com/product/compare-countries/; (Al- Harbi *et al.*, 2017; Ali *et al.*, 1997; Najm, 2015; Sabri, 2008; Sidani and Thornberry, 2010). 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 deemphasize 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 - "Allah's Hand is with the Jema'ah (group)", on solidarity than on the activity and needs of the individual, and on the communion of persons than on their autonomy (Al- Harbi *et al.*, 2017; Ali, 2005; Alteneiji, 2020; Sharabi, 1988). As Barakat stated, in collectivist Arabs society:

> . . . 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).

In Arab society the chief administrator's status, in and outside the organization, is determined by his/her reputation and standing in the community (Ali, 2005). As Sabri and Rayyan (2014) stated: "Power in Arab societies is based on family, friends and charisma and the ability to use force. The head of family has absolute power and all family members must obey and respect his wishes (p.6)."

Other research on Arab organizations (Al–Hegelan and Palmer, 1985; Ali, 1996; Najm, 2015; Obeidat, 2012; Sabri, 2008;2012b) has indicated that Arab administrators are reluctant to delegate authority; avoid responsibility and risk-taking; prefer a stable lifestyle over rewarding but challenging work; and give priority to friendships and personal considerations over organizational goals and performance. Face-saving and status-consciousness are often said to be important values in traditional Arab culture (Alteneiji, 2020; Gregg, 2005; Sharabi, 1990).

Barakat (1993) showed that Arab management practices are a mix of different characteristics: hierarchical authority, rules and regulations contingent on personality and power of individuals who make them, subordination of efficiency to personal relations and connections, indecisiveness in decision making, informality among lower level administrators, a generally patriarchal approach and nepotism. Original thinking and creativity are discouraged, while submissiveness and obedience are rewarded. Administrators and other employees are not allowed to voice their concerns or suggestions even within established channels. The "GLOBE" study, for instance, found that effective Arab administrators were reported to score significantly higher on "self-protective" traits, namely self-centeredness, status-consciousness, face-saving, conflict induction and reliance on procedure (House *et al.*, 2004; Najm, 2015).

However, more recent studies using Hofstede's cultural values orientations measures have reported heterogeneous findings across the Arab world. While one study reported substantial differences in scores between the 5 Arab countries included in sample (Carl *et al.*, 2004); two other studies conducted among college students in 7 Arab countries found differences from Hofstede's original results (lower power distance and collectivism) which they hypothesize could be the result of the students' exposure to Western values through their studies (Fischer and Al-Issa, 2012; Oshlyansky *et al.*, 2006). A study among Jordanian managers also found a lower power distance orientation than reported by Sabri (2012a;2012b). In light of these heterogeneous findings, the Palestinian Arab minority in Western-oriented Israeli society provides an interesting context for further exploration of the issues.

4. Palestinian Arab Society in Israel

In the setting of the present study, there are several differing and perhaps conflicting cultural, social and organizational influences on the cultural value orientations of Palestinian Arab society in Israel. The Arab minority in Israel 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 and Hendrix, 1993; Mar'i, 1978). 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 increased its susceptibility to Jewish cultural and economic influences (Abu-Saad, 2004;2019; Kraus and Yonay, 2018).

Significant gaps exist between the Palestinian Arab minority and the Jewish majority in Israel at almost all levels of life, including economic development, education, infrastructure, housing, health, and human, social, and political capital (Abu-Saad, 2019; Buchbinder and Simon, 2014; Hi, 2012; Kraus and Yonay, 2018). Palestinian Arabs comprise about 20% of Israel's population. Over 51% of Palestinian Arab families, and over 62% of their

children live in poverty; as compared with 15% and 24%, respectively, among the Jewish population (Buchbinder and Simon, 2014; Hi, 2012; Kraus and Yonay, 2018).

4.1. Arab Education System in Israel

Israel's public education system has, since 1948, been subdivided into a Jewish system (which is also divided into a number of subsystems, e.g. secular and religious schools) and an Arab system. The school system is separate, even in towns that have a mixed Jewish/Arab population (e.g. Haifa, Acre, Lod, Ramle and Jaffa), and differs in language of instruction, curriculum (particularly in the humanities and social sciences), and budget allocations (Abu-Saad, 2015;2019; Al-Haj, 1995; Kraus and Yonay, 2018; Mar'i, 1978; Swirski, 1999). Although the subdivisions in the educational system give it an appearance of educational pluralism, an examination of the policy and curriculum shows that these subdivisions exist for the purpose of establishing physical, ideological and socioeconomic barriers between the Jewish majority and Palestinian Arab minority (Abu-Saad, 2015;2019; Al-Haj, 1995; Kraus and Yonay, 2018; Mar'i, 1978; Swirski, 1999).

On average, Palestinian Arabs complete 11 years of study compared to 14 years among Israeli Jews (Hi, 2012) Each year, only 63% of the Arab age cohort reaches the 12th grade (compared to 93% of the Jewish age cohort); while only 28% of the Arab age cohort obtains a complete matriculation (Bagrut) certificate, as compared to 51% among their Jewish counterparts). Due to poor quality of education in many of the Arab schools, a large number of Arab students receive an academically substandard high school education, leaving them unprepared for matriculation certificate exams and ineligible for admission to universities/colleges (Hi, 2012).

Regarding organizational influences on the behavior of Palestinian Arab teachers in Israel, there have been Western influences through the British colonial legacy and the enduring Western structure of the higher education system, as well as of many other organizations in Israel.

In Israel, about 90% of teachers receive their training at specially designated colleges of education; while the other 10% are trained at universities that provide teacher certificates for high school only (Abu-Saad, 2018). In the Israeli teacher training colleges and programs, unlike other higher educational programs, Arabs and Jews continue to study separately. Furthermore, Palestinian Arab teacher training programs are designed to serve the purpose of co-opting Palestinian Arab academicians, and producing teachers who have internalized of the state ideology of control (Abu-Saad, 2018). They learn to consciously and unconsciously suppress of their national identity, and to reproduce that suppression in their classrooms (Abu-Saad, 2018).

4.2. Cultural Value Orientations in the Arab world and in Israel

Hofstede characterized Arab countries as having a large power distance, relatively strong uncertainty avoidance, high collectivism, and a moderate masculinity/ femininity; whereas Israel exhibited values more characteristic of Western society (Hofstede, 1991;2001; Hofstede's, 1984). Table 1 shows that on the power distance dimension the Arab countries scored high while Israel scored very low (Hofstede, 1991; Hofstede's, 1984). In contrast, on the uncertainty avoidance dimension, the Arab countries and Israel scored moderately low (Hofstede, 1991). The lowest Hofstede's dimension for the Arab world is the individualism (the reverse of the collectivism vs individualism scale used in the current study) ranking at (38), compared to a world average ranking of (64), while Israel scored 54 (see Table 1). This translates into a collectivist society in the Arab world, and is manifested in a close long-term commitment to the member "group", (e.g., family, extended family, other group relationships) (Alteneiji, 2020; Barakat, 1993; Sabri, 2012a; Sharabi, 1990). In contrast, Israel had a moderate score on this dimension, suggesting that Israeli society is a mixture of individualism and collectivism (Hofstede, 1991; Hofstede's, 1984).

Table-1. Arab and Israeli Country Scores on Hofstede's Four Cultural Dimensions

Countries	Individualism vs. Collectivism	Uncertainty Avoidance	Masculinity vs. Femininity	Power Distance
Israel	54	81	47	13
Egypt	25	80	45	70
Iraq	30	85	70	95
Jordon	30	65	45	70
Saudi Arabia	25	80	60	95
Kuwait	25	80	40	90
Lebanon	40	50	65	75
Libya	38	68	52	80
Morocco	46	68	53	70
Syria	35	60	52	80
United Arab Emirates	25	80	50	90
Arab countries (mean)	38	68	52	80

Note: Data obtained from the Hofstede Centre (https://www.hofstede-insights.com/product/compare-countries/). Scores can range from a low of 0 to a high of 100. The collectivism vs. individualism scale is reversed in these results, so that a higher score indicates higher individualism and a lower score indicates higher collectivism.

On the masculinity vs femininity index, the average score of all Arab countries was 52, which was only slightly higher than the average (50.2) for all the countries tested; though the scores of Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Lebanon were notably higher. Israel, in contrast, scored even lower (47) than the international average (Hofstede, 1991; Hofstede's, 1984). More recent studies among college students in Arab countries found substantially lower scores on power

distance (mean of 39) and uncertainty avoidance (mean of 42), and higher scores on individualism (80) (Fischer and Al-Issa, 2012).

The purpose of this study was: (1) to examine cultural work values orientations among beginner Palestinian Arab teachers in in northern Israel using Hofstede's work values orientations; and, (2) to test for differences on the cultural work values orientations by gender, marital status, age and religiosity.

5. Methodology

5.1. Study Setting

The study was conducted in the spring of 2019 and was based on 335 respondents who attended required mandatory courses by the Ministry of Education for beginner teachers in one of the major Arab teachers training college in northern Israel. Participation in the study was voluntary, although questionnaires were completed anonymously by all of the respondents present during the class time when the research was conducted.

5.2. Instrumentation

The questionnaire consisted of two sections: 1) a measure of Hofstede's work values orientations, and 2) demographic variables.

Hofstede's work values orientations were measured using The Cultural Attitudes Inventory Instrument, developed by Dorfman and Howell (1988), and adapted to the Arab culture by Sabri (2012a). The instrument consisted of 25 items. Nine items measured the masculinity vs femininity dimension, five items measured the collectivism vs individualism dimension, five items measured the uncertainty avoidance dimension, and six items measured the power distance dimension. A response to each statement was made on four-point Likert-type scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (4).

The study team advised respondents that all information would remain confidential and that participation in the study was voluntary. The level of cooperation was very high.

5.3. Data Analysis

The statistical methods used for analyzing the data were: (a) descriptive statistics, (b) Cronbach's reliability coefficient to determine the reliability of the scale and (c) multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) to explore differences between teachers on the work value orientations by gender, marital status, age and religiosity.

5.4. Results

Table 2 presents the characteristics of the respondents, of whom 88% were female. Seventy percent were between the ages of 20–29 years, while 30% were aged 30+ years; and 52% characterized themselves as religious. Only 37% of the sample was single, but this included all of the men in the younger age group (aged 20-29), as compared to 41% of the women in the younger age group.

Table-2. Characteristics of Respondents (n=335)

Characteristic	Percentage
Gender	
Male	12%
Female	88%
Age group	
20-29 years	70%
30+ years	30%
Marital Status	
Single	37%
Married	63%
Level of religiosity	
Religious	52%
Non-religious	48%

Table 3 presents the means (SD) and Cronbach's Alpha for the cultural value dimensions. The overall Cronbach's Alpha for the four dimensions together was high (α=0.80). The reliabilities for masculinity vs. femininity and uncertainty avoidance dimensions were also high (α=0.82, α=0.75 respectively), while the power distance and collectivism vs. individualism dimensions showed acceptable reliability (α= 0.60).

Table 3 indicates that beginner Palestinian Arab teachers in Israel scored high on collectivism (mean: 2.70) and on the avoidance of uncertainty (mean: 2.96). Interestingly, beginner Palestinian Arab teachers showed a lower masculinity orientation (mean: 2.18), and a relatively low power distance orientation (mean: 2.39).

Table-3. Descriptive Statistics and Reliability Co-efficient of Four Cultural Value Dimensions (n= 335)

Dimension	Mean	SD	Cranbach's Alpha
Power Distance	2.37	.44	.60
Collectivism vs. Individualism	2.70	.49	.60
Uncertainty Avoidance	2.96	.46	.75
Masculinity vs. Femininity	2.18	.54	.82
All dimensions			.80

Scale ranges from (1) strongly disagree to (4) strongly agree

5.5. Differences in Cultural Work Values Orientations by Demographic Variables

MANOVA models that controlled for all demographic variables indicated that the scores of beginner Palestinian Arab teachers differed by age, and the interaction between gender and marital status or age on specific dimensions. Older teachers (aged 30+ years) generally expressed higher uncertainty avoidance than younger teachers [F (1, 334)=7.507, p =.007]. The interaction between age and gender indicates that this difference was found only among men [F (1, 334)=4.376, p =.037] (see Figure 2). In addition, the interaction between gender and marital status on the collectivism vs individualism dimension indicates that single men expressed more collectivist values than married men [F (1, 334)=5.411, p =.021] (Figure 3). The responses of women, in contrast, were more consistent for both of these dimensions across age and marital status categories.

Figure-2. Interaction between Gender and Age on the Uncertainty Avoidance Dimension

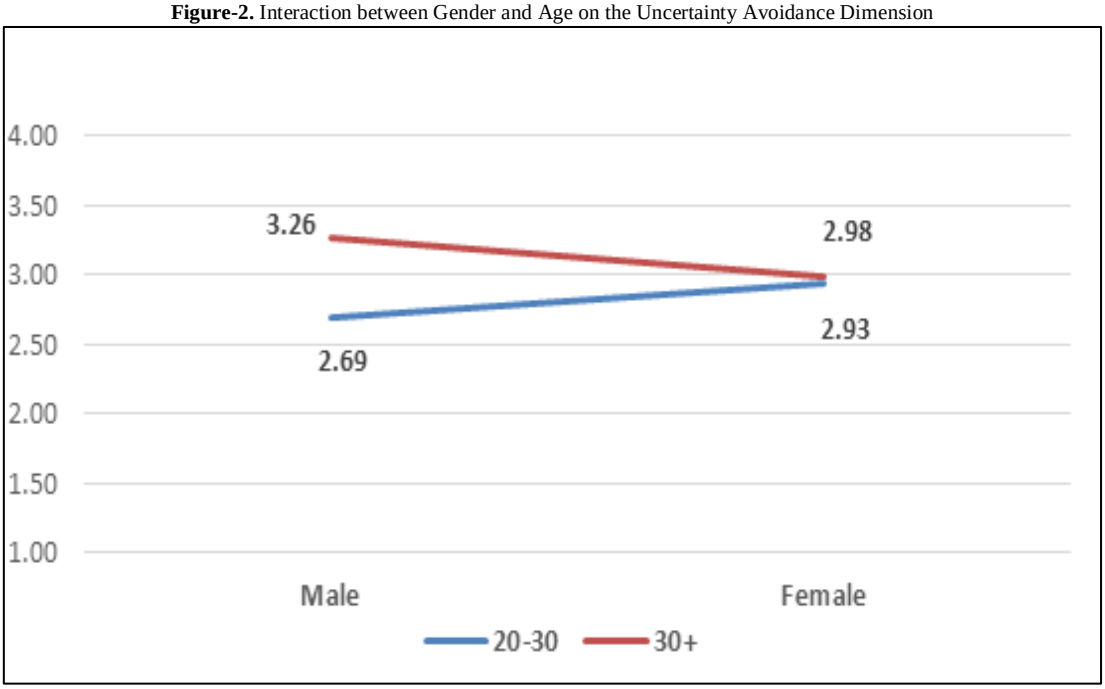
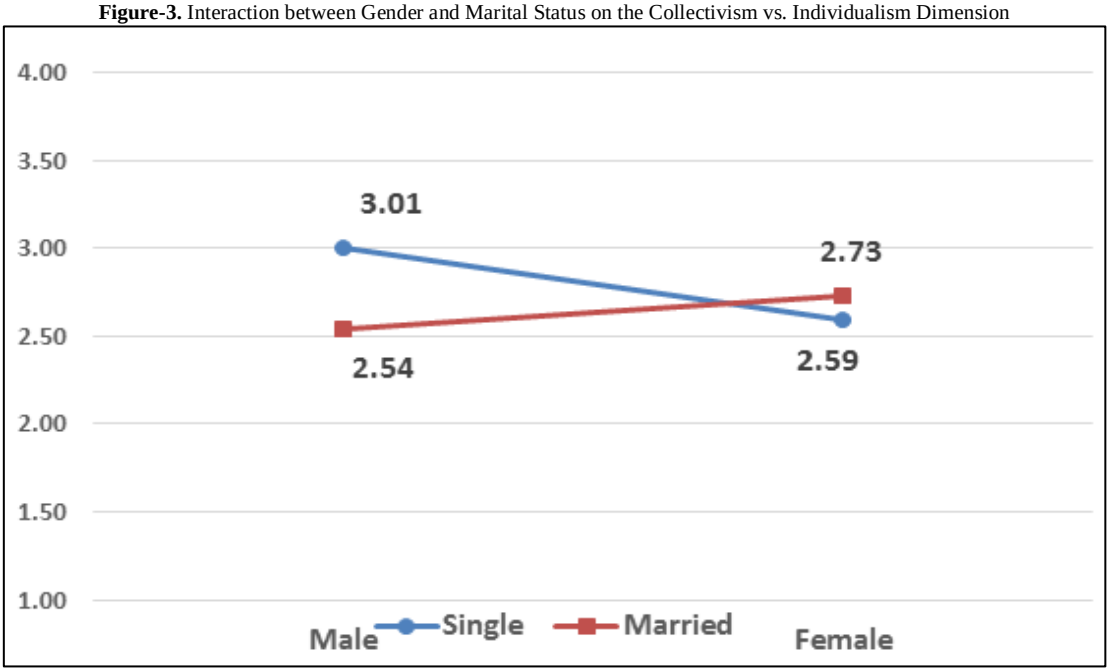


Figure-3. Interaction between Gender and Marital Status on the Collectivism vs. Individualism Dimension



6. Discussion

In this study, beginner Palestinian Arab teachers in Israel exhibited high avoidance of uncertainty and high collectivism, in line with Hofstede's (1984) findings; although for male teachers, this varied by age and marital status. However, in contrast to Hofstede's (1984) findings in Arab countries, they exhibited relatively low masculinity vs femininity values, and power distance orientations. This study adds to the body of literature that has found differences/variations from Hofstede's original results in the Arab world (Fischer and Al-Issa, 2012). In the case of the present study, these differences may be related to the Western-oriented economic, cultural, social and organizational influences on the Palestinian Arab minority in Israel.

In Israel, the Western-oriented Jewish majority culture is low on collectivism, whereas beginner Arab teachers scored high on this dimension, similar to what has historically been found in Arab countries. Scholars suggest that the strong collectivist and uncertainty avoidance orientations generally found in Arab societies play a major role in molding organizations, and that Arab managers tend to follow basic Arabic cultural principles, even if they work in multicultural contexts/organizations (Ali, 1996). Ali *et al.* (1997), have shown that even with industrialization and economic prosperity, traditional civilizations have tended to remain collectivist. In the present study, uncertainty avoidance was highest among older men (aged 30+), most of whom were heads of households or responsible for contributing to extended family households, and who may thus have a stronger interest in clear job roles and job security than the younger men in the sample, all of whom were single. This may also be why married men had less of a collectivist orientation than single men, and more of an interest in individual advancement and benefits rather than the collective advancement and benefits within the organization as a whole. Collectivism in the workplace is also related to relationship building (Kemp and Zhao's, 2016), which is generally a strong trait among women, and no differences were found between married and single women on the collectivism dimension. An insight from Kemp and Zhao's (2016) qualitative study suggests that women may find the support provided by social collectivism (from family and extended family members) to be an important enabler of their careers. Furthermore, our findings indicate that women's uncertainty avoidance was high, regardless of age. This may be because women are less likely to be the sole bread winners for their nuclear or extended families, and are thus less likely to have responsibilities increasing with age. Instead, the importance of the status and earning power afforded to them by their employment is consistently highly-valued, and is not something they would want to risk. Given the relatively small number of men in the sample, the gender differences we found should be explored further in future studies with larger male representation.

Contrary to Hofstede's (1984) findings in Arab countries, Palestinian Arab teachers exhibited a low power distance orientation. Traditional patriarchal/authoritarian influences may have had less impact on the beginner Palestinian Arab teachers who participated in this study because of their recent exposure to western-oriented Israeli culture in their studies in Israeli teacher training colleges. Thus, Palestinian Arab teachers may have been influenced by processes of secondary socialization associated with higher education and direct/indirect exposure to Jewish Israeli culture. Similarly, Sabri (2012a) suggested that her finding of lower power distance among Jordanian managers may be due to secondary socialization through higher education, overseas experiences, and work in multinational organizations. Fischer and Al-Issa (2012), also hypothesized that their finding of a lower power distance orientation among students may have been related to their exposure to a strong Western orientation through the content and structure of their college studies. They also raised the possibility of this resulting from the large proportion of females in the sample, and the emancipatory effect education may have in terms of creating a greater expectation of having something to contribute to, and wanting to be included in, leadership and management decisions. In addition, in Israel, the school system is strongly rooted in Western models with a low power distance orientation, and this may provide Palestinian teachers with a more flexible context for departing from traditional Arab models of high power distance.

The lowest score was found for the masculinity vs femininity dimension, which is surprising in a traditional patriarchal society. However, within the workplace, this is more strongly related to an emphasis on cooperation, consensus and relationships, as opposed to aggressive competition and individual achievement. It is thus consistent with the high value given to collectivism in the sample.

In conclusion, our findings indicate that beginner Palestinian Arab teachers in Israel have maintained some of the values found to typify Arab societies traditionally (e.g., collectivism, uncertainly avoidance); but also deviate in some areas (e.g., power distance), perhaps due to their exposure to Western-oriented Israeli educational and organizational influences.

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