

The Relationship Between Stressors, Work-Family Conflict,
and Burnout Among Female Teachers in Kenyan Urban Schools

By

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ABSTRACT

This study investigated work-family conflict and related phenomena reported by female teachers in primary and secondary schools in Kenya. Specifically, it sought to first identify general work and family stressors and profession specific stressors, and how these stressors influenced teachers' work-family conflict (WFC) and burnout. Second, it investigated whether support from home and work reduced these teachers' perceived work-family conflict and burnout. Third, it investigated the impact of marital status, number and ages of children, length of teaching experience, and school location (city vs town) on perceived work-family conflict (WFC).

In this study, 375 female teachers from Nairobi and three towns completed a survey questionnaire with both closed- and open-ended questions. Data analysis was conducted through descriptive and inferential statistics, and content analyses of qualitative data. There were five primary findings. (1) Teachers clearly identified and described stressors that led to work-family conflict: inability to get reliable support from domestic workers, a sick child, high expectations of a wife at home, high workloads at school and home, low schedule flexibility, and number of days teachers spend at school beyond normal working hours, etc.

(2) Work-family conflict experienced was cyclical in nature. Stressors influenced WFC, which led to adverse outcomes. These outcomes later acted as secondary stressors. (3) The culture of the school and school's resources influenced the level of support that teachers received. The level of WFC support that teachers received depended on the goodwill of supervisors and colleagues.

(4) Work-family conflict contributed to emotional exhaustion, cynicism, and professional efficacy. Time and emotional investment in students' parents was related to emotional exhaustion; time and emotional investment in students' behavior, the number of years teaching experience, and number of children were related to professional efficacy. Support from teachers' spouses enabled teachers to cope with cynicism.

(5) While marital status did not influence WFC, school location did; teachers in Nairobi experienced more WFC than those in small towns. The study highlighted the importance of culture in studies of work-family conflict, as some of the stressors and WFC experiences identified seemed unique to the Kenyan context. Finally, theoretical implications, policy recommendations, and further research directions are presented.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to my beloved husband Daniel Nzengya, my children Victor Mwendwa and Victoria Mwende, my mother Dorothy Mbuvi, and my siblings Joyce Mbuvi and Michael Mutua. Without their support, this journey of learning would have been difficult to accomplish.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

My Interest in Work-Family Studies

The general topic of my study is the intersection of family and paid work among professional women in Sub-Saharan Africa. My ultimate goal is to learn how these women can weave together the demands of work and the demands of the family in a more equitable manner. I use my life story and my journey in the field of work and family studies to set the foundation for this dissertation.

I grew up in a family farm in Kenya with my two siblings, a sister, and a brother. My mother stayed at home with us while my father, like many other men, sought work sometimes outside the farm. He worked far away from home as an agricultural officer and would visit us on weekends and holidays. In addition to farming chores, my sister and I did the housework chores. My brother, being the eldest, did house chores when he was a young boy, but when he grew up he refused to do those types of chores, and instead he was assigned duties such as mending the cattle pen and fences. This is the way boys in my community are socialized, to stay out of the kitchen especially after their initiation into manhood. He did not want to be mocked by his friends for doing feminine tasks. This peer pressure makes Kenyan men, even when they marry, not to participate in housework chores, except in times of crisis.

My sister and I were taught to do all the kitchen chores. I remember being reprimanded and told that if I didn't know how to cook properly, my husband might send me back to my parents to be taught how to cook. My mum did not allow us to ever sleep

late, even during school holidays; in fact, my sister and I usually woke up before sunrise to sweep the yard and attend to other house chores. Waking up later than that was a bad sign that we would grow up to be lazy women. My sister and I were supposed to be busy working all day long, never sitting idle. We would work in the garden in the morning until about noon. After that, and when my brother would be resting, my sister and I were supposed to prepare lunch and serve him; he was being trained to be our leader.

Thus, housework is regarded as part of a woman's life. The distinct division of labor in the African society makes boys and girls to know their roles and place in the society--for women their place is the kitchen, and men are leaders. The society emphasizes the patriarchy system, and even when I grew up and got married, I knew I was responsible for childcare and housework tasks and did not expect my husband to help, unless he chose to do so.

This stereotypical type of job allocation can be explained by structuration theory and socio cultural norms reinforced by patriarchy. Structuration as advocated by Giddens (1984, 2003) posits that there is a relationship between the micro practices and talk that we engage in every day and what takes place in the macro society. That is, in our everyday life we acquire rules and norms from the societal values, and these rules and norms (structures) then control us, although we can also decide to change the norms and rules of behavior and thus demonstrate human agency. So even today, despite the fact that Kenyan men and women both participate in the labor force outside the home, many women still follow these traditional cultural rules on division of labor as these norms are reinforced in us as children as we grow up.

Unlike many Kenyan parents who had little regard for girl child education, my parents valued education for girls. My mom would lament that though she wanted to learn and go to school like her brothers when she was young, her family could not afford to pay her secondary school fees, so she was married off to my father. This made her vow to educate her daughters so they would go as far as they wanted. Thus, in order to qualify for government scholarships to enroll in public universities, I was sent to a competitive girls' boarding (high) school that enabled me to obtain the good grades required to attend the university. I was among the first girls in my village to enroll in university (since then, many have attended university).

I graduated from the University of Nairobi with a Bachelor's Degree in Education, specializing in business subjects. I was posted (assigned) by the Kenyan Teachers' Service Commission to teach at a co-education day school at the outskirts of a small town. One of the challenges here was that most of the teachers had to commute to work from town, as it did not have teachers' houses or rental houses nearby. Local transportation was not very reliable, and it took us almost a half an hour or more to get to work and another half an hour to go back in the evening, for a distance that would only take 10 minutes by private car. We were supposed to report at 8:00 am and leave around 5:00 pm if there were school games or if we were on duty.

I did not have many lessons to teach because I taught business subjects; some of my colleagues taught 28 lessons every week. This was before the 2003 introduction of free primary education in Kenya, and now most teachers in high school have a heavy load of almost 28 lessons per week. During the holidays, we could earn additional income by

offering extra courses to grade 8 and 12 students. Teachers liked this holiday practice because they got extra income.

During my tenure at that school, while my teaching load was not heavy and I could earn extra income, there were stressors. For example, there were two student riots related to their perceived conflicts with school administrators. One of the riots was minor and was resolved within three days. The second riot was major; it disrupted learning for two weeks, and some students were expelled.

I did not have a family at this time, and being single I did not experience the challenges other female teachers with children experienced. The only time I missed school was when I was sick, or on official assignments outside school. However, the female teachers with children would miss school if they had a sick child or an emergency at home. These women relied on house helps¹ (domestic workers) who sometimes, for many reasons, would not be available, and they would then request that their younger siblings to come over to help them. The supervisor of my school was female, and she had young children and faced the same challenges as the other mothers. As a result, she was fairly empathetic and would give teachers time off to look for another house help or find other childcare options.

This was not the case in the primary school adjacent to our high school. They had a male head teacher. One of the female teachers was transferred from that school because she had a sick child and was often absent from school. The administration at another neighboring high school did not like having female teachers in the first place. One of my friends from college was posted to that school, but the head teacher refused to hire her

even though she was single. He preferred male teachers over female teachers, especially those of child bearing age.

I left high school teaching in Kenya to enroll in a master's program in Zimbabwe, and later got a teaching job with a university in Zimbabwe. I waited until I was through with my master's program to have children; I had my first child just after finishing my master's program, and my second was born three years later. As I was living in a foreign country and had no relatives close by, I had to find other sources of support. For example, when I had extra work to do in the evening, such as grading papers, I needed someone to help me with my young children. My husband participated very little in housework and in childcare.

I hired a domestic worker who would come five days a week. However, there were times when my domestic worker¹ did not turn up that day, and I still had to go to work, as I had morning lessons to cover. When this happened, I would sometimes leave my young daughter with a neighbor or friend. I also had the occasional help from a young lady I stayed with who was attending college. I also saw my colleagues facing similar challenges of combining work and family responsibilities. However, at that time, I did not know that the problem could be addressed by policy. At the time, all I thought was that these challenges are just part of a woman's life and a particular phase in life. I

¹ The term we use in Sub-Saharan Africa is house help or house girl. However, as this is a colonial term, I will use a more appropriate term in the remainder of my dissertation.

made sure I had someone with whom I could leave my child in times of emergency, then go to work to cover my lessons and then go back home to take care of my child.

Surprisingly, some of my female colleagues did better than others in ensuring that their family responsibilities did not interfere with their work, but for others their family burden was overwhelming, affecting their work performance. As noted earlier, for various reasons, domestic workers were not always available or reliable, and often these women had no hired help or anyone to leave their children with, forcing them to stay at home and miss work or report late to work. These challenges presented problems for my colleagues as well as our employers.

After working in Zimbabwe, I returned to Kenya for a job teaching at a private university in Nairobi. My husband was still in Zimbabwe, and I was all by myself with my two young children. I had to hire a domestic worker again to cope with the demands of work and home. Working in Kenya was more challenging than in Zimbabwe. In Zimbabwe, I lived half an hour from my work place, and there was transportation provided by the employer.

This was not the case in Kenya; it took me almost an hour or more to get to work. I was forced to leave for work very early, before six o'clock in the morning, and due to frequent traffic jams would sometimes arrive home after seven in the evening. I was not able to escort my children to the bus stop in the morning or wait for them in the evening or attend to family emergencies during the day. Though I had relatives in the city, they lived far from my home, making reliance on them not feasible. They too left for work

very early and arrived home late in the evening. Fortunately, my domestic worker proved to be reliable, and my neighbors were also very helpful.

When I moved with my family to the United States and enrolled in the Hugh Downs School of Human Communication as a graduate student, I no longer had access to hired help, and now I had to organize my life around my children's school schedule. Here in the U.S., my husband has proved to be very helpful, unlike in Kenya. Since both of us are graduate students, we take turns going home early to be with our children after school. Here he also helps with housework chores and not just in emergencies or times of crisis, such as in Kenya or Zimbabwe. His support has made my work as a graduate student very manageable. Once in a while, I babysit my friends' children, and they also take care of my children sometimes.

At Arizona State University, I got involved with the Project for Wellness and Work Life (PWWL), one of Hugh Downs School's research interest areas. This area resonated with the experiences I was facing. PWWL is concerned with wellness and the challenges that families face as they combine work and family life. Through my own research and involvement in PWWL, I learned that the challenges my colleagues and I faced back in Africa was due to a lack of balance between work and family, and we were experiencing "work-family conflict." I should note that some scholars disagree with the conflict or balance metaphor (Golden, Kirby & Jorgen, 2006) and prefer to describe this relationship as dialectical tensions between home and work (Yoshimura, 2013). They view these tensions not necessarily as harmful, but potentially productive as individuals

seek to weave together these two spheres of home and work (Golden, Kirby & Jorgen, 2006, Wieland, 2011).

During my first year as a graduate student, I participated in a research panel on “Work Life Balance” organized by PWWL and presented at the Work and Family Researcher Network (WFRN) conference in New York City. In my panel presentation, I offered my international perspectives and my investigations and descriptions of how Sub-Saharan African women attempt to combine work and family by use of domestic workers and the limitations of relying heavily on this strategy. At this conference, I also met leading scholars of work and family conflict research and was inspired by their presentations. Since then, I have undertaken a number of studies along this line. I feel a responsibility to conduct research on work and family balance/conflict that will spur more research in Africa and encourage policy change in this area, and that is why I chose work-family conflict as my dissertation topic area.

Background Information

Kenya, like other Sub-Saharan countries, has witnessed increased urbanization. At Kenya’s independence in 1963, only 1 out of 12 people lived in towns, but this trend has changed. By 2009, 32.3 % of the population was living in urban areas (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2009). This is partly due to decline in agriculture (Alila & Atieno, 2006) and increased literacy rates. At Kenya’s independence, the education of girls was not emphasized, and educating females was seen as a waste of resources; instead boys were more educated (Ombati, 2003). However, this trend has changed over

time due to government intervention, to promote the education of girl children (UNESCO, 2012).

More children are attending school and later seeking jobs in towns. By 2009, the enrollment of boys in primary schools was 82% and of girls 83%; in secondary school, the enrollment of boys is 51% and of girls 48% (UNESCO, 2012). In 2009, out of the students selected to join university, 42% are females (Kenya Bureau of Statistics, 2009) compared to only 28.8% in 1997 (Government of Kenya, 1997). Although most Kenyan primary and secondary schools are located in the rural areas, there is a recent trend of building more schools in urban areas to cater to an increasingly urban population. Teachers in these schools form part of the 29% of females who hold formal jobs in urban areas (Atieno, 2010), and these women are mostly part of dual-career couples.

Kenyan women who live in rural areas depend mainly on the extended family to assist in housework and childcare. Kenya's culture is collectivist, where the interests of the group supersede the interests of the individual (Brewer & Yuki 2007) and domestic chores and tasks are shared mainly among the females. There is this entrenched notion that a child belongs to the community and "it takes a whole village to raise a child"--an African proverb often quoted by Hillary Clinton as the U.S. First Lady (African Proverbs, 1998).

As families move to urban areas they leave behind much of their social capital, and it is expensive to live with the extended family in urban areas due to increasing cost of living, causing many families in towns to adopt the nuclear family model of mother, father, and children (Aryee, 2005; Noyoo, 2014). Due to this decrease of extended family

support (Muasya, 2014; International Labour Organization, 2004), families have to look for alternative assistance for housework and childcare, such as domestic workers. In 2011, however, legislation increased the cost of hiring a domestic worker (Juma, 2011). Despite all these changes, the belief in the traditional model of the family (where grown up children with their families usually live with or near their parents and siblings) is still strong (Noyoo, 2014).

In Sub-Saharan Africa, primary (grades one to eight) and secondary school (grades nine to twelve) teachers in urban areas are mostly in dual earner families, and primary teachers have low salaries as evidenced by numerous strikes in 2013 (Chao, 2013). Teachers, like most professionals, have fixed schedules and work from 8 am to 5 pm (Muasya, 2014) and after Kenya introduced the free primary education in 2003 (Sifuna, 2007) there were many more children enrolled in school, but with the same amount of resources allotted.

Therefore, just as in my experience, many of these women teachers living in urban areas find themselves in stressful jobs, balancing work and life issues with limited financial resources. All this happens without the traditional extended family members to help with household chores and childcare. The consequence is that many female teachers experience work-family conflict and burnout. In this study, work-family conflict (WFC) is defined as “a form of interrole conflict in which the role pressures from work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respect” (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985, p. 77).

Burnout is “a syndrome of emotional exhaustion and cynicism that occurs frequently among individuals who do ‘people’s-work’ of some kind” (Maslach & Jackson 1981, p. 99). Stress or stressor is any environmental, social, or internal demand which requires the individual to readjust his/her usual behavior patterns (Holmes & Rahe (1967). Therefore, my study seeks to 1) identify teacher-stressors in Kenya, 2) examine the relationship between stressors and WFC, 3) examine the relationship between WFC and different forms of social support, and 4) examine the relationship between burnout and WFC among female school teachers who have children and are living and working in urban areas.

Rationale of the Study

There are at least five reasons to conduct this study on work-family conflict and stressors among Kenyan female teachers. First, several studies in Kenya have suggested that work life imbalance issues could be a contributing factor to the fact that there are few female teachers who aspire for promotion in schools, and few women participating in school administration (Ombati, 2003; Wangui, 2012).

For instance, the times that most management meetings are held are not compatible with female teachers’ work life balance concerns; i.e., they are held late in the evening or on weekends. Despite some studies investigating the causes of teacher dissatisfaction and burnout in Kenya, these works have not considered the work-family conflict construct (Mugambi 2012; Nyamwange, Nyakan, & Ondima, 2012). Therefore, this study will be among the few that try to understand the relationship between stressors, WFC, and burnout.

Second, most studies investigating stressors and work-family conflicts are conducted in the Western context, and Poelemans, O’Driscoll & Beham (2005) question the validity of generalizing these findings to other cultural contexts. Cultures differ in values and practices, and it is important to consider these differences. For instance, Aryee (2005) argues that “work” and “family” have different meanings in an African context compared to that of the Western world. Work is considered *for* the family’s benefit in Africa, while in Western world work is considered sacrifice *of* the family. The family in Africa in contrast to Western contexts often consists of extended family.

Third, African women have less access to electric appliances such as electric cookers, dishwashers, washing machines, and clothes dryers, which would make housework easier. In towns, there is high unreliability of basic utilities such as water and electricity. This means that Sub-Saharan African women spend more hours on house chores compared to the women in the West, and it seems likely that work-family conflict stressors are culturally context-dependent. What is considered stressful in one cultural context may not be so in another cultural context.

In addition, despite the challenges that these women face, Mokomane and Chilwane's (2014) review of studies in work- family conflict and related research showed a paucity of research from Sub-Saharan Africa contexts. Furthermore, even within Sub-Saharan Africa, most of the research is in South Africa compared to other parts such as Kenya. A study carried out by Strathmore Business School in Kenya found that among the companies surveyed, family-friendly initiatives were at a fledgling stage (Strathmore Business School, 2011). Communication journals reveal that few communicated related

studies have been conducted in Africa, not to mention in the area of work and family (Miller et al, 2006; Miller, Kizito, Ngula, 2010).

Fourth, Cinamon, Rich and Westman (2007) posit that beside investigating and measuring generic occupational stressors as they relate to WFC, it is advisable to also assess occupation-specific stressors to generate a richer and more comprehensive picture. Research shows that some occupations have unique stressors which contribute to occupational stress (Narayanan, Menom & Spector, 1999). Narayanan et al. noted that job stressors could differ according to job type, job level, and gender, and may call for differing coping mechanisms.

This strongly suggests research identifying teaching-specific stressors and their connection with WFC in Kenya. Some studies have attempted to identify teacher-specific stressors, however they also have been conducted in Western contexts (Cinamon, Rich Westman, 2007; Cinamon & Rich, 2005b), and this calls for more research within a developing world context. This study will attempt to identify teacher-specific stressors in Kenyan urban areas.

Fifth, a more practical reason to conduct this investigation is that results could be very useful to both policy makers and dual-earner couples in Sub-Saharan Africa in several ways. To start with, the results could be useful to policy makers. They would implement policies that make it easy for women and families in general to combine work and family. As for teachers, if the Ministry of Education is made aware of the challenges female teachers face as they combine work and family, they might enact formal work friendly policies. In the same vein, if the union of teachers (KNUT) is sensitized to the

plight of teachers, it could bargain for better working conditions that facilitate family and work life balance.

In addition, if the school heads and head teachers, as the school's gatekeepers, are sensitized on the issue of work-family conflict, they could devise informal policies to help the employees under their supervision to have less WFC and to offer them moral support and advice on how to achieve a more effective balance. Dual earner couples also need to understand the effects of a lack of balance between work and family responsibilities on their families and devise strategies to minimize them. For example, as in my experience growing up, most African cultures do not encourage their sons to undertake housework chores or take care of young children (Kenyatta, 1966). This socialization affects these boys and when they grow up and have their own families, they delegate all these duties to their wives or domestic workers.

In sum, the results of this study could 1) make useful contributions in extending knowledge and theorizing about specific work stressors and work-family conflict to a Sub-Saharan context and 2) provide useful applications to a variety of target audiences, including information that might sensitize the ministry of education and head teachers on the role of (and need for) family-friendly work places for teachers, and inform dual earner couples on issues of WFC and the negative effects of WFC for both parents and children.

Context of Work- Family Conflict Study in Kenya

No social or cultural phenomenon occurs in a vacuum. Therefore, before reviewing the previous research in the area of WFC I will 1) provide background

information on the education development in Kenya as well as describe 2) professional, and 3) cultural contexts of this research.

Education development in Kenya. Formal education in Kenya was begun by the missionaries as a way to spread Christianity. During the colonial period that ended in 1963, there were three different curricula for Europeans, Asians, and Africans. The curriculum for Europeans was to equip them for leadership; for Asians it was to equip them for civil jobs and commerce; and for Africans it was to equip them with vocational skills and religious education to provide labor on white settlers' farms (Bogonko, 1992; Lugumba & Ssekamwe, 1973; Otiende, Wamahiu & Karugu, 1992). These policies and the lack of quality education for Africans led to great disparities in the level of education and professional achievement among the races (Otiende et al, 1992).

After independence, this imbalance caused the newly formed Kenyan government to embark on massive expansions of the formal sector in order to fight illiteracy and to equip Kenyans to produce personnel to fill the gaps left by the colonial masters. This education expansion was a means to social and economic advancement. Furthermore, Kenyans take formal education seriously as a way to improve the quality of their lives (Wosyanju, n.d). The hunger for formal education could not be met by government alone. Local communities joined the efforts of the government to build more schools, especially secondary schools through community initiatives called *harambee* -- "let's pull it together" (Mwiria, 1990, p. 352).

There has been unprecedented demand for education in Kenya over the years, which has been further fueled by the introduction of free primary education (FPE) in

2003, against a backdrop of rather limited resources, such as teachers and basic facilities (Eshiwani, 1993). FPE led to an increase in enrolment from 5.9 to 7.2 million students with class sizes up to 80-100 students (Mukudi, 2004). In Kenya, there are few competitive high schools, and for student to enroll in these schools, they have to score very high grades at grade eight exams. To attain these high grades requires high quality teaching. This has led to the growth of private schools in which rich parents can enroll their children. In addition, there are after school teaching programs/extra lessons by both private and public schools to prepare children for grade eight and grade twelve exams. This extra teaching provides additional income to the teachers (Wosyanju, n.d).

Entrance to public universities is very competitive; at independence in 1963 there was only one university campus --The Royal Technical College of East Africa (Sifuna, 2008). As of 2012, the country has seven public universities and 23 private universities. As of 2009, there was a student population of 83,025 females (42%) and 115,094 males (58%) (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2009).

Teaching in Kenya. The Ministry of Education, Science and Technology is in charge of all education related activities in the country. Primary (grade one to grade eight) and secondary (grade nine to grade 12) school teachers in public schools are predominantly employed by the Ministry of Education. The Teachers Service Commission (TSC) is a commission set by the Ministry of Education as its “human resource arm,” TSC hires, remunerates, assigns duties to, promotes, transfers, disciplines, and fires public teachers (Teachers Service Commission, 2014).

Teachers who teach primary school attend a two year teacher training program, which awards them a certificate in teaching. Teachers who teach at secondary level have higher education requirements at O' level exams (12th grade exam) and must have a diploma (three years of training) or a degree (four years of training) from a recognized university. However, many primary school teachers obtain higher professional qualification beyond the certificate requirement. Remuneration of teachers is based on years of experience, educational qualifications, and any extra assigned administrative duties.

Teachers in Kenya are part of a strong union (Kenya National Union of Teachers - KNUT which bargains with the teacher employer (Ministry of Education) for their terms of service and remuneration as illustrated in their mission and strategic plan of 2014-2019 (Kenya National Union of Teachers, 2014). TSC employs teachers on contract or permanent basis depending on demands and government funding. TSC provides a number of leave possibilities. For instance, teachers typically have 42 days of annual leave, which is taken during school recess. This results in very few teachers taking their annual leave in the first place because it coincides with school vacations. Female teachers are entitled to 60 working days of paid maternity leave and male teachers to 10 days of paid paternity leave Kenya (Teachers Commission, 2014).

In the case of bereavement of a teacher's husband, children, mother, or father, or hospitalization or sickness of a teacher's immediate family members (children or husband), teachers can take up to 15 days of compassion leave for each incident. A salaried teacher is entitled to three months of paid sick leave and an additional of three

months on half salary. A contract teacher is entitled to one month of sick leave and another month on half pay.

For teachers who desire to further their studies, they are entitled to three years of study leave with or without pay. A teacher can also take special leave. Special leave is granted to those who have to attend meetings or conferences of short duration, which is within the teaching profession. However, someone who is obliged to be away from his teaching station can be granted a special leave without pay. There is unpaid leave to spouses of diplomats (Teachers Service Commission, 2014). However, despite so many leaves, Kenyan labor laws do not provide for parental leave, either with or without pay, or give provisions for flexible working options for employees with parenting responsibilities of young children (Mywage.org/Kenya (n.d.-b)).

The Kenyan work and family culture. In many cultures, including African, women are responsible for the care of children and household chores (Grzywacz & Marks, 2000). Girls are socialized to know how to cook, wash clothes and perform other routine chores of the house, while boys are socialized to take care of chores outside the house, such as tending cattle (Kenyatta, 1966). Kenya is a collectivistic culture, in which interdependence is valued, and chores are shared among the women (Brewer & Yuki 2007). In a traditional Kenyan homestead, women within the family shared the house chores and childcare responsibilities. This was made possible by the fact that extended family lived together (Suda, 2002).

Anecdotal evidence shows that with colonization, men were the first to leave home to work in colonial farms or in towns while women were left behind to tend the

farms and care for the household. As I described earlier, I remember during my childhood in Kenya that women were left behind in the village to look after the family farm and children, while their husbands were away in urban areas working. All the women in the extended family collectively took care of the farm and domestic responsibilities.

Therefore, for twenty years, WFC or work-family balance was a non-issue (Aryee, 2005), but this is not the case today (Mokomane, 2014). In addition, the education of boys was emphasized more than that of girls (Ombati 2003). Thus women of previous generations are not as well-educated as the current generation. Currently, there is a great emphasis on girl education (UNESCO, 2012); in fact, there is a slogan used by the Kenyan government to promote the girls' education: "If you educate a boy you educate one person, but if you educate the female you educate the whole nation." Today, a considerable number of women occupy jobs in the formal sector, especially in the service sector. This is because girls tend to pursue art and management based courses and shy away from courses such as engineering (Government of Kenya, 1997).

The Kenyan formal sector (enterprises that are registered by the government with formal premises and pay tax) follows the colonial legacy of its predecessor and mirrors little of the African ways of organizing. These enterprises set clear boundaries between the home and the work spheres, unlike those in the informal sector. The informal sector usually is made of micro entrepreneurs, who use simple skills and sell their merchandise such as vegetables and second hand clothes in the streets. In Kenya, the informal sector is estimated at 34.3% (Institute of Economic Affairs, 2012). Women who work in the

informal sector are able to combine family and work responsibilities because they are in charge of their own work.

In the formal sector, however, women work away from home, are subject to fixed work schedules (8 am to 5 pm), and are forced to delegate housework and childcare responsibilities to others (Muasya, 2014). It is often difficult for them to find someone who can care for their children while they are at work. This is partly due to the high cost of living, which makes it expensive to stay with extended family in towns. Thus the reliance on extended family is lessening with time (ILO, 2004, Mokomane, 2014), and families often opt to hire domestic workers to help with housework and childcare. Despite women's involvement in work outside the home, they still bear a disproportionate burden to care for children and do household chores--unlike their male counterparts (Ombati, 2003; Wangui, 2012).

This section focused on the professional and cultural context of teaching in Kenya. In the next chapter, I will review various theories that have been used to study work and family interface and will focus specifically on two theories: role theory and conservation of resources which form the theoretical foundation of my study. I will then review relevant previous research and present my research questions and hypotheses.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Research in Work and Family Interface

Many researchers have attempted to study the relationship or inter-linkages between the work and non-work domain. However, since the non-work domain is very broad and its boundaries contested (Geurts & Demerouti, 2003), I have limited my focus to family responsibilities and my dissertation project investigates the connection between work and family domains. This chapter first presents the theoretical foundations of this study and then reviews relevant literature addressing the variables investigated in this study: work-family conflict (WFC) construct, stressors (general and profession specific) that can cause work family, various sources of social support that reduce work-family conflict, and the relationship between WFC and burnout. Research questions and hypotheses of the study are also presented.

Theoretical Foundation

The connection between the work and family domains has been investigated using a variety of types of theories including affective theories and boundary theories, discussed below. However, in my research, I will focus mainly on role theory and conservation of resources theory (COR) and how they fit into the work-family conflict model.

Affective theories. Affective theories address the affective, or “feeling” aspects of work life domains and include spillover theory, segmentation theory, and compensation theory. First, spillover theory (Staines, 1980) assumes that there are both

negative and positive effects of work and family linkages. For example, too much involvement at work may affect the family; on the other hand, the skills, experiences gained from one domain, e.g. family domain, may be instrumental at work. This is a positive spillover. The spillover model has been used to study relationships between work and job and life satisfaction. It assumes that there is a hierarchy in life domains. Life domains are job, family, leisure, and community, which are organized in a hierarchical manner in people's minds.

At the top of this hierarchy is the superordinate domain of overall life. The feelings of this superordinate domain affect the quality of someone's life and personal happiness (life satisfaction). This theory assumes vertical and horizontal spillover. Horizontal spillover occurs if feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction in a horizontal domain affect another horizontal domain. For instance, work dissatisfaction affects family satisfaction. A vertical spillover occurs when satisfaction in a lower domain affects a higher domain of overall life satisfaction and vice versa. For example, an employee's dissatisfaction at work may spill over to the life domain, leading to life dissatisfaction (Sirgy et al., 2001; Staines, 1980).

More recently the focus has been on positive spillover. Some scholars refer to it as *positive family spillover* (Almeida, McDonald & Grzywacz, 2002) and others as *work-family enhancement* (Voydanoff, 2002) or *work-family facilitation* (Hill 2005). Frone (2003) conceptualizes it as "the extent to which participation at work or home is made easier by virtue of the experiences, skills, and opportunities gained or developed at home (or work)" (p. 145). Hill (2005) used *work-family facilitation* and conflict to study the

interrelationships between working mothers and fathers, work-family stressors, and support. Hill found that work-family facilitation was positively related to job satisfaction and life satisfaction, but negatively related to stress.

Second, and related to spillover theory, is segmentation theory (Xu, 2009). It assumes an individual can segment the feelings from one domain not to affect other domains. An individual unhappy and dissatisfied with his or her work may segment those feelings so as not to affect his or her family life. Third, compensation theory (Zedeck, 1992) is the opposite of segmentation theory. When an individual is dissatisfied with one domain, rather than segmenting that domain, he/she may compensate in another domain. For instance, if someone is dissatisfied with his/her marriage, he/she may compensate by spending many hours in the work domain where there is more satisfaction (Sirgy, Efraty, Siegel & Lee, 2001; Staines, 1980).

While Rhode (2004) has noted that spillover theory has more theoretical support than compensation and segmentation theory, all these models have been criticized for ignoring the effects of the macro environment and meso-environment in which the individual works or lives (Golden, Kirby & Jorgen 2006; Xu, 2009). That is, scholars have pointed out that both work and family environments are influenced by the culture of the larger society.

Boundary theories. Fourth, unlike spillover, segmentation, and compensation theories, which assume that the spheres of family and work are independent or interdependent, the boundary theories attempt to integrate the work and family domain. According to Clark (2000), spillover and segmentation can occur simultaneously. The

work domain and family domain are not totally separate spheres, but there is interaction between work and family domains. These interactions are human. Clark developed family border theory as an attempt to understand how individuals create meaning of these interactions within the complexity of work and family situations.

Clark (2000) posits that there are boundaries between work and family, and each sphere has different behavior and expectations. These boundaries are in form of time, space, or psychological. Every day people are border crossers in the domains of work and family, and they try to ensure that their goals and interpersonal style enable them meet the demand of each sphere. Individuals attempt to shape the nature of work and demands in both spheres to meet a desired balance. In this context, balance is “satisfaction and good functioning at work and at home, with minimum role conflict” (p.751).

However, Clark also asserts that the boundaries are permeable and flexible and can be blended. Blending occurs when there is an overlap between work and family, such as receiving telephone calls at home while minding the baby or giving instructions to your child’s day care supervisor while at work. Permeability implies the boundaries can be altered, and flexibility indicates work can take place at any location or the number of hours worked can be altered to suit the demands of each sphere. However, individuals can identify themselves more with the values of one domain than the other and seek to manage the borders of that domain. As a result, when these individuals attempt to fill more than one role, they will face conflict.

A number of scholars have used this theory. For example, Kossek, Lautsch and Eaton (2006) sought to find how workers conceptualized psychological job control and the type of border management strategies they employ in telecommuting. They found that if workers perceived greater psychological job control, they were less likely to consider leaving the job (lower turnover intentions). In the same vein, Cowan and Hoffman (2007) used family border theory to understand how workers conceptualize flexibility and permeability. They found that workers sought four types of flexibility: time, space, evaluation, and compensation. They found that flexibility was more of a trend, indicating that the notions of work in contemporary society are changing. They proposed the use of the theory to discover worker communicative strategies in negotiating the work-family border.

However, it should be noted that this theory is criticized for being too general and its concepts too difficult to operationalize. For example, the theory postulates that the researcher should determine the degree of overlap of valued “ends” and “means” of attaining goals in each domain. These two words are vague. In addition, the theory does not show how overload is incorporated in the theory. For these reasons, the theory has generated few empirical studies (Geurts & Demerouti, 2003).

In border theory, the creation of domains and border is done intersubjectively by border crossers (employees), other domain members, and gatekeepers. Spouses and supervisors are regarded as gatekeepers who can influence the boundaries. Work-family conflict occurs when there is a disagreement on the boundaries, i.e. what the border is and how flexible it should be (Clark 2000).

Role theory. Role theory, unlike boundary theories, spillover, and compensation theory, assumes the spheres of work and family are separate and mutually exclusive (Xu, 2009). Role theory assumes a theatrical metaphor where the script determines which part an actor should perform. Just as in a performance each actor is differentiated by the part of the script he/she assumes, in the social world, each social actor knows his/her role, what they are expected to do in various societal contexts (Xu, 2009). Thus, social actors get their identities from the behaviors of the role they are expected to play (Biddle, 1986). Role theory has been applied in many contexts, and one of its main concepts is role conflict, the “concurrent appearance of two or more incompatible expectations for the behavior of the person” (Biddle, 1986, p. 82).

After the industrial revolution, there came the separation of the home and the work sphere (Williams, 1999) and roles for each sphere were clearly delineated. The work sphere was for the breadwinners and the home sphere for the caregiver (Xu (2009). Since it is often difficult to simultaneously meet the expectation of different roles (breadwinner, housewife, etc.), this incompatibility often leads to role conflict (Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek & Rosenthal, 1964).

Role theory has further been applied within organizational contexts, especially with the work of Kahn and colleagues (1964). Within an organization, individuals are influenced by the demands of the organization and the expectations of the informal groups. Due to many sources for norms that govern the behavior of people in an organization, workers will experience role conflict if they do not conform to the expected

behaviors, causing strain. This strain has to be resolved if the individual is to be happy within the organization (Biddle 1986; Khan et al 1964).

Work-family conflict. The work-family conflict construct was developed by Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) and assumes an interrole conflict between family and work roles. This construct is rooted in role theory and especially the work of Khan, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek and Rosenthal (1964). Khan and colleagues defined interrole conflict as a “simultaneous occurrence of two or more sets of pressures such that compliance with one would make it difficult to comply with the other” (p .19). Work-family conflict is also informed by scarcity hypothesis, which assumes individuals have finite resources of time and energy; therefore, extra responsibilities only creates tension, a sense of overload, and interrole conflict.

Role overload occurs when an employee feels he/she has too much to do within the available time and other resources available (Bolino & Turnley, 2005) and interrole conflict occurs when there is incompatibility among the roles expected of an individual (Rizzo, House & Lirtzman, 1970). These stressors are based on role theory. In the same vein, the theoretical framework and most of the work-family conflict literature are informed by role theory (Michel et al., 2009). A stressor or stress is environmental, social, or internal demands that require an individual to readjust his or her usual behavior patterns (Holmes & Rahe 1967).

The study of work and non-work conflict came as a result of more women working outside the home in 1960’s and 1970’s in the U. S. and in other western contexts (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). They experienced role conflict, as the workplace norms

were often masculine-oriented and specifically tailored to the male worker; organizational norms did not cater to the life and work concerns of the female worker. On the other hand, at home, the women expected men to participate in housework--what Hochschild and Machung (1989) calls the “second shift”-- but traditional norms had not prepared men for doing house chores. Over time, men who take more time from work to attend to family face a role conflict with societal expectations. Similarly, today more Kenyan women are taking jobs in the formal sector away from home.

Work-family conflict has been associated with many negative psychological consequences such as increased stress, abuse of alcohol and other substances, tendencies of employees to report decreased work and life satisfaction (Eby, et al., 2005), and marital strife (Hoschild & Machung, 1989). On the other hand, reduced work-family conflict has been associated with high self-esteem (Marks & Dermid, 1996) increased marital satisfaction, reduced absenteeism, less turnover, and healthy employees (Ezra & Deckman, 1996; Poelemans, Kalliath & Brough, 2008).

Work-family conflict consists of two constructs: work-to-family conflict (WFC) and family-to-work conflict (FWC). That is, work-family conflict can occur in two directions --work interfering with family (WFC), and family interfering with work (FWC) (Frone, Yardley & Markel, 1997). Research shows that work-to-family conflict is more prevalent than family-to-work conflict (Gutek et al., 1991). In the same vein, the boundary between work and family is conceptualized as permeable, and the relationship between these two spheres is portrayed as asymmetrical, with work interfering with family more than vice versa (Pleck, 1997).

Similarly, many studies have attempted to study the effects of these two work-family conflict components. For instance, work-family conflict has been associated with increased turnover. In their longitudinal study, Nohe and Sonntag (2014) found that increase in WFC predicted increases in intentions to quit work, while FWC did not. They also found reciprocal results where intentions to quit predicted an increase in both WFC and FWC.

Role theory is hailed for its simplicity, as it is easily understood and seems heuristically sound (Biddle, 1986), and the concept of role conflict has been operationalized and used to study work-family conflict. Since WFC is based on role theory, both have been criticized for perpetuating the bifurcation between home and work spheres in the study of work life conflict, which assume work and home are separate spheres. For example, Golden, Kirby and Jorgen (2006) argue that the doctrine of separate spheres associates workplace with masculinity and home with feminine tasks, and thus it fails to reflect the actual experiences of men and women. Besides, masculinity disadvantages women at workplaces and fails to humanize the workplace.

In addition, there is a tendency to ignore the instrumentality that can take place at home, so we should not privilege home based emotion and undermine home based instrumentality (Golden Kirby & Jorgen, 2006). Xu (2009) also echoes the concerns of Golden, Kirby & Jorgen and notes that role conflict theory fails to connect the work and home spheres. Furthermore, Grandey and Cropanzano (1999) argue that role theory, when applied to work-family studies, pays little attention to family roles, which are necessary to understand work-family outcomes and instead proposes the use of

conservation of resources theory (COR) as more appropriate for study of work-family conflict.

Therefore, I will combine both these theories. COR theory rejects the bifurcation of work life experiences and allows us to measure/understand the spillover effects of work roles on the family, as well as spillover effects of the family roles on work. On the other hand, role theory has been used to derive the work-family conflict construct and the conceptualization and measurement of stressors.

Conservation of resources was formulated by Hobfoll (1989) who combined several stress theories and posits that in many contexts individuals are motivated to acquire and maintain resources. Hobfoll defines stress as “a reaction to the environment when there is a threat of loss of a resource, the net loss of resource or a lack of resources gain following the investment of resources” (p. 516). Resources are objects, personal characteristics, conditions, and energies an individual uses to acquire the other resources. Examples of resources are self-esteem, socioeconomic status, and employment. Objects, such as a home, are valued because of their physical nature; conditions include marriage, tenure, and seniority. Energies include time, money and knowledge.

Similarly, social relations are a resource as they help in preservation of valued resources, and social support is handy in time of need. Grandey and Cropanzano (1999) propose the use of COR in the study of work-family conflict because interrole conflict can lead to stress as individuals’ resources are lost when workers juggle between work and family roles leading to anxiety, job dissatisfaction, depression, or physical tension.

The worker also has to come up with ways to replenish the lost resources, such as leaving the work role; if this measure is not taken, he/she may experience burnout.

Applying COR to the Kenyan teachers' situation, they would have to look for resources such as extended family or house helps to help in house chores and childcare to conserve their energy for other family commitments and work. In the same vein, Okonkwo (2014) proposes the use of COR in exploring work-family conflict. COR assumes if an individual has enough resources, he/she will not experience stress even if he/she is involved in multiple roles. From this, it is apparent that the individual will experience less WFC if he/she has enough resources. In a study of Nigerian women living in urban areas, Okonkwo found that despite having a large number of children, the number of children was not a significant stressor due to use of house helps and extended family.

Another example of resource is personal characteristics. Based on their traits and skills, individuals react differently to stressors. Hobfoll (1989) posits that transitions can be stressful, and to minimize the effect of stress, individuals use resources. However, employing resources to cope can be stressful as more resources are used up. If you use more resources than you gain, it leads to a negative outcome.

The COR model can be readily used in studying work life conflict as it can be empirically tested. That means that quantitative measures can be easily derived. According to COR, if a person juggles many roles, it does not necessarily follow that there will be a direct relationship between the many roles and level of stress (Geurts &

Demerouti, 2003) and, unlike role theory, it does not posit that the roles are mutually exclusive or incompatible.

Work-family conflict may arise when the individual has used up more resources than he/she gets. This implies if a worker has enough resources, he/she will not experience the negative consequences that come with stressors. However, if individuals get support both in the family and at work, this can minimize these negative effects because there are additional resources. So I will use COR to explain the role of both work and family support that the teacher may use.

Several scholars have attempted to link work-family conflict and burnout. For instance, Noor and Zainuddin (2011) used COR to study emotional labor, burnout, and work-family conflict among female teachers in Malaysia (Noor & Zainuddin, 2011). Noor and Zainuddin found that work-family conflict mediated the relationship between emotional labor and burnout. In addition, Cinamon, Rich and Westman (2007) assessed the relationship between work-family conflict, burnout, and vigor. They found out that work-to-family conflict and family-to-work conflict predicted burnout, but only family-to-work conflict predicted vigor.

Furthermore, many studies in Kenya attribute a causal relationship between burnout and working conditions such as high workloads, student misbehavior, and job insecurity, among others. This could imply that work-family conflict and burnout may share common stressors, such as work overload. However, the Kenyan studies have not attempted to see if there is a relationship between work-family conflict and burnout (Mugambi 2012; Mwenje, Kiarie & Sierra, 2012; Ng'ang'a, 2012; Sagara, 2013;

Nyamwange, Nyaka & Ondima 2012; Sichambo, Maragia & Simiyu, 2012). The COR theory will enable me to see, for example, what happens when a teacher has no resources to reduce work-family conflict, such as spousal support, supervisor support, and other forms of support.

Causes of Work-Family Conflict

In studying the relationships between stressors and work-family conflict, the dependent variable is work-family conflict among Kenyan teachers. In this section I will review (1) general work stressors, (2) specific profession-related stressors, (3) family stressors, and (4) social support.

General work stressors. Based on role theory and the work of Khan et al., (1964), Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) identified three sources of conflicts between the work and family role: (1) time based conflict, (2) strain based conflict, and (3) behavior based conflict.

Time based conflict. Is caused by time based stressors or antecedents. This conflict arises when preoccupation in one domain makes it hard to fulfill the demands of the other domain, and also when these demands are required to be met simultaneously (Aryee 2005; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). The antecedents of time based conflict at the work domain are: number of hours worked per week and schedule inflexibility (Aryee, 2005; Greenhaus Beutell, 1985). I will incorporate these as they fall in work time demands (Michel et al 2009).

Strain based conflict. It arises when work stressors in one domain create strain and make it hard to meet the demands of another role (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985).

Strain based antecedents at the work place include: role ambiguity, lack of role autonomy, role conflict, job insecurity, role overload, and lack of support. These stressors create tension, frustration, fatigue, irritation, anxiety, apathy, and burnout, which lead to work-family conflict (Aryee 2005; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Frone & Cooper 1992; Grandey & Cropanzano, 1999). Aryee (2005) suggested that job insecurity and inadequate pay could also be potential stressors in Sub-Saharan Africa. Since most teachers in the public sector have full time jobs and government guaranteed pensions, I don't expect job insecurity to be a significant stressor. I expect inadequate pay to be significant stressor in the Kenya as demonstrated by recent labor strikes in the teaching sector described by Aryee (2005).

Behavior based conflict. It occurs when behavioral expectations of one role may be incompatible with behavioral expectations of another role. In other words, the behaviors expected in the home role are different from behaviors expected in the work role. For example, at work, a father who is a manager is expected to be emotionally stable, while at home he is expected to show his emotions of love as he interacts with his family (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985).

Specific profession-related stressors. The second set of stressors investigated in the research is specific profession related (teaching) stressors. Primary and high school teaching is generally considered a high stress profession everywhere (Clunies-Ross, Little & Kienhuis, Shernoff, Mehta, Atkin, Torf & Spencer, 2011), and this could contribute to high interrole conflict. Some stressors found in the teaching profession are: excessive

workload, teacher involvement with student misbehavior, lack of basic resources and personnel, accountability policies, and other stressors including role overload.

Excessive workload. Teachers often have to carry their duties beyond the normal working hours like grading in the evening and weekends (Shernoff, Mehta, Atkins, Torf, & Spencer, 2011). One UK study found that the heavy workload caused a significant proportion of teachers to leave the work force after three years, with 60 % citing high work overload as the problem (Gunter, 2005). This stressor is applicable in Kenyan contexts (Ng'ang'a 2012, Sichambo, Maragia & Simiyu, 2012, Nge'no 2008).

Teacher involvement with student misbehavior. Teachers spend a lot of time in student behavior management (Clunies-Ross, Little & Kienhuis, 2008; Shernoff, Mehta, Atkins, Torf & Spencer, 2011). This makes teachers feel ineffective and overwhelmed in enforcing compliance with school rules as it tends to interfere with teaching and student concentration (Shernoff et al., 2011) and this applies to the Kenyan context also (Ng'ang'a, 2012; Sichambo, Maragia & Simiyu, 2012).

Lack of basic resources and personnel. For less privileged schools in U.S., such as those found in poor neighborhoods, Shernoff et al., (2011) noted that lack of basic resources (such as books and equipment) and lack of personnel (such as content specialists, a nurse, and security guards) were stressors to teachers working there (Shernoff et al., 2011). This lack of basic resources and personnel as a stressor could be more prevalent in Kenya. The introduction of free primary and subsidized secondary education has led to increased education demand, which is not matched by an increase in resources (Sichambo Maragia & Simiyu, 2012; Sifuna 2007; Wosanju, n.d).

Accountability policies. Teachers often feel accountable for student performance even when students fail to meet the required mean grade of the national assessment tests. The pressure for students to excel is put on teachers by school management, and teachers have to pull up student grades. This pressure also applies to Kenyan schools (Ng'ang'a, 2012; Sichambo, Maragia & Simiyu, 2012).

Other stressors. These include role overload, (the need to perform many roles as a teacher, parent, nurse, etc.) and level of school disorganization (e.g., lack of supportive feedback, inconsistency in policy), (Shernoff et al., 2011). Though these stressors may apply to Kenyan context, I will not include them as specific stressors due to limits in questionnaire length.

Relationship of work stressors and work-family conflict. This section relates stressor research to work-family conflict. Studies in the West have found that work can interfere with family (WIF) and family can interfere with work (FIW). WIF and FIW among teachers have been associated with physical strain, job dissatisfaction, burnout, intention to leave, and job tension (Netemeyer, Boles & McMurrian, 1996; Noor & Zainuddin, 2011; Simbula, 2010). However, research on work-family conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa is still at a nascent stage.

In Kenya, several authors have hinted that work-family conflict is a possible reason why women do not advance in school leadership (Ombati, 2003; Wangui 2012), but they fail to study work-family conflict on its own merits. When work-family conflict is simply included on a list of issues, it does not get the full attention it deserves as an area of research. Work-family conflict should be studied on its own merit in Kenya. In

other parts of Africa, Epie and Ituma (2014) sought to find the relationship between working hours and work-family conflict. They surveyed a group of Nigerian professionals from different fields, including lawyers and managers who had enrolled in a professional course in a business school and also surveyed the spouses of these professionals. They found on average these Nigerian professionals worked 53.5 hours per week. They also identified a relationship between WFC and various outcomes such as turnover and stress; specifically, that excessive working hours, compounded with long commuting times, had an effect on their health and increased their tendency to quit work.

On a more positive side, results suggested that managerial support may mitigate the negative effects of WFC. This study provides an overall view of professional work in Sub-Saharan Africa and does not focus on a specific sector, and as noted earlier, some work friendly policies and stressors are profession specific. Though there are general stressors such as excessive working hours, each profession has specific stressors—one focus of my current study.

Building on the Epie and Ituma study, Okonkwo (2014) did a study of strain-based work interface among teachers in Enugu, Nigeria. She only looked at one general family stressor, that of age and number of children. She found that despite these teachers having big families, the number of children and their ages was not a significant stressor. She attributed this to the fact that people in that part of Nigeria still rely on the extended family and hire relatively inexpensive domestic workers as a buffer against work-family conflict. Therefore, my study will investigate the role of domestic workers and extended family support in Kenya as well as teacher specific stressors. The teaching profession is a

major employer of women. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the teaching profession is a family-friendly profession since there are frequent school holidays during the school year and extended summer vacation. I would like to find out to what extent this applies to urban teachers. This review of literature leads me to pose my first primary (general) research question:

Primary RQ1a: What are teachers' stressors in Kenya, and how do they contribute to work-family conflict?

Family related stressors. This section reviews previous research in investigating family related stressors. This includes time based conflict related stressors and strain based conflict related stressors; studies are from Western literature and other areas such as Malaysia and Nigeria.

Time based conflict. According to research conducted in Western contexts, time based conflict in the family domain is caused by number and ages of children, the employment status of the spouse, and spouse's work role salience (Aryee, 2005; Carbon & Kacmar, 2000; Frone et al., 1997; Frone, Rusell & Cooper, 1992a; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Parasuraman et al., 1996). I will incorporate family time demands and family involvement in the study.

Strain based conflict. Research suggests that strain based conflict in the family domain is caused by financial strain, dissimilar career patterns between husband and wife, inability to agree on family roles, husband disagreement on his wife working status, many hours involved in looking after children (Aryee, 2005; Frone Yardley & Markel,

1997; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985), and lack of spousal support. Spousal support lessens FWC and WFC (Cinnamon & Rich, 2005b; Cinamon, 2009; Netemeyer et al 1996).

Surprisingly, in a Malaysian study, the number of children did not influence WFC among female teachers (Noor & Zainuddin, 2011), confirming the results of Okonkwo's (2014) study of secondary female teachers in Enugu Nigeria described above. A study by Muasya (forthcoming) found that it is not the number of children *per se*, but the number of children in preschool and primary school, which contributes to female workers' perception that their university employer is less accommodating to their work life concerns.

In this study, I expect the number of children and age of the youngest child not to be a stressor, but rather the number of children in pre-primary and primary school because of the strict work schedules of teachers in Kenya and the impact on their childcare responsibilities (Muasya, 2014).

Among family stressors, I expect women in Kenya to spend more hours in housework than their spouses, so that it also becomes a potential stressor. This is because, as noted, they do not have the labor-saving appliances of the women in the West, and in big cities water and electricity are irregular, and many more hours are spent in house chores (Aryee, 2005). Cinamon and Rich (2005a) identified the presence of young children, many hours of housework, and status as a novice teacher as antecedents of WFC, while spousal support seemed to moderate it. With this background, I pose two secondary questions.

RQ1b: Is marital status related to the amount of work-family conflict experienced?

RQ1c: Do the number of children and their ages contribute unique variance in the work-family conflict?

Some notable studies on teacher specific stressors have been conducted in Israel. Cinamon and Rich (2005b) and Cinamon, Rich and Westman (2007) have done extensive studies on the relationship between work-family conflict and both general and specific stressors. They identify teacher specific stressors as; student misbehavior, class management demands, involvement with students' parents, class size, and number of students with special needs. Some of the generic stressors these scholars included in their study were flexibility of working hours, number of working hours, spouse's support, manager support, and support from colleagues. I included the following variables in my study in order to discover to what extent they apply to the Kenyan context: student misbehavior, class management demands, teachers' involvement with students' parents, class size, and number of students with special needs. I posit another secondary question:

RQ1d: Do teacher specific stressors explain unique variance in work-family conflict above and beyond that explained by the generic work and family stressors?

Some research findings show that a novice teacher experiences more interrole conflict compared to experienced teachers (Cinamon & Rich 2005b), while others show that WFC increases with years of experience (Noor & Zainuddin, 2011). Since most teachers in Kenya with young children are teachers for are fairly young in age, I expect to

find a negative relationship between years of working experience and WFC. This leads to state my first hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1: Teachers' length of teaching experience will negatively correlate with work-family conflict.

Following the research findings of Epie and Ituma (2014), it seems that professionals in Lagos and other big cities may be facing unique challenges of WFC due to the challenges of living and working in a major urban area, such as long commuting distance and time. Therefore, I posit my second hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2: Teachers who work in Nairobi and its suburbs (city) will experience more work-family conflict than those who work in towns.

A city is defined "as a place where people live that is larger or more important than a town, an area where many people live and work" while a town "is a place where people live that is larger than a village but smaller than a city" (Merriam-Webster.com, 2015). In Kenya, there are three large towns with designation of a city: Nairobi, Mombasa, and Kisumu. Most towns are county headquarters. According to 2009 census, Nairobi had a population of approximately 3 million; Eldoret 280,000; Machakos 150,000; and Makueni (Wote) 50,000 (Kenya Bureau of Statistics, 2009).

Social support. This section reviews the various sources of support that are available to a teacher and how they mitigate work-family conflict. House (1981) identified four types of support: informational, appraisal, instrumental, and emotional. This support comes in the form of interpersonal relations and social interactions that is at the disposal of an individual to manage stressful events (Kessler, Price, & Wortman,

1985). An employee receives instrumental support if he/she gets direct support or advice on how to manage family responsibilities; for instance, they can interpret the work friendly policies to the employee (Eby, Casper, Lockwood, Bordeaux & Brinley, 2005; Frone, Yardley, Markel, 1997). Emotional support occurs when the supervisor empathizes and shows concern regarding some of the experiences the employee might be facing (Frone, Yardley, & Markel, 1997).

The buffering hypothesis posits that the level of support an individual receives influences the appraisal of a stressful situation. With more support, an individual may be able to handle a stressful situation (Cohen & Wills, 1985). Cohen and Wills (1985) also found social support to be directly related to personal wellbeing. Support for an individual can come from various sources, i.e. from work or outside work. Support from work can come from the supervisor/leader and peers.

The supervisor can be more understanding in times of family crisis when an employee needs time to resolve it. Research shows that supervisors can reduce work-family conflict of employees (Anderson, Coffey Byerly, 2002). Support can also come from peers at work. Support from peers and supervisors has been found to moderate the work strain-burnout relationship (Etzion, 1984). Supportive supervisors encourage the use of work family-friendly policies (Kirby and Krone, 2002). Family support can come in various forms: from the spouse, family, extended family, friends (Daalen et al, 2006), and house helps (Okonkwo, 2014). In this study, I will incorporate work social support and family social support. With this backdrop, I pose my second primary question:

RQ2: Is there a relationship between the various forms of support: house girl, extended family, spouse, colleagues, and supervisor, and WFC?

The relationship between support variables and work-family conflict is not clear as such, and many scholars have adopted competing models to study this relationship (Michel, Mitchelson, Pichler, & Cullen, 2010). These competing models could be attributed to the challenge extended to researchers by Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) --to extend their research beyond the “general statements of social support to validate the utility of specific behavior in particular situations” (p. 86). Michel, Mitchelson, Pichler, and Cullen (1999) identified three competing models of relationships between social support role stressors and WFC, namely: independent model, the mediator model, and antecedent model. Carlson and Perrewé (1999) identified four models, with the addition of support as a moderator.

First, the independent model assumes there is no relationship between the other role stressors (role ambiguity, role conflict, and time demands in the work and family domain) and support variables; that is, they are unrelated and each individually influences WFC (Byron, 2005).

Second, the mediator (intervening) model assumes that social support acts as a mediator variable between stressors and WFC. Social support intervenes in the relationship between role stressors, WFC, and the fact that role stressor variables are interrelated. This model has been less researched than the other two (Michel, Mitchelson, Pichler, & Cullen, 2010).

Third, the moderator model assumes that social support acts as a moderator or a buffer between the positive relationship of role stressors and work-family support (Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1986). Despite many scholars' assumption that support variables have a buffering effect, there is no strong evidence to support this assumption (Carlson & Perrewe 1999). Researchers have failed to reach a conclusion on the role of support variables as moderators. Some studies, for example Yang and Carayon (1995), found no relationship, while others found mixed support results (Dolan, Ameringen & Asernault, 1992).

In addition, Phelan et al, (1991) did not find social support acting as a moderator between work stressors and depression, while Frone, Russell, & Cooper (1995) failed to find a moderating effect between the relationship of role stressors and distress relationship. Yildirim and Aycaan (2007) did not find supervisor support as a moderator between nurses' work demands, work-family conflict, job satisfaction, and life satisfaction. Rather, they posited that it could be a main effect. This implies that on its own, supervisor support would directly influence WFC, job satisfaction, and life satisfaction, supporting the validity of the independent model.

Fourth, the antecedent model assumes that social support is an antecedent of role stressors, which in turn predict WFC. If people have strong social support at work or home, it lowers the role stressors which in turn affect WFC (Carlson & Perrewe, 1999; Seiger & Wiese, 2009). Further, Daalen, Willemsen and Sanders (2006) used different sources of support (spouse, relatives and friends, colleagues, and supervisor), and some

scholars have also investigated different sources of support and their impact on work-family conflict.

For example, Daalen, Willemssen and Sanders observed that social support was related to work-to-family conflict. Support from spouse and colleagues was related to family-to-work conflict (time based); however, the other forms of support were not related to work-to-family conflict. Furthermore, support from colleagues and supervisors were related differently for men than for women both for work-to-family conflict (time based) and family-to-work conflict (strain based).

Daalen, Willemssen and Sanders (2006) found that most women work on a part time basis. I wonder how the relationship would be if these women work on a full time basis, as in Kenya. In my study, I followed the antecedent model to find out the relationship between the various forms of support (spouse, colleagues, supervisor, extended family, and house girl) with work-to-family conflict and family-to-work conflict.

Burnout

In addition to literature investigating causes of WFC, this study also investigates the relationship between stressors and work-family conflict and burnout, as this relationship is not well established in literature. Burnout is defined as” a syndrome of emotional exhaustion and cynicism that occurs frequently among individuals who do ‘people’s-work’ of some kind” (Maslach & Jackson 1981, p. 99). These individuals experiencing burnout have a greater tendency to have feelings of emotional exhaustion. Within the conservation of resources (COR) framework, this is because they have used

up their emotional resources and have little to offer to their clients (or students or family members).

This means when individuals expend more resources than they can acquire, they experience stress (Hobfoll, 1989). In an organizational context, these burned out individuals are cynical to their clients; they will dehumanize their clients and view them as a source of their trouble. They also tend to have negative self-esteem and are dissatisfied with their work, all of which lead to poor services (Maslach, & Jackson, 1981).

Maslach & Jackson (1986) conceptualized burnout to have three dimensions: emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and reduced sense of personal accomplishments. Burnout has been studied with other constructs too. For instance, surface acting--a component of emotional labor associated with burnout as faking emotion--creates dissonance between the expressed feelings and an individual's true feelings, and this discrepancy causes burnout. Work-family conflict was found to mediate the relationship between surface acting and burnout (Montgomery et al, 2006; Noor & Zainuddin, 2011). This study also seeks to establish the relationship between burnout and WFC. This leads to my three hypotheses predicting the relationship between burnout and work-family conflict among teachers in Kenya.

Many studies in Kenya attribute a causal relationship between working conditions and burnout among teachers in Kenya. Such stressors such as high workloads, student misbehavior, and job insecurity, among others, have been identified as antecedents of burnout (Mugambi, 2012; Mwenje, Kiarie & Sierra, 2012; Ng'ang'a, 2012; Nyamwange,

Nyakan & Odioma, 2012; Sagara, 2013; Sichambo, Maragia & Simiyu, 2012). However, no study has attempted to measure the relationship between work-family conflict and burnout. In addition, the methods commonly used are open ended questionnaires. Furthermore, these scholars fail to link burnout to any overarching theory. In my study, the COR theory will enable me to see what happens when a teacher has no resources (such as spousal support, supervisor and other forms of support) to reduce work-family conflict, and how that affects burnout.

Cinamon, Rich and Westman (2007) assessed the relationship between work-family conflict, burnout, and vigor. They found out that work-to-family conflict and family-to-work conflict predicted burnout, but only family-to-work conflict predicted vigor. In addition, Cinamon, Rich, and Westman (2007) also hypothesized a positive association between burnout and WFC. Burke and Greenglass (2001) in their study also found that there was a positive association between work-to-family conflict and burnout among nurses.

Since no study has shown the relationship between burnout and work-family conflict in Kenyan contexts, and most burnout studies are descriptive or fail to use a tested construct such as that offered by Maslach and Jackson (1986), this study will be among the first to test the association between these two constructs in the Kenyan context and account for common variance. In this study, I hypothesize that:

Hypothesis 3: The more work-family conflict a teacher experiences, the more the burnout.

Hypothesis 4a: The more the stressors, the more the burnout.

Hypotheses 4b: The greater the support, the less the burnout.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

A recap of my research questions and hypotheses are as follows:

RQ1a). What are teachers' stressors in Kenya, and how do they contribute to work-family conflict?

1b). Is marital status related to the amount of work-family conflict experienced?

1c). Do the number of children and their ages contribute unique variance in work-family conflict?

1d). Do teacher specific stressors explain unique variance in work-family conflict above and beyond that explained by generic work and family stressors?

Hypothesis 1: Teachers' length of teaching experience will be negatively correlated with work-family conflict.

Hypothesis 2: Teachers who work in Nairobi and its surroundings (large city) will experience more work-family conflict than those who work in towns.

RQ 2: Is there a relationship between the various forms of support: house girl, extended family, spouse, colleagues, and supervisor with work-family conflict?

Hypothesis 3: The more work-family conflict a teacher experiences, the more the burnout.

Hypothesis 4a: The more stressors, the more the burnout.

Hypothesis 4b: The greater the support, the less the burnout.

In chapter two, I laid out the theoretical framework of my study. I explored the various theories that are used in the study of work-family conflict; that is, role theory and conservation theory. I contrasted them with other theories, such as spill-over theory and family border theory. I also explored work and family stressors and how they influence work-family conflict and burnout. I identified gaps in literature and came up with hypotheses and research questions. In next chapter, I present the various measures I used to collect the data.

Chapter 3

Methodology

In order to address the questions and hypotheses identified in the previous chapter, I collected both qualitative and quantitative questionnaire data from primary and secondary female school teachers in various locations in Kenya. This chapter presents the research methodology in detail. First, I describe the participants and questionnaire, including the various measurements and operationalization of variables. I then describe data analyses, both the content analysis used to interpret the qualitative data and the statistical tests conducted to analyze the quantitative data.

Participants and Procedure

I used a survey questionnaire to collect research data. I recruited female teachers in public primary and secondary schools in Kenya. My study focused on two types of location: (1) city--Nairobi and its suburbs, and (2) towns which are county headquarters in Kenya--Eldoret, Makeni, and Machakos. I selected female teachers with at least one child in primary school.

I obtained approval to conduct this research from Arizona State University's Institutional Review Board (see appendix 1) and from the Ministry of Science and Technology in Kenya (see appendix 2). In each school, I sought the consent of the school administration. The study recruitment letter (see appendix 3) and subsequently the questionnaires were distributed through the contact persons I identified in each school.

Measures

My questionnaire had three sections. Section 1 had open ended questions, section 2 had closed ended questions, and section 3 had demographic and socioeconomic questions (see appendix 4). Section 1 questions asked teachers to describe the challenges they faced as they sought to combine work, childcare, and housework tasks. The questions also asked teachers to describe ways in which they obtained support from: the supervisor, colleagues, house helps (domestic workers), spouse, family members (beside husband and children) living with the teacher, family members living far away, neighbors and friends, enabling them (the teachers) to accomplish work, childcare and housework tasks. Section 2 included closed ended Likert scale questions, which are explained below.

(i) Teacher perceived investment in students' behavior problems. This item was assessed by two scales adapted from Cinamon, Rich & Westman (2007): one scale ranging from 1 (low emotional investment) to 10 (huge emotional investment); and one scale, ranging from 1 (little time investment) to 10 (huge time investment). The question was, "Students behavior problems that you deal with demand..." (see Table 1 for descriptive statistics).

(ii) Teachers perceived investment in students' parents. This item was also assessed with two scales adapted from Cinamon, Rich & Westman (2007): one ranging from 1 (low emotional investment) to 10 (huge emotional investment); and another ranging from 1 (little time investment) to 10 (huge time investment). The statement was, "Relations with your students' parents demand ..." (see Table 1 for descriptive statistics).

(iii) Work flexibility scales. This scale was adapted from Lu and colleagues (2008). The first question sought to find aspects of work autonomy in regard to work schedule. It inquired about the extent of flexibility that teachers had in relation to starting and ending work time. The question was, “Are you allowed to choose your starting and quitting time or change your starting and quitting time on a daily basis?” The responses to the question were (1) I cannot change, (2) I can change within certain limits, and (3) I am entirely free to decide.

The second question inquired whether the teacher could take a few hours off to deal with family matters. The question was, “How difficult is it for you to take an hour or two off during working hours to take care of personal or family matters?” The responses are (1) not difficult at all, (2) not too difficult, (3) somewhat difficult, and (4) very difficult (see Table 1 for descriptive statistics).

(iv) Work-family conflict scales. This measure was adapted from Carlson, Kacmar and Williams (2000) and measures work-family conflict. It consisted of two main constructs, WIF and FIW, with three dimensions each: time, strain, and behavior. Each dimension has three questions. In my study, I used only two dimensions, time (time WIF and time FIW) and strain (strain WIF and strain FIW). An exemplar statement was, “My work keeps me from my family activities more than I would like.” These questions were assessed on a 5-point Likert scale, where 5 represents strong agreement and 1 strong disagreement (see Table 1 for descriptive statistics).

(v) **Work/family social support scales.** These scales consisted of three questions which measured the extent of support received from supervisor, spouse, extended family, and house girl. This measure was developed by Haynes, Wall, Bolden, Stride and Rich (1999), used by Nohe and Sonntag (2014), and was adapted in this study to measure supervisor, spouse, extended family, and house help. The scales ranged from 1 to 5; 1 represents “not at all” and 5 represents “a great deal.” An exemplar question was, “To what extent can you count on your supervisor/colleagues/spouse/domestic worker to back you up when you have difficulty combining work and family?” (See Table 1 for descriptive statistics.)

(vi) **Maslach burnout scale.** This scale was adapted from Maslach & Jackson (1981). It has three dimensions, namely emotional exhaustion, depersonalization (cynicism), and professional efficacy assessed on a seven-point Likert scale from 0 (never) to 6 (always). Five questions measured emotional exhaustion. An exemplar statement was, “I feel emotionally drained from my work.” Five items measured depersonalization (cynicism), and an exemplar question was, “I feel I treat some recipients as if they were impersonal objects.” Finally, six items measured professional efficacy. An exemplar statement was, “I can effectively solve problems that arise in my work” (see Table 1 for descriptive statistics).

In this methodology chapter, I presented the various measures used to measure stressors, work-family conflict and burnout. In the following chapter of data analysis, I present the methods I used to analyze the data. I give summaries of my descriptive data,

and test various research questions and hypotheses on stressors, and work-family conflict, support, and burnout.

Chapter 4

Data Analysis

In this chapter, the first section presents a brief overview of how I analyzed the quantitative and qualitative data. The second section presents the results addressing the research questions and hypotheses on how stressors influence work-family conflict. The third section presents the results analyzing the relationship between different forms of support and work-family conflict. The fourth section presents the results regarding the relationship between burnout and work-family conflict. The final section presents findings not predicted in advance.

SECTION 1: Overview of Data Analysis and Descriptive Statistics

Quantitative data analyses. I distributed 472 questionnaires to primary and secondary teachers in Kenyan schools in Nairobi, Machakos, Makueni, and Eldoret. Out of these questionnaires, 16 were never returned, 34 were incomplete, and 47 were excluded as they came from locations outside of the two desired locations. Usable surveys were 375, for a return rate of 79.4%. I cleaned the data. I used range, minimum, maximum, and scatter plots to identify outliers due to typing or transposition errors. I then submitted the data to t-tests, correlations, and multiple regression analyses in order to answer the questions posed in the study.

Qualitative data analyses. I analyzed the responses to each open-ended question separately using the grounded theory method. Grounded theory allows the researcher to combine features of quantitative research, such as rigor and systematic analysis, with the depth and richness associated with qualitative research (Charmaz, 2000, Glaser &

Strauss, 1967). I read the responses to the open-ended questions several times to immerse myself in the data. For question one, the female teachers were asked to describe the challenges they face when they attempt to combine work, childcare, and housework. Since this question was the most general and generated a wide range of responses, I took the first 40 responses from my survey data and developed codes, which I compared with the codes of the last 40 responses, and then merged the two data sets together. For the other open ended questions (which were more specific), I used only the first 40 responses to make my initial codes for my codebook.

I followed standard content analysis procedures. That is, in the first cycle of analysis (Saldana 2013), I copied the selected responses in a word document and did line by line coding (open coding). I then used constant comparison to sort and refine the codes. Constant comparison involves comparing incident to incident to classify the data and come up with dimensions and categories (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). During the process of constant comparison, I modified the codes in my codebook as I went along. The code book emerged gradually and acts as an audit trail of my work, ensuring credibility for the data analysis process (Tracy 2013). According to Tracy (2013), first level codes attempt to describe the data.

In second level coding (axial coding), I organized and categorized the codes that I developed in my first cycle of analysis, added more categories and examples to my codebook, and wrote memos. I put aside data that were not central to my emerging codes and sought more data to saturate emerging categories, a process called theoretical sampling. Saturation occurs when new data do not add anything new (Glaser & Strauss,

1967). I also sought disconfirming cases to avoid forcing data in categories. I used conceptual mapping for the first question to identify relationship within the categories specified in this question (see appendices).

Description of the sample. As presented in Table1, out of 375 women surveyed, 84.3 % (316) were married and 15.7% (59) were single, divorced, or widowed. There were 183 (48.8%) women from towns (Makueni, Machakos and Eldoret) and 192 women (51.2%) from Nairobi and surrounding suburbs. The mean age category was 30-39. More specifically, 59.1% of the women were between 20-39 years old, and 40.9% were older than age 40. Women in the sample had an average of nearly three children ($M = 2.74$; $SD = 1.37$). The mean age of the youngest child was 6 years ($M = 5.99$, $SD = 4.25$). A large majority of participants (93.8%) had a child aged below 13 years. The mean age of the participants' oldest child was around 12 years ($M=12.47$; $SD = 6.63$).

Primary school teachers represent 54.9% (206) and secondary teachers were 45.1% (169) of the sample. The teachers had taught approximately 12 years ($M = 12.3$; $SD = 7.69$), of which 24.6% had taught for less than 5 years. 76.5 % of the married women's spouses had full time jobs. Teachers who had: high school education were 1.3% (5); teachers college certificate, 14.2% (53); diploma 20.4% (76); Bachelor's degree 50.8% (189); Master's degree 12.4% (46); and other (including PhD) 8% (3). Only 6.4% (24) of women were housed within their school compounds, and 92.6% (347) stayed outside the school compounds. Three women did not disclose their housing arrangement.

Approximately 38% (143) of teachers took more than 40 minutes to get to school. The most common means of transportation was public transport (52%), followed by

walking (31%), bicycle or motorcycle (9%), and private car (8%). These teachers taught approximately 25 lessons per week ($M = 25.17$; $SD = 7.54$), of which 25.7% of these teachers taught 20 lessons or fewer per week, perhaps due to having administrative responsibilities or teaching specialized subjects. On the other hand, 27.8% of teachers taught 30 or more lessons per week, primary ($M = 27.57$; $SD = 8.0$) and secondary ($M = 22.33$; $SD = 5.81$). The average class size was almost 46 students ($M = 45.75$; $SD = 13.51$); 49.3% of the teachers had 50 or more students in a class, with primary school classes ($M = 43.93$; $SD = 15.16$) smaller than secondary ($M = 48.79$; $SD = 8.75$). The teachers worked, on average, three days each week beyond school hours ($M = 2.89$; $SD = 1.61$). They spent four hours ($M = 4.21$; $SD = 3.8$) doing school work related work each week, and some teachers (47.3%) spent more than 4 hours in a week in school related work.

The time these women had lived in their current neighborhood averaged over six years ($M = 6.52$; $SD = 5.7$). Of these, 13.5% had lived there for one year or less. Most of these female teachers employed a domestic worker (63.7%, $n=237$). The majority of the domestic workers are live-in workers (65.8%, $n = 158$). Of these, 93.4% worked for 5-7 days a week and had been employed for one and a half years ($M = 17.67$ months; $SD = 23.49$ months).

As presented in the Table 1, teachers reported that they had low flexibility in reporting to and leaving from work ($M = 1.54$, $SD = 0.78$, on a scale of 1-10). This could be because there is a set time to report and leave the school compound. The distribution was highly skewed to the right.

Teachers spent considerable amount of time and emotional investment in dealing with student behavior issues (student behavior) in these urban schools. The student behavior score was highly skewed to the left ($M = 7.19, SD = 2.28$); and also teachers spent more time and emotional investment with students' parents following up issues to do with their children's discipline and academic performance ($M = 6.49; SD = 2.48$). This distribution was highly skewed to the left.

The burnout scales ranged 0-6, and teachers' emotional exhaustion score was moderate ($M = 3.06, SD = 1.40$); the distribution was approximately symmetrical (see Table 2). The cynicism (depersonalization) score was low and the distribution highly skewed to the right ($M = 2.07, SD = 1.40$). The professional efficacy score was high and highly skewed to the left ($M = 5.01, SD = 0.96$), an indication that teachers are generally satisfied with their profession; overall, the data showed that teachers have low burnout, though these results seem quite different from those revealed by the qualitative data collected.

As shown in Table 1, the work-family conflict construct had four sub-constructs, on 1-5 point scale. Time work interfering with family--time WIF ($M = 3.48, SD = 0.90$), and strain work interfering with family--strain work WIF ($M = 3.15, SD = 0.93$) showed moderate scores for work-family conflict compared to family work interfering with work-time FIW ($M = 2.32, SD = 0.90$) and strain family interfering with work strain FIW ($M = 2.25, SD = 0.91$). Time WIF was highly skewed to the left unlike time FIW which was highly skewed to the right. Similarly strain WIF was normally distributed while strain FIW was highly skewed to the right.

The support variables, on 1-5 point scales, showed that spouses offered high support to teachers ($M = 4.15$, $SD = 1.03$), and this distribution was highly skewed to the left. Spousal support was followed by support from colleagues ($M = 3.40$, $SD = 1.05$), highly skewed to the left; supervisor support ($M = 3.36$, $SD = 1.13$), highly skewed to the left; house help support ($M = 3.38$; $SD = 1.14$), highly skewed to the left; and finally relative support ($M = 3.07$; $SD = 1.18$), moderately skewed to the left. However, the qualitative data shed more light on the nature of support offered by these people, to be described later.

Table 1: Descriptive Data

Scale	N	M	S.D	Skewness	Kurtosis	Reliability
Days participant worked beyond school hours	339	2.89	1.2	1.2	9.43	
Number of lessons	370	25.18	7.54	0.20	0.17	
Average class size	371	46.14	12.87	0.06	1.87	
Number of children	374	2.74	1.37	1.01	1.40	
Teaching experience	370	12.3	7.69	0.56	-0.18	
Age of the oldest child	356	12.47	6.63	0.3	-0.73	
Flexibility in reporting and closing time	372	1.54	0.78	2.09	6.96	
Time and investment in student parents	366	6.49	2.48	-3.11	-0.71	.68
Time and investment in student behavior	370	7.19	2.28	-0.53	-0.53	.63
Emotional exhaustion	372	3.06	1.40	-0.01	-0.47	.83
Cynicism	372	2.07	1.40	0.39	-0.73	.78
Professional efficacy	372	5.01	0.96	-1.82	5.66	.81
Time WIF	369	3.48	0.90	-0.49	-0.13	.83
Time FIW	369	2.32	0.90	0.68	0.26	.74
Strain WIF	367	3.15	0.93	0.00	-0.66	.62
Strain FIW	368	2.25	0.91	0.62	-0.06	.87
Supervisor support	367	3.36	1.13	-0.41	-0.61	.90
Support from colleagues	365	3.40	1.05	-0.40	-0.47	.89
Spousal support	331	4.15	1.03	-1.34	1.3	.94
Relative support	365	3.07	1.18	-0.07	-1	.93
House help support (domestic worker)	248	3.38	1.14	-0.30	-0.74	.84

Inter-correlations among stressors. As shown Table 2, many of the correlations were not significant, so I will only discuss those that that seemed to shed light on subsequent analysis regarding other stressors. For example, the number of children correlated positively with teaching experience ($r = .360, p < .01$), number of lessons per week ($r = .163, p < .01$), time and emotional investment in student behavior ($r = .113, p < .01$), time WIF ($r = .131, p < .05$), and strain WIF ($r = .108, p < .05$). The more children a teacher had, the more years of teaching experience she had, and the higher the number of lessons she had per week. In addition, the teacher spent more time and energy in students' behavior issues; all of this added more strain to the teacher by interfering with her family life.

Teaching experience correlated positively with number of children ($r = .360, p < .01$), lessons per week ($r = .149, p < .01$), average class size ($r = .148, p < .01$). However, it correlated negatively with relative support ($r = -.111, p < .05$) and flexibility in reporting ($r = -.107, p < .05$). A teacher with more experience had more children of her own, more lessons per week, and bigger class sizes, but less relative support and less flexibility in her reporting and leaving time from school.

Number of lessons per week was positively correlated with number of days participant worked beyond school hours ($r = .132, p < .05$), house help support ($r = .142, p < .05$), average class size ($r = .133, p < .05$), and correlated negatively with flexibility in reporting ($r = -.127, p < .05$). A teacher with a large number of lessons per week also

had large average classes and required more of house help support. This means that the teacher had minimum flexibility to the times she reported and left school.

Number of days worked beyond school hours correlated positively with time WIF ($r = .153, p < .01$), and spousal support ($r = .124, p < .01$). The more the number of days a teacher worked beyond school hours, the more support she required from the spouse, and the more her work interfered with the family activities.

Time and emotional investment in students' parents was positively correlated with time and emotional investment in student behavior ($r = .620, p < .01$), supervisor support ($r = .147, p < .01$), support from colleagues ($r = .126, p < .05$), and relative support ($r = .116, p < .05$). The more time a teacher spent with the students' parents, the more it was related with student behavior problems. These teachers required more supervisor and support from colleagues, and at home, she received more of her relatives' support. Time and emotional investment in student behavior was positively correlated with supervisor support ($r = .118, p < .05$) and support from colleagues ($r = .178, p < .001$).

SECTION 2: Stressors and Work-family conflict Results

The section covers the results of research questions 1a, 1b, 1c, 1d, 1e and Hypotheses 1 and 2. Research question 1a: What are teachers' stressors' in Kenya, and how do they contribute to work-family conflict? To answer this question, I analyzed qualitative data. The results of this content analysis are presented in Table 3 (see appendix).

My analysis generated three primary categories: 1) manifestation of work-family conflict with two sub-categories: time pressure manifestations and fatigue (strain)

manifestations; 2) stressors with four sub-categories: inadequate support from home, strain and time related stressors at home, interruptions in the flow of work and family schedules, and strain and time related stressors at school; and 3) effects of work-family conflict with three sub-categories: effects of WFC at home, effects of WFC at school, and effects of WFC at school and at home.

Manifestations of work and family conflict. The analysis of the women's responses presented in Table 4 showed that they indeed experienced work-family conflict. The first primary category of WFC was a general one, describing manifestations of work and family conflict with two subcategories: time pressure sub-category and fatigue. Time pressure subcategory had four themes: inadequate time for: 1) school work, 2) home, 3) both work and family, and 4) relaxation and social time. The fatigue manifestation category had three themes: 1) fatigue from school related tasks, 2) fatigue from home related tasks, and 3) fatigue from both places. Almost equal numbers of teachers experienced fatigue (strain) from both work (43) and home (49) and as well as from both places combined (92).

Despite women experiencing time pressures and strain (fatigue) from work and home, they experience more time pressures (116) at home as compared to work (14); they also noted inadequate time for personal relaxation and social time (14). These results indicate that teachers experienced time pressures as they attempted to complete all their required work at school, as well as time pressures as they attended to house chores, children, spouse, and personal leisure time. At school, there was scarcity of time. Language teachers had more grading than other teachers; as Respondent A205 said,

“There’s hardly enough time to be through with school work every day especially being a language teacher, marking essays is endless” (CB1 10C). This made their time management quite difficult at home, so that when these teachers arrived home, like the case for MS172, “there is no time to attend my house chores unless I attend them at night when I am tired” (CB1 11C).

Sometimes time pressures were from both school and at home; as N291 put it, their “time to combine school and homework isn't enough” (CB1 18C). Another area that suffered was personal time. Teacher N335 had this to say: “I do not have time for myself leading to untidiness, and poor grooming” (CB1 17C). The extended family was neglected too, as was the experience of N383: “I have less social time due to tight schedule, I realize that I have little time left for my extended and family interactions” (CB1 17C).

The data seem to show that so many people demanded the teachers’ attention, that teachers ended up tired and unable to coordinate all the activities around them in both their work and their home life due to inadequate time and strain. Teacher A230 sums it up: “If you attend a lot to kids, hubby will complain. As a mother you have to do most of house chores (supervise), yet at the same time you got to be at work on time, do the markings, lesson notes, exam etc., while children also are waiting for you to help them with their homework. Weekends you are required to be at school and at the same time be at home, church or at a function” (CB1 16C).

Being required to be at multiple locations and attending to different people/demands showed these different demands rivaled each other, and some areas had

to suffer. As MS200 noted, “One responsibility e.g. school work overtakes housework thus causing misunderstanding within the family” (CB1 37C).

Apart from time pressures teachers also experienced fatigue (strain). They described fatigue emanating from work, as communicated by N344: “I feel so tired by the end of the day as I ensure that I perform my duty in school as a teacher” (CB1 19C); Also fatigue emanated from home, as articulated by N322: “There is hardly enough time to accomplish the housework and childcare responsibilities. One feels fatigued most of the time” (CB1 20C). Most of the time, fatigue was a combination of strain from work and home activities; as N296 described, “I feel extremely exhausted by my work in school and the chores I have to do at home when I get there” (CB121C).

Stressors. The second primary category of general WFC identified and described stressors with four sub-categories: 1) inadequate support from home, 2) interruptions in the flow of work and family schedules, 3) strain and time related stressors from home, and 4) strain and time related stressors from school.

Inadequate support from home. This subcategory had two themes: 1) unreliable house help support and 2) uncooperative spouse. Inadequate support from home meant that the teachers had no dependable people to leave their children with while at school, and/or they were forced to do most of the house chores by themselves, adding to strain. Lack of support from the home side seemed to reference lack of *house help support* (70) rather than the lack of spousal support (2). This could be attributed to the fact that most women employ house helps (63.7 %), and most spouses also have full time jobs (77.6%), so they are less available to help around the house during the day.

Most likely, both spouses had to leave for work early in the morning and returned late in the evening, and if they have younger children they had to look for caretakers for them. The data suggest that house help support sometimes was not available or affordable. Some house helps did not do their duties adequately as required, or they terminated their services without notice. House helps worked for an average of 17.70 (SD 23.50) months, indicating a high turnover. The lack of reliable childcare at home caused the “mother to become stressed, both at school and work and poor nurture of the children” (CD 23C).

Teachers required more support from their spouse especially when the house help support was unavailable. For some women, their husbands were reluctant to help, as expressed in the sentiments of N347: “When there is no house help, men hardly help except over the weekend. In the house they are either reading a newspaper or watching football,” (CD26C). Similarly, N353 expressed, “If both man and woman of the house are working, many are the times extra work in the house is left to the woman of the house. Men have the habit to reach home late” (CD26C).

Interruptions in the normal flow of work and family schedules. These are stressors which disrupted the flow of work either at school or home. This sub-category had three themes: 1) sick child, 2) long commuting distance/time, and 3) unplanned demands from work and home. A sick child made it even worse for the teacher. According to the teachers, poor care (e.g. irregular or inadequate feeding) of the children by house helps sometimes caused the children to become sick. A sick child at home caused the mother to worry while at school, and at times she had to seek permission to

leave work. This experience was echoed by A212, who remarked, “Being a mother with children I may need some time for them especially when one is sick. Getting permission away from school/place of work is not easy. You will answer questions, something I don’t like” (CD 41C). Though teachers indicated they could get permission from their supervisor, it did not always come easily.

Some women had to travel long distances from work to school and vice versa. In this study, most of the women used public transport or walked or cycled to school; few had personal cars. N391 describes the resulting stress: “There is limited time to prepare for school. By the time I get home in the evening. I am too tired and can’t attend to family matters. Time used in travelling for workplace to home is a lot, little time is left for attending to housework” (CB1 2C).

Unplanned demands from work and home contributed to more strain and time pressures. Examples of interruptions include a child failing to sleep at night and keeping the mother awake, house help quitting work without notice, sudden demands from the children’s school for parents to accompany their child to school, or sudden changes in school programs. Teacher MS 156 shared, “Sometimes I do not get enough time with my child especially when we have a program at school on a Saturday, e.g. taking students for games” (CB1 46C).

Strain and time related stressors at home. This subcategory had had four themes: 1) lack of enough sleep, 2) general workload at home, 3) lack of adequate finances, and 4) high expectations of duties at home. Many teachers raised the issue of lack of sleep due to a lot of preparations in the morning and in the evening, which forced the teacher to

go to bed late and wake up early in order to catch up. This was accompanied by the general workload at home, as described by W42: “Sometimes I have no time for my children and even miss lessons due to too much work at home especially in the morning as I prepare my family; tiredness makes me reluctant to wake up early to prepare for work which leads to lateness at work” (CB1 7C).

Teachers were of the opinion that lack of adequate finances also contributed to work-family conflict. This was the case for N370, who reported, “I am challenged by shortage of finance which would otherwise be used to make my work easier financing things such as housework and childcare, so as to concentrate in school with support from elsewhere; lack of enough money to support all these three responsibilities e.g. money to pay house girl to take care of children” (CD 43C). If a teacher could not afford caretakers for their children or domestic workers for house chores, it meant doing most of the work by themselves.

Culturally, there was high expectation of teachers’ duties at home, which they failed to have enough time and energy to attend to. Despite hiring domestic workers the duties at home were the women’s responsibility, and when they were not performed to perfection the woman was held accountable; this had consequences. W26 shared her concerns: “As a female teacher I lack enough time to spend, share with my children. I lack support from entire family members for they see it as my responsibility to do all the work at home and school” (CB1 25C). Some women experienced conflict with their husbands when house chores and childcare were done by other people or not been done to perfection.

Strain and time related stressors at school. This sub-category had three themes: 1) workload at school, 2) too much time taken by school work, and 3) too much work at both home and school. Teachers faced high workloads at school, and this work demanded much time to be covered, forcing teachers to stay late at school or carry work home. This high workload was attributed to handling big classes and pressure for the teachers to maintain a high mean grades for the students in their classes. Teacher N304 sums up these two challenges: “The most challenging situation is the coverage of the overwhelming curriculum. The workload I have forces me to carry some books and examination papers to mark at home or even arrive early and leave late in order to do some marking” (CB1: 44C).

Due to the high workload at school, teachers often arrived home late, which then raised conflicts with the spouse. N326 noted that “because of the great demand of the work place, if one is not careful the parenting role can be ignored as everything is delegated to the house help. On the other hand, if one decides to be always physically present to take care of the family, then one can jeopardize their job by underperforming. This puts the modern working woman under duress” (CB136C).

Teachers reported having too much work both at school and home, which seemed to lead to strain and even burnout. This was revealed in an additional analysis. That is, in addition to the content analysis described earlier, I also tallied the words the teachers used to express strain and stress, e.g. overwhelmed, tedious, exhausting, fatigued, overwhelmed, mental overload, headaches, stress, drained, hectic, straining, no rest, overburdened, tired, tiresome, moody, worn out, frustrated, and hopelessness. At least

167 teachers used one of these words, clearly describing some degree of strain and fatigue in their work as they attempted to meet both home and school demands (CB1 23C). Unlike my descriptive statistics (reported earlier), which indicated teachers experienced moderate work-family conflict, these qualitative results suggest (or reveal) that a significant number of teachers seem to experience strain and stress.

Effects of work-family conflict. This third primary category of WFC conflict had three sub-categories: 1) the effect of WFC at home, 2) effects of WFC at school, and 3) the combined effects at school and home.

Effects of work-family conflict at home subcategory. The effects of work-family conflict at home subcategory had three themes: 1) children concerns, 2) housework concerns, and 3) spousal concerns. Children concerns were mentioned 25 times. Mothers were concerned about the level of parenting they could offer to their children. This was because they were not present to supervise how their children were fed and whether good morals were instilled to them by the house helps. They were also concerned whether children did their school homework. This made these teachers worry about their own children's welfare, even while they were at work. This is because the teacher left very early in the morning, when the young children were asleep, and came back when they were asleep. Or even if the teacher was in the house, she was busy with school work marking assignments and unable to supervise her children's homework.

So childcare was a constant worry for these teachers. Teacher N370 had this to say: "There is no good follow-up of how the baby is being fed and directed; leading to poor children upbringing since even after employing a house help, children may not be

taught good moral behavior during childhood” (CB1 43C). Thus poor feeding and care could lead to children falling sick and missing school days.

Lack of parental attention to children will eventually have repercussions to future generations; as A257 pointed out, “The working hours are rigid. You have to be in school from 7:30 am to 5:00 pm. As a mother you have very little time with your kids. They have to be brought up by house helps. I wish the employer would allow mothers' flexible working hours. A neglected population will eventually lead to confused and misfits in the society. It's a vicious cycle, the same money you acquire will be used to rehabilitate these kids” (CB1 18D).

Teachers also expressed housework concerns. They were unable to have time and energy to perform their housework responsibilities to perfection or sometimes neglected housework or delegated it to the house help. Inability to carry out housework tasks made teachers to experience “a feeling of hopelessness and despair” (CB1 23C). The underperformed tasks at home led to complaints from the spouse and lack of adequate attention to children. It “causes a dissatisfaction for the whole family” (CB1 38C); this was the also experience of A235: “At times school work makes me tired; hence by the end of the day I feel so tired to cook for my family hence leaving the whole responsibility to the housemaid,” (CB1 40C).

The teachers were concerned about their spouses' welfare. Apart from the spousal complaints of a neglected home and children, the women felt guilty about ignoring their husbands' conjugal rights as expressed by N309, “Sometimes you get tired and you

ignore some of the housework chores and this makes him feel bad and being tired to give him his right” (CB1 26C).

Effects of work-family conflict at school subcategory. This had three themes: 1) poor working relationship with boss and colleagues, 2) reduced productivity, and 3) tardiness. At school, work-family conflict led to poor working relations with the supervisor and colleagues. If teachers are unable to perform as expected, e.g. by being absent and missing a lesson, they end up with bad job reviews because, as A189 puts it, “Some supervisors do not accommodate excuses for late going to work thus you are left in dilemma: is it work or your ailing child?” (CB1 31C). Lack of devoted attention to work contributed to strained relationships, with not only the supervisor but everyone, as was the experience of MS165: “Difficulties in giving each full attention, lead to burnout, at times it results to conflict between me and my supervisor and my family members, me and my house help” (CB1 18C). Some of the indicators of reduced teachers’ productivity at school were the inability of the teacher to concentrate at school and unmet school goals, such as failure of students to get high scores. This further led to lack of job satisfaction.

Teachers also reported tardiness as an effect of WFC at school. This was generally the result of having a lot of preparations in the morning, long commute to work, sick children, lack of house helps, or just fatigue. Teacher W127 commented, “Children may fall sick suddenly and that makes the mother to be late or miss school or lack of adequate time to prepare for lessons, coupled with fatigue due to heavy responsibility and

other times sleepless nights. In other cases, there is absenteeism when there is no house help” (CB1 41C).

Effects of work-family conflict at both home and work. This sub-category had one theme: the inability to perform duties to perfection. Teacher A251 was of the opinion that there is “no perfection in all areas, It is rather hard to handle childcare, house chores, and school work because all are demanding and important. Thus, these affect efficiency in all these areas” (CB1 30C). Failure to deliver the best made these teachers feel unfulfilled in their teaching role and led to lack of adequate concentration at work, emotional drain, and fatigue.

In summary, these are the highlights of the responses answering the first research question, manifestations of WFC: Teachers experienced time pressures and strain as they attempted to combine work and family responsibilities. The time pressures from work seemed to be stronger than those from home, whereas strain experienced in both places was about the same.

Stressors. Inadequacy of house help support was the most cited stressor, followed by lack of rest at night due to workload at home at peak hours of morning and evening. Cultural expectations of the duties of a mother and wife, and lack of finances to hire external source of help, exacerbated the strain and pressures at home. Women cited unplanned demands from home and work, a sick child, and long distances/time as some of the causes of disruptions in their normal flow of work that led to stress. At school, stressors were mainly the heavy school load and the time taken to complete the assigned tasks.

Effects of WFC. Work-family conflict had effects both at school and home. Teachers felt guilty and a sense of hopelessness and despair on the manner in which their children were brought up and homes run. The spouses were not spared of neglect, and work-family conflict was a source of conflict in these homes. At school, the teacher risked bad job reviews due to unsatisfactory work and tardiness. Overall, no area whether home or school was well catered for due to time pressures and exhaustion.

Research question 1b: Is marital status related to the amount of WFC experienced? This question used quantitative data to find out if marital status of the teacher was related to the work-family conflict experienced. An independent sample t-test was conducted but revealed no significant relationship in the four subscales of WFC. This shows marital status did not influence WFC experienced by the teachers.

Time WIF: $t(367) = 1.218, p = .224$

	<i>M</i>	<i>S.D</i>
Married	3.5	.90
Single	3.34	.89

Time FIW: $t(367) = .66; p = .509$

	<i>M</i>	<i>S.D</i>
Married	2.34	.90
Single	2.25	.90

Strain WIF: $t(365) = 1.44, p = .151$

	<i>M</i>	<i>S.D</i>
Married	3.18	.94

Single	2.98	.87
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Strain FIW: $t(366) = .30, p = .768$

	<i>M</i>	<i>S.D</i>
Married	2.25	.91
Single	2.21	.91

Research Question 1c: Do the number of children and their ages contribute to work-family conflict? This question sought to find out whether the number of children a teacher had and the age of the first child influenced the level of work-family conflict experienced. In this question, the criterion variable was the WFC constructs, and the predictors were number of children a woman had and the age of the oldest child.

1. Using time WIF as the criterion, the regression model was significant, while the predictors were not. The regression model was significant $R^2 = .02$, $\text{adj } R^2 = .01$, $F(2, 348) = 3.14$, $p = 0.045$. The regression coefficient of the number of children was not significant ($\beta = .12$, $t = 1.86$, $p = .064$); and the age of the oldest child was not ($\beta = .02$, $t = .26$, $p = .794$). The overall regression was just barely significant, while the effect for the number of children was just barely not significant. So the number of children had a stronger influence than did the age of the oldest child. Neither was very strong, but one was stronger than the other.

2. Using time FIW as criterion, the regression model was significant $R^2 = .02$, $\text{adj } R^2 = .02$, $F(2, 348) = 4.16$, $p = 0.02$. The regression coefficient of number of children was significant ($\beta = .18$, $t = 2.76$, $p = .006$), and for age of the oldest child was significant ($\beta = -.15$, $t = -2.30$, $p = .02$). The age of the oldest child and number of children

contributed to time pressures that caused family to interfere with work. The effect was positive for number of children (more children, more strain) while for age of the oldest child, the effect was negative (stronger WFC with younger children).

3. Using strain WIF as the criterion, the regression model was not significant $R^2 = .02$, $\text{adj } R^2 = .01$, $F(2, 346) = 2.68$, $p = 0.07$. The regression coefficient of the number of children was not significant ($\beta = .08$, $t = 1.17$, $p = .24$), and the age of the oldest child was not ($\beta = .06$, $t = .91$, $p = .364$). The number of children and age of the oldest do not contribute to strain WIF. The overall model was just barely not significant.

4. Using strain FIW as the criterion, the regression model was not significant $R^2 = .02$, $\text{adj } R^2 = .01$, $F(2, 347) = 2.88$, $p = 0.06$. The regression coefficient of the number of children was significant ($\beta = .15$, $t = 2.32$, $p = .021$); and the age of the oldest child was not ($\beta = -.12$, $t = -1.86$, $p = .06$). Again, the overall effect was just barely not significant, not very different from the other results. The effect was positive for number of children (more children, more strain) while for age of the oldest child, the effect was negative (stronger WFC with younger children).

What happens if I control for relatives help, and house help? As shown in table 4, in the first regression, the criterion is time WIF, and predictors were: number of children and the age of the oldest child. In the first model, I controlled for relative support and house help (domestic worker) support, which in this case is assumed to be available to the teacher.

The first model was not significant, $R^2 = .01$, $F(2, 234) = .83$, $p = .44$. In the second step, the addition of number of children and age of the oldest did not contribute

significant variance over and above that of house help and relative support , R^2 change = .010, F -change (2, 232) = 1.23, p = .29. The overall model was not significant R^2 = .02, adj R^2 = .00, F (4, 232) = 1.03, p = .39. None of the regression coefficients were significant (see Table 4 below).

Using time FIW as a criterion. The first model was not significant R^2 = .00 F (2, 234) = .12, p = .886. In the second step, the addition of number of children and age of the oldest did not contribute significant variance over and above that of house help and relative support to time FIW, R^2 change = .02 F -change (2, 232) = 2.43, p = .09. The overall model was not significant R^2 = .02, adj R^2 = .01 F (4, 232) = 1.28, p = .28.

Using strain WIF as a criterion. The first model was not significant R^2 = .019, F (2, 233) = 2.20, p = .11. In the second step, the addition of number of children and age of the oldest did not contribute significant variance over and above that of house help and relative support to strain WIF , R^2 - change = .003 F -change (2, 231) = .41, p = .66. The overall model was not significant R^2 = .02 adj R^2 = .01, F (4, 231) = 1.30, p = .27.

Table 4: Relationship Among the Number of Children, Age of the Oldest Child, and WFC

<i>Predictor variables</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>β</i>	<i>ΔR²</i>
Time WIF				
Step 1				.01
Relative support	-.06	.05	-.09	
House help support	.03	.05	.03	
Step 2				.01
No of children	.07	.05	.10	
Age of the oldest	.00	.01	-.00	
Time FIW				
Step 1				.00
Relative support	-.02	.05	-.02	
House help support	.02	.05	.03	
Step 2				.02
No of children	.08	.05	.12	
Age of the oldest	-.02	.01	-.18*	
Strain WIF				
Step 1				.02
Relative support	-.11	.05	-.14*	
House help support	.02	.06	.02	
Step 2				.00
Relative support	-.11	.05	-1.37*	
No of children	.04	.06	.06	
Age of the oldest	.00	.01	.00	
Strain FIW				
Step 1				.01
Relative support	-.09	.05	-.12	
House help support	.02	.05	.02	
Step 2				.02
No of children	.07	.05	.10	
Age of the oldest	-.02	.01	.15	

Note:

1. Total R² = .02; adjusted R² = .00; F (4, 232) = 1.03, p = .39

2. Total R² = .02; adjusted R² = .01; F (4, 232) = 1.28, p = .28

3. Total R² = .02; adjusted R² = .01; F (4, 231) = 1.30, p = .27

4. Total R² = .03; adjusted R² = .01; F (4, 232) = 1.33, p = .17

*p < .05 ** p < .001

Using strain FIW as a criterion. The first model was not significant R^2 -change = .013, $F(2, 234) = 1.54$, $p = .217$. In the second step, the addition of number of children and age of the oldest did not contribute significant variance over and above that of house help and relative support to strain FIW, R^2 -change = .02, F -change (2, 232) = 1.74, $p = .18$. The overall model was not significant $R^2 = .03$, $adj R^2 = .01$, $F(4, 232) = 1.64$, $p = .165$.

Hypothesis 1: Teachers with less experience will experience more work-family conflict than those with more experience. Analyses were conducted to find out if teachers with less teaching experience reported more work-family conflict than teachers with more teaching experience. Results revealed no significant correlation between number of teaching experience with 1) time WIF ($r = .06$, $p = .25$), 2) time FIW ($r = -.06$, $p = .24$), 3) strain WIF ($r = .03$, $p = .64$), and 4) strain FIW ($r = -.05$, $p = .31$).

However there was a relationship between teaching experience and other stressors. That is, teaching experience correlated positively with number of children ($r = .36$, $p < .01$), lessons per week ($r = .15$, $p < .01$), average class size ($r = .15$, $p < .01$). However, it correlated negatively with relative support ($r = -.11$, $p < .05$) and flexibility in reporting ($r = -.11$, $p < .05$). A teacher with more experience had more children of her own, more lessons per week, and bigger class sizes, but less relative support and less flexibility in her reporting and leaving time from school.

Hypothesis 2: (Location) teachers who work in the Nairobi city and its surroundings will have more work-family conflict compared to those who work in

towns. A second hypothesis was posited to find out if the intensity of city life influenced the level of work-family conflict a teacher experienced. There were two types of locations: town (Wote, Machakos, and Eldoret municipalities) and city (Nairobi and surrounding suburbs). Analyses revealed a significant difference in the amount of WFC experienced by the female teachers based on their work location. That is, those working in Nairobi experienced more WFC and reported more negativity in general regarding work life balance than those working in towns. Specific findings are reported below.

Time WIF. Time WIF was not significant; Levene test was not significant ($F = .00, p = .99$) towns ($M = 3.53; SD = .92$) Nairobi ($M = 3.42; SD = .87$); $t(367) = 1.19, p = .24$. This implies there was no difference in time pressures to do with time WIF experienced by teachers in Nairobi or towns.

Time FIW. Levene test ($F = .84, p = .36$) was not significant. The scores for towns ($M = 2.18; SD = .89$) were lower compared to the Nairobi ($M = 2.46, SD = .89$), $t(367) = -2.98, p = .003, \eta^2 = 0.02$. Confidence interval (CI) ranged from $-.46$ to $-.09$. This implies that female teachers in the Nairobi area experienced more family time pressures, which interfered with work compared to those working in towns.

Strain WIF. Levene test was significant ($F = 4.77, p = .030$). The scores for towns ($M = 3.02; SD = .98$) were lower compared to that of Nairobi ($M = 3.27, SD = .87$), $t(350) = -2.56, p = .011, \eta^2 = 0.02$ confidence interval range from $-.44$ to $-.06$. Female teachers in Nairobi experienced more work strain, which interfered with the family compared to those from towns. Strain FIW: Levene test ($F = .00, p = .955$) was not significant. The scores of towns ($M = 2.13, SD = .91$) were lower compared to that of

the Nairobi ($M = 2.35, SD = .89$), $t(366) = -2.29, p = .023, \eta^2 = 0.01$, confidence interval -.40 to -.30. Female teachers in the Nairobi experienced more strain in the family, which interferes with their work compared to those in towns.

Other findings.

Emotional exhaustion. Levene test of unequal variance was assumed ($F = 3.91, p = .049$). The scores of the towns ($M = 2.90, SD = 1.46$) were smaller compared to that of Nairobi ($M = 3.20; SD = 1.34$), $t(364) = -2.06, p = .041, \eta^2 = .01$ confidence interval -5.84 to -.01. Teachers from Nairobi experienced more emotional exhaustion compared to those in towns.

Cynicism. Levene test was not significant ($F = .54, p = .462$). The scores from towns ($M = 1.87, SD = 1.36$) was lower compared to Nairobi ($M = 2.25, SD = 1.41$), $t(370) = -2.61, p = .010, \eta^2 = 0.02$ confidence interval ranged from -.66 to -.09. Teachers in the Nairobi were more cynical in their work compared to those of towns.

Professional efficacy. Levene test was not significant ($F = .25, p = .616$). Towns ($M = 5.13, SD = .98$) reported higher professional efficacy compared to Nairobi ($M = 4.90; SD = .94$), $t(370) = 2.27, p = .024, \eta^2 = 0.01$, confidence interval ranged from .030 to .42. Teachers in towns expressed higher levels of professional efficacy compared to their counterparts in the Nairobi.

Supervisor support. Levene test ($F = .03, p = .86$). Towns ($M = 3.57, SD = 1.11$) reported higher supervisor support scores compared to Nairobi ($M = 3.16, SD = 1.12$), $t(365) = 3.59, p < .001, \eta^2 = .03$, confidence interval ranged from .19 to .65. Teachers in

towns had the perception that supervisors supported them more than teachers in the Nairobi location.

Support from colleagues. Levene test ($F = .00, p = .965$). Towns ($M = 3.51, SD = 1.04$) reported higher scores of support from colleagues compared to Nairobi ($M = 3.29, SD = 1.05$), $t(363) = 2.06, p .040, \eta^2 = 0.01$, confidence interval ranged from .011 to .44. Teachers in towns had the perception that they enjoyed more support from their colleagues compared to teachers in Nairobi.

Research Question 1d: Do teachers' specific stressors explain unique variance in work-family conflict above and beyond that explained by generic work and family stressors? This question sought to find out if the nature of the stressor(s), whether generic (experienced by other professions) or specific (occurring only in teaching) influenced the level of work-family conflict experienced by teachers. In my study, the teachers' work specific stressors were: teaching experience, number of lessons per week, average class size, investment in time and emotion in student behavior issues (student behavior), and time and emotion investment in students' parents. Generic stressors were: supervisor support, support from colleagues, flexibility of working hours, and number of days participating beyond school hours* (teachers have to be in school from around 8.00 am to 5.00 pm).

The family generic stressors were: number of children, spousal support, and relative support*, and house help support* (I added relative support and house help support in my model). My dependent variables were the four sub-constructs of the family-work conflict as described in previous research (time WIF, time FIW, strain WIF,

and strain FIW). I entered the generic family stressors in the first group and generic work stressors in the second step and specific teacher stressors in the third step. A hierarchical regression was conducted to find if specific work stressors add more variance than generic work stressors to time WIF (see Table 5).

In the first model, the relationship between generic family predictors and time WIF was not significant, $R^2 = .02$, adjusted $R^2 = .001$, $F(4, 206) = 1.1$, $p = .37$. The second model of work generic stressors added significant variance over and above the generic family stressors R^2 -change = .05, F -change (4, 202) = 2.74, $p = .03$. The third model of specific work stressors was barely significant; it did not predict significantly over and above generic work stressors and generic family stressors R^2 -change = .045, F -change = (5, 197) = 2.02, $p = .08$. The overall model was significant, $R^2 = .12$, adjusted $R^2 = .06$, $F(13, 197) = 1.99$, $p = .02$.

In the first model of generic family stressors, none of the regression coefficients was significant: the number of children in the household ($\beta = .131$, $t = 1.89$, $p = .06$), spousal support ($\beta = .010$, $t = .14$, $p = .89$), house help support ($\beta = .03$, $t = .37$, $p = .72$), or relatives support ($\beta = -.05$, $t = -.67$, $p = .50$).

In the second model of generic work stressors, the regression coefficient of the number of days a participant worked beyond school hours was significant ($\beta = .18$, $t = 2.63$, $p = .009$); the other generic work stressors were not significant: flexibility in reporting time ($\beta = -.11$, $t = 1.53$, $p = .13$), supervisor support ($\beta = .07$, $t = .80$, $p = .42$), and support from colleagues' ($\beta = -.04$, $t = -.52$, $p = .61$).

In the third model of specific work stressors, the number of days a participant worked beyond school hours was significant ($\beta = .15$, $t = 2.1$, $p = .04$), as was the number of children in the household ($\beta = .16$, $t = 2.18$, $p = .03$). The rest of specific stressors were not: number of lessons per week ($\beta = .07$, $t = .90$, $p = .37$), years of teaching experience ($\beta = -.14$, $t = -1.94$, $p = .05$), average class size ($\beta = .12$, $t = 1.77$, $p = .078$), investment in time and emotion in student behavior issues (student behavior) ($\beta = -.03$, $t = -.32$, $p = .75$), and time and emotion investment in students' parents ($\beta = .13$, $t = 1.50$, $p = .14$).

Table 5

Generic Work and Family Stressors and Teachers' Specific Stressors and Time WIF

Predictor variables	B	SE B	β	ΔR^2
Step 1				.02
Number of children	.09	.05	.13	
Spousal support	.01	.06	.01	
Relatives support	-.04	.06	-.05	
House help support	.02	.06	.03	
Step 2				.05
No. of days participant worked				
Beyond school	.11	.04	.18*	
Flexibility in reporting	-.12	.08	-.11	
Support from colleagues	-.04	.07	-.04	
Supervisor support	.05	.07	.07	
Step 3				.05
Number of days beyond	.09	.04	.15*	
No. of children	.11	.05	.16*	
-lessons per week	.01	.01	.07	
-average class size	.01	.01	.12	
Number of teaching experience	-.02	.01	-.14	
Students' parents	.05	.03	.13	
Student behavior	-.01	.03	-.03	

Note: Total $R^2 = .12$; adjusted $R^2 = .06$; $F(13, 197) = 1.99$, $p = .024$; * $p < .05$ ** $p < .001$

In order to further understand the relationship between marital status and WFC and the role of spousal support, I conducted the same regression analyses for family generic stressors, work generic stressors, and specific teachers' stressors with only single respondents [i.e., teachers with no husband either out of choice, divorce, or separation, with children (N = 59)]. However, because of missing data, there were only 23 cases in the final analysis, making interpretation of these results very difficult. For time WIF, the first model was not significant $\Delta R^2 = .22$, $\Delta F(3, 19) = 1.18$, $p < .18$. The second model was not significant $\Delta R^2 = .145$, $\Delta F(4, 15) = .86$, $p < .51$. The third model was significant $R^2 = .40$, $F(5, 10) = 3.37$, $p < .048$. The overall model was not significant (barely not significant) $R^2 = .77$, $\text{adj } R^2 = .48$, $F(12, 10) = 2.71$, $p = .06$.

When I controlled for the influence of school location, time WIF results did not change significantly. The only change was that the number of children regression coefficient was significant in all the three models. Results for the first model were, $\Delta R^2 = .029$, $\Delta F(5, 205) = 1.25$, $p = .29$; for the second model, $\Delta R^2 = .05$, $\Delta F(4, 201) = 2.75$, $p = .03$; and for the third model, $\Delta R^2 = .05$, $\Delta F(5, 196) = 2.04$, $p = .08$.

The overall regression model, ($R^2 = .125$, $\text{adj } R^2 = .06$, $F(14, 196) = 2.01$, $p = .02$) was significant. Regression coefficients for the number of children in the first model was ($\beta = .16$, $t = 2.21$, $p = .03$), in the second model the regression coefficient for the number of children was ($\beta = .15$, $t = 2.05$, $p = .04$), number of days participant worked beyond school days ($\beta = .18$, $t = 2.63$, $p = .01$), and in the third model, the regression coefficients for the number of children was ($\beta = .19$, $t = 2.46$, $p = .02$).

Time FIW.

Table 6

Generic Work and Family Stressors, and Teachers' Specific Stressors and Time FIW

Predictor variables	B	SE B	β	ΔR^2
Model 1				.01
Number of children	.05	.05	.07	
Spouse support	-.04	.06	-.05	
Relative support	-.01	.06	-.01	
House help support	.06	.06	.08	
Model 2				.02
Number of days worked beyond	-.02	.04	-.03	
Supervisor support	-.01	.07	.02	
College support	.08	.07	.10	
Flexibility in reporting	.12	.08	.09	
Model 3				.02
How many lessons per week	.00	.01	.00	
Number of teaching experience	-.00	.01	.03	
Average class size	-.01	.01	.11	
Student parents	.03	.03	.08	
Student behavior	-.03	.04	.08	

*Note: Total $R^2 = .05$; adjusted $R^2 = -.01$; $F(13, 197) = .77$, $p = .69$; * $p < .05$ ** $p < .001$*

For the singles sample, the first model was not significant $R^2 = .08$, $F(3, 19) = .513$, $p = .68$, the second model was significant $\Delta R^2 = .44$, $\Delta F(5, 10) = 3.35$, $p = .038$, the third model was not significant $\Delta R^2 = .25$, $\Delta F(5, 10) = 2.17$, $p = .139$. Overall regression model was not significant, $R^2 = .77$ adj $R^2 = .48$, $F(12, 10) = 2.72$, $p = .06$. For the

regression coefficients, relative support was significant in the first model ($\beta = -.80$, $t = -2.30$, $p = .04$). In the second model, number of teaching experience was significant ($\beta = -.45$, $t = -2.33$, $p = .04$).

When I controlled for the school location (city or urban) the overall regression model was not significant $R^2 = .09$; *adjusted* $R^2 = .02$; $F(14, 196) = 1.35$, $p = .18$; only the urban location was significant in all the three models. Regression coefficients for urban location for model 1 was ($\beta = .03$, $t = 2.79$, $p = .006$); model 2 was ($\beta = .03$, $t = 2.95$, $p = .004$); and model 3 was ($\beta = .03$, $t = 2.92$, $p = .004$).

The singles sample was not significant, $R^2 = .46$ *adj* $R^2 = -.19$, $F(12, 10) = 7.09$, $p = .72$. Also, none of the regression coefficients were significant. When I controlled for school location, the overall regression was not significant; neither were the regression coefficients, $R^2 = .05$; *adjusted* $R^2 = -.02$; $F(14, 195) = .76$, $p = .72$.

Strain WIF.

Table 7

Generic Work and Family Stressors and Teachers' Specific Stressors, and Strain WIF

Predictor variables	B	SE B	β	ΔR^2
Model 1				.02
Number of children	.04	.05	.06	
Spouse support	-.07	.07	-.07	
Relative support	-.07	.06	-.08	
House help support	.01	.06	.01	
Model 2				
Number of days worked beyond	.08	.05	.12	.02
Supervisor support	.01	.07	.01	
Support from colleagues	-.08	.07	-.09	
Flexibility in reporting	.00	.08	.00	
Model 3				.01
How many lessons per week	.00	.01	.03	
Number of teaching experience	-.01	.01	-.06	
Average class size	-.00	.01	-.02	
Student parents	.03	.03	.08	
Student behavior	.01	.04	.01	

Note: Total $R^2 = .05$; adjusted $R^2 = -.01$; $F(13, 196) = .82$, $p = .64$; * $p < .05$ ** $p < .001$

Strain FIW.

Table 8

Generic Work Stressors, Specific Work Stressors, and Family Stressors and Strain FIW

Predictor variables	B	SE B	β	ΔR^2
Model 1				.02
Number of children	.03	.05	.05	
Spouse support	-.06	.06	-.07	
Relative support	-.07	.05	-.10	
House help support	.04	.06	.05	
Model 2				.04
Number of days worked beyond	.10	.04	.19	
Supervisor support	.01	.07	.02	
Support from colleagues	-.04	.07	-.05	
Flexibility in reporting	.10	.08	.09	
Model 3				.01
How many lessons per week	-.01	.01	-.05	
Number of teaching experience	-.01	.01	-.06	
Average class size	-.00	.01	-.02	
Student parents	.02	.03	.05	
Student behavior	-.03	.04	-.09	

Note: Total $R^2 = .07$; adjusted $R^2 = .01$; $F(13, 197) = 1.14$, $p = .33$; * $p < .05$ ** $p < .001$

The singles sample was not significant, $R^2 = .47$ adj $R^2 = -.18$, $F(12, 10) = 7.27$, $p = .70$. When I controlled for school location, the overall regression was not significant, but the regression coefficients for urban location were significant, $R^2 = .09$; adjusted $R^2 = .03$; $F(14, 196) = 1.43$, $p = .141$. For regression coefficient for urban location in model 1 was ($\beta = .15$, $t = 2.10$ $p = .04$), model 2, the regression coefficient for urban location (β

=.15, $t = 2.14$, $p = .03$), and number of days participant worked beyond school hours ($\beta = .19$, $t = 2.69$, $p = .008$) were significant. In model 3, urban location ($\beta = .16$, $t = 2.21$, $p = .03$), and number of days participant worked beyond school hours ($\beta = .19$, $t = 2.69$, $p = .008$) were significant.

SECTION 3: Support Variables and Work-Family Conflict

Research Question 2: Is there a relationship between the various forms of support: house girl, extended family, spouse, colleagues, and supervisor and work-family conflict? This section describes the answer to research question 2. The sources of support measured in this study were: supervisor and colleagues from school, and spouse, relatives, and househelp from home. To answer this research question, I used both quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative data were the work-family conflict sub-constructs (time WIF, time FIW, strain WIF and strain FIW) used as criteria to find out if support variables contributed significant variation in the regression model. The four predictor support variables were supervisor support, support from colleagues, spousal support, relative support, and house help support. Results revealed that the model was not significant for these WFC subconstructs.

1. The criterion time WIF.

Table 9

Forms of Support and Time WIF

<i>Predictor variables</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>β</i>
Supervisor support	.06	.06	.08
Support from colleagues	-.02	.07	-.03
Spousal support	-.01	.07	-.01
Relative support	-.05	.06	-.06
House help support	.02	.06	.03

Note: Total $R^2 = .01$, adjusted $R^2 = -.02$, $F(5, 225) = .30$, $p = .91$. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .001$

Controlling for spousal support did not have significant results. The model 1 was not significant, $R^2 = .007$, adjusted $R^2 = -.015$, $F(5, 225) = .301$, $p = .912$.

Controlling for school location (city or town) was not significant with time WIF, $R^2 = .01$, adj $R^2 = -.02$, $F(6, 224) = .40$, $p = .88$. The criterion time FIW for the singles sample did not have significant results.

2. Time FIW.

Table 10

Forms of Support and Time FIW

<i>Predictor variables</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>β</i>
Supervisor support	.05	.06	.06
Support from colleagues	.07	.07	.08
Spouse support	-.11	.07	-.12
Relative support	-.04	.06	-.06
House help support	.05	.06	.06

*Total R² = .02, adjusted R² = .00, F(5, 225) = 1.1, p = .37 *p <.05 ** p <.001*

Controlling for spousal support did not have significant results $R^2 = .024$, $adjusted R^2 = .002$, $F(5, 225) = 1.09$, $p = .37$. Controlling for school location (city or town) was significant with time FIW; in the first model, urban area was significant $\Delta R^2 = .030$, $\Delta F(1, 229) = 7.02$, $p = .009$; in the model 2 $\Delta R^2 = .02$, $\Delta F(5, 224) = 1.12$, $p = .35$. The overall model WIF, $R^2 = .05$, $adj R^2 = .03$, $F(6, 224) = 2.11$, $p = .05$. For regression coefficients, in model 1 school location was significant, ($\beta = .17$, $t = 2.65$, $p = .009$). In model 2, only school location was significant ($\beta = .18$, $t = 2.66$, $p = .008$). The support regression coefficients were not significant.

3. The criterion strain WIF.

Table 11

Forms of Support and Strain WIF

<i>Predictor variables</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>β</i>
Supervisor support	-.03	.07	-.04
Support from colleagues	-.06	.07	-.06
Spouse support	-.03	.07	-.03
Relative support	-.05	.06	-.07
House help support	.02	.06	.03

*Total R² = .02, adjusted R² = -.00, F(5, 224) = .84, p = .53 *p<.05 ** p<.001*

Controlling for spousal support did not have significant results, $R^2 = .02$, *adjusted* $R^2 = -.00$, $F(5, 224) = .84$, $p = .53$. Controlling for urban location was not significant with strain WIF, $R^2 = .02$, *adj R² = -.01*, $F(6, 223) = .70$, $p = .65$. The regression coefficients were not significant.

4.The criterion was strain FIW.

Table 12

Forms of Support and Strain FIW

<i>Predictor variables</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>β</i>
Supervisor support	.03	.06	.04
Support from colleague	-.02	.07	-.02
Spouse support	-.08	.07	-.09
Relative support	-.07	.06	-.09
House help support	.04	.06	.05

$R^2 = .02$, *adjusted R*² = -.00, $F(5, 225) = .80$, $p = .55$ * $p <.05$ ** $p <.001$

Controlling for spousal support did not have significant results. $R^2 = .02$, *adjusted R*² = -.00, $F(5, 225) = .80$, $p = .55$. Controlling for area (city or town) was not significant with time WIF, $R^2 = .03$, *adj R*² = .00, $F(6, 224) = 1.16$, $p = .33$.

The regressions did not show significant results. However, correlational analysis and qualitative data depict a different scenario. The support variables were positively correlated to each other. For example, supervisor support was positively correlated with support from colleagues ($r = .457$, $p <.01$), spouse support ($r = .370$, $p <.01$), relatives support ($r = .342$, $p <.01$), and house help support ($r = .154$, $p <.05$). Supervisor support was negatively correlated with strain WIF ($r = -.120$ $p <.05$) and two stressors: emotional

investment in student parents ($r = .147, p < .01$) and emotional investment in student behavior ($r = .118, p < .05$).

Support from colleague was negatively correlated with strain WIF ($r = -.126, p < .05$), and positively correlated to two stressors: emotional investment in students' parents ($r = .126, p < .05$), and emotional investment in student behavior ($r = .178, p < .001$). In order to cope with the demands of parents and discipline problem in schools, the support of the supervisor and from colleagues was very important. Support from colleagues and the supervisor enabled the teacher to reduce the fatigue caused by strain WIF.

Spousal support was not correlated with any of the WFC subconstructs, but it was positively correlated with the number of days the teacher worked beyond school hours and negatively correlated to flexibility in reporting and leaving time ($r = -.120, p < .05$). This shows that spousal support was very important to enable the teacher to work late at school and cope with inflexibility of the school schedule.

Relative support was negatively correlated to the strain WIF ($r = -.12, p < .05$), the number of teaching experience ($r = -.11, p < .05$), and positively correlated to investment in student parents ($r = .12, p < .05$). House help support was positively correlated with number of lessons a teacher had in a week ($r = -.14, p < .05$). Teaching many lessons implies a greater work load, which made the teacher tired. Thus househelp support at home enabled the teacher to cope with the strain of teaching many classes.

Overall, the regression analysis did not show a relation between social support variables and WFC for the female teachers. One explanation could be the relatively small

correlation coefficients. These correlation coefficients disappeared in the regression models. Controlling for school location and spousal support did not alter the results .

In this paragraph I summarise the findings of quantitative variable of stressors, WFC, and support. I found that marital status and number of years of teaching experience did not influence WFC in the regression models. I found there was a relationship between number of children and the number of days a teacher spent beyond school hours with time WIF, but no relationship of stressors with other WFC subconstructs. The age of the oldest child and number of children was related to time FIW. I did not find a significant relationship between the support variables and work-familyconflict.

In the next section, I use qualitative data to explore the relationship between various forms of support and work-family conflict. A look at the qualitative data shows that women received different forms of support: from supervisors, colleagues, spouses, relatives, and house help, which enabled them to reduce the level of work-family conflict they experienced.

Supervisor support. The first form of support the teacher received from school was from the supervisor. Teachers relied on their supervisor for help with emergencies, for moral support, material support, and empathetic listening; to manage workload, allow flexibility in reporting, and create a conducive working environment (see Table 13). Teachers faced various emergencies, such as a child falling ill, attending her own children's school functions, unavailability of house help, or when the house help terminated her employment without enough notice to allow the teacher to look for

another one. These emergencies caused the teachers to miss school or come late, or forced them to leave school early.

Head teachers (supervisors) offered support by giving permission for teachers to be absent. N373 reported, “My supervisor gives me permission to take my children to hospital when they are sick” (CB2 7D). Supervisors also offered moral support through counseling and offering advice to teachers on many topics, including how to manage time, reduce conflict between childcare and school work, make up for missed lessons, and relieve stress. Counselling from the supervisor was often accompanied by empathetic listening, especially when the teacher failed to meet the assigned school targets and expectations.

Teacher E414 noted, “Counselling when I seem stressed and advice that it will reach a time when this work will be less like housework and taking care of the infant.” Teachers noted the importance of their supervisors listening empathetically, especially when they faced challenges such as a sick child or lacked someone to leave children with rather than passing judgment on the lack of seriousness of the teachers’ work. Teacher E410 reported that her supervisor was “supporting in times of need such as when missing house helps and recovering the lost classes later” (CB2 8D).

Some degree of flexibility in the time the teacher reported and left school was crucial to reduce work-family conflict. So was being assigned classes in a manner that may allow the teacher to attend to their children either in the morning or in the afternoon. Teacher E402 was happy to narrate, “I take late lessons for prep in the evening in order to have time to prepare children for school in the morning and breastfeed my baby” (CB2

2D). Some teachers reported that supervisors helped to create an environment conducive for effective teaching and learning through creating a friendly environment that accommodated mothers with young children. Supervisors also supplied the teaching materials required to make teaching and learning easier; supervisors helped to reduce workloads through reducing teaching loads by employing PTA teachers.

However, not all teachers had the above mentioned support from their supervisors (12%). Some supervisors were reportedly unaware of the challenges the teachers faced at home with housework and childcare or cared little about it. For some supervisors, this apparent lack of support could be due to the pressure of wanting good results at all costs. These teachers reported that they could be assigned classes or remedial teaching at odd times such as early morning, e.g. 6:30 am, or very late, or the supervisor held the belief that childcare and housework concerns are private affairs and none of his/her business. As teacher E432 put it, “There is no cooperation, because the supervisor wants perfection in regards to the time of arrival, and the mean score to be the best. Always you should time yourself or plan yourself” (CB2 10D).

Otherwise, some staff thought that juggling work and family was their personal business, and they do not need to involve their supervisor; this was the case of teacher N396: “The supervisor may not help much because the school program has to run. Therefore, it is up to me to juggle between the household responsibilities and school work, including attending assemblies at 7:20 am and remedial lessons as early as 6:30 am” (CB2 10D). Or there is no such help, as E409 puts it: “I think there is no help especially when it comes to childcare and housework responsibilities” (CB2 10D).

Table 13

Supervisor Support

Category	Number of participants'	% of N 375
Cater (deal with) emergencies	160	43
Moral support	85	23
Understanding /listening	71	19
Flexibility in reporting	56	15
Exceptions	45	12
Manage workload	43	11
Conducive working environment	37	10
Material support	26	7
Reward performance	8	2

Support from colleague. The second form of support teachers received from the school was from their colleagues. In the order of frequency, teachers reported that support from colleagues (see Table 1 for descriptive data) was relied upon for: standby arrangements (filling in when other teachers were absent), moral support, reducing workload, creating a conducive work environment, the search for domestic workers, financial support, and empathetic understanding (see Table 18). The most frequent support from colleague was in the form of standby arrangements, where colleagues

would substitute for each other. For example, in the case where a teacher was late or unable to attend school due to a sick child or lack of a house help, colleagues would take her classes and assign students in these classes work or take up other duties on behalf of the absent teacher. As N329 said, “Colleagues can stand in for me during my lessons or invigilation (supervision of exams) in case of emergency. Not all of them can do that though” (CB3 8D).

Colleagues also offered moral support to the teacher when she was beaten down by the pressures of work and family. Another form of support from colleagues was when older female colleagues educated the younger women on childcare issues, such as teething and supervising homework. In addition, colleagues offered emotional support, i.e. a shoulder to cry on and prayers when the teacher was stressed. Teacher A260 found her colleagues a source of comfort and remarked, “Chatting on issues pertaining childcare and housework responsibilities gives you a sigh of relief” (CB3 5D).

Colleagues also offered support by enabling other teachers to reduce their workloads. For instance, some colleagues organized team teaching and marking, and assisted in preparing teaching aids and researching for teaching resources. N351 had this experience to share: “The teacher in charge of the timetable helps me by creating a manageable work schedule” (CB3 3D). Colleagues also helped to find house helps for each other. In addition, in many schools there were welfare clubs (called “merry go rounds”) in which teachers raised money so they could then borrow money from these welfare clubs to help in case of personal emergencies. Teacher W27 remarked, “We

usually have ‘merry go around’ to improve our living standards at school and home” (CB3 3D).

Some colleagues were very understanding when the teacher failed to meet the deadlines due to family situations. On the other hand, lack of understanding regarding these situations would sometimes create some conflict or poor working relations. Analyses of the responses seemed to suggest that colleagues shape to some degree the culture that is found in a school.

For instance, some teachers described their school as a friendly, peaceful, working environment where support from colleagues helped each other through team teaching, sharing valuable experiences and knowledge as regards home and work, and felt free to share their problems that they face at work and home. This was the experience of teacher W129: “By relating well with my colleagues especially female teachers who are experienced in marriage and profession. They've always encouraged me and also advised me whenever in need. We also do team teaching and consultations in academic matters which enables me... to perform my duties effectively” (CB3 7D).

However, not all teachers had supportive colleagues around them, but these seemed to be exceptions. Respondents reported that in schools that were understaffed, teachers could only rely on teacher trainees to lower their teaching loads. Additional reasons given for lack of support from colleagues were: it was hard for specialized subject teachers (such as French) who had no one else in the same area of expertise, and some absenteeism was not viewed as genuine, especially by male colleagues who failed to understand the pressures that young mothers go through. Surprisingly, some

colleagues resented when the head teacher was lenient toward a particular teacher experiencing work-family conflict challenges.

Furthermore, some colleagues encouraged strife through gossip and backbiting. Teacher N378 had this to say: “ My colleagues don’t help at all. They tend to view it as none of their business and in most cases they are the ones working for my downfall. There is this problem of being envious when they notice even a little favor from my supervisor,” (CB3 9D). In summary, these results reveal that support from colleagues helped to reduce the work-family conflict that teachers experienced as they attempted to combine work and family responsibilities.

Table 14

Support from Colleagues

Category	Number of participants'	% of (N 375
Standby /stand in	169	45
Moral support	154	41
Reduce workload	89	24
Search for domestic workers	46	12
Conducive environment	54	14
Financial support	15	4
Exception	14	4
Understanding and listening	10	3

Spousal support. Concerning support from the family, the first type of help that teacher received to minimize work-family conflict was from their spouses. The degree of spousal support varied from teacher to teacher, with some receiving more support, others less, and others none. The most support from spouse was in reducing workload followed by advice and encouragement and financial support. The other forms of support were minimal, such as marking school work, empathetic listening, and creating a comfortable space to reduce time and strain pressures (see Table 15).

The teachers' spouses to some extent enabled the teachers to handle the workload. For instance, spouses prepare themselves for work by polishing their own shoes and heating their own bath water. Other forms of spousal support were dropping off and picking up children from school, checking and signing children's homework, attending children's school open days (e.g., parents' day), staying home with a sick child, and taking over the housework tasks when the wife was absent. Teacher N301 had this to say concerning her spouse "He assists the child in pre-unit (crèche) to do his homework. He does some household jobs such as cleaning/polishing family shoes, ironing clothes thus enabling me to work in school while not very tired" (CB4 3D).

A few of the respondents reported that their spouses helped them to alleviate time pressures, especially in the morning and evenings. For example, they would drive their wives to school so that they can reduce commuting time, or compensate the time taken by housework, or take their families to eat out for lunch to avoid cooking. Teacher A189 was happy to narrate, "My spouse steps in to assist especially in the morning when there is crisis of preparing for work and preparing the child for school" (CD8D). Though this

experience was only for a few (4%). Some spouses who were teachers themselves helped their wives in grading or preparing teaching aids.

Some spouses provided the financial support to hire house helps or caretakers to reduce the strain and time pressures on their wives. Some spouses' support enabled wives to create an environment conducive to combining work and family. The spouses did this by creating an atmosphere of security and love, giving their wives ample time at home for marking, or standing in for them so that the wives could have time to complete school work. Spouses avoided quarrels and treated the house helps with respect. Teacher N307 had this to say: "He makes sure I do my professional work adequately and is able to let me attend fully to my school work" (CB4 7D).

In addition, respondents noted that their husband offered moral support by appreciating their work and giving advice on how to tackle conflicts that arise from work, housework and childcare challenges. MS 195 reported, "He encourages me and advises me in which ways I can accomplish my responsibilities" (CB4 6D). The teachers expected their husbands to empathetically listen and understand them without passing judgment. There were times the housework could build up and not get performed to perfection, or the needs of the husbands and children were temporarily ignored. As for the case of teacher A189, "Understanding in case some duties are not done in time (CB45D); or for teacher A23, the husband understood and "did not mind" if she stayed late to do school work (CB4 5D).

However, not all women received support from their spouses. Some teachers faced conflicts from their spouses due to coming home late from school or neglecting

childcare or housework. Some spouses had more demanding careers, as the case of N305: “He does not help in housework since his work is very involving so he comes home late and very tired to help in doing anything, instead he also needs my care” (CB4 9D).

Some men, probably due to cultural constraints, rarely helped with childcare and then only with the older children. Teacher E418 had this to say: “In my Kalenjin tribe, our spouses do not take care of children. The customs do not allow until when the child is about five years. They can prepare their own food but not for the children” (CB4 9D). Thus, the care of small children and cooking was solely the responsibility of the wife. Some spouses worked out of town and came home only over the weekends. Some men were irresponsible, as was the spouse of A402. She remarked, “He does not help in any way, he drinks a lot” (CB4 9D). From this discussion, we can conclude that spousal reduced work-family conflict for some teachers.

Table 15

Spousal Support

Category	Number of participants'	% of N 375
Reduce workload	202	54
Advice and encouragement	54	14
Financial support	41	11
Listening and understanding	21	6
Conducive environment	21	6
No support	21	6
Reduce time pressures	15	4
Marking school work	12	3

House help support. The second form of support that teacher received from the home to reduce work-family conflict was house help (domestic worker) support. Teachers noted that house helps helped mostly to relieve workload pressures at home. Some were live-in, and others were day workers. They took care of children while the teacher was away at school, did minor shopping errands, cooked, and cleaned. Teacher A236 had this to say concerning her house help: “She’s my co-worker even I engage her in simple responsibility like adding up school marks and even taking my children to school, assisting them to do homework therefore enabling me to cope with all these responsibilities” (CB5 4D).

Lack of house help or their unreliability was cited as a reason for tardiness at school. Thus the support of house helps was very crucial, and teachers required good workers. A house help was required to adequately perform her tasks, such as feeding children properly, keeping the house in order, ensuring children are neatly dressed when they go to school, and loving and caring for the children. Teacher N365 sums up these characteristics of a house help: “Being reliable, flexible and ready to learn” (CB5 3D). In addition, house help was to have “a good relationship with the children i.e. showing tender loving care” (N 292, CB5 3D).

The opposite of a good worker was one who would perform her work without due care or terminate her service without prior notice. As was the experience of N378: “Last year my house girl ... woke up very early, prepared breakfast for me and fed my baby. But later on she decided to be bad, packed and went, mercilessly leaving my baby with my mother-in-law who had come for treatment. So house girls are stressful and there

for our downfall. She could not even care for the baby well. My baby could use one diaper and it could be full until my baby could not crawl well. So she added up stress instead of helping me” (CB5 7D). Thus for some women, they got very little support from their house help and instead their house helps added to their work-family conflict. In addition, some teachers could not afford the services of a house help and had to do everything by themselves.

A few teachers (5%) reported that their house helps even acted as surrogate parents for their children, especially when the mother was away at work, e.g., taking the children to hospital when they fell suddenly ill, representing the parents at the child’s school, ensuring children were well behaved, as well as loving the children. Teacher A212 shared this: “The house help is very good to my children and she has helped me undergo difficulties. One time she took my child back to hospital because I didn’t want to go to ask for permission and avoid questions I had to answer” (CB5 5D). Teacher MS 151 also reported strong (maybe too strong!) support from her house help: “She actually plays the role of a mother to my children. The children love their house girl more than their mother” (CB5 5D).

The way the teacher and the house help related to each other to some degree influenced the atmosphere created at home to reduce work and family conflict. The manner in which the house help handled her duties enabled the teacher to have more time at home, either to catch up with school work or to have enough rest for the following day’s work. While at work, the teacher could have peace of mind and confidence. Teacher W1 shared her experience: “When at home, I can prepare lessons or mark

because she is handling house chores. She gives me peace of mind to concentrate on my work because she takes care of the baby and house” (CB5 2D).

Teacher A219 echoed, “There were cases of emergency where I was not allowed permission e.g. a child falling sick while I was at work. I instructed her on what to do and she did it” (CB5 2D). If the house help handled the house chores adequately, this reduced conflicts between herself and the teacher. Teacher A204 described how this works: “Being punctual in her work and trying her level best to do the right things through asking on areas she is not conversant with. This minimizes quarrels in the house and everybody feels relaxed” (CB5 2D).

Very few house helps (1%) also offered moral support to the teacher, as was the experience of K136: “She has assisted me a lot psychologically, morally, name it all. She was always there for me and my children” (CB5 6D). In sum, I can conclude that house help support helped to reduce work-family conflict that the teacher experienced.

Table 16

Domestic Worker Support (House Help)

Category	Number of participants'	% of N 375
Reduce workload	193	51
Conducive environment	62	17
Good worker	23	6
Surrogate parent	17	5
Moral support	5	1

Support from relatives. Another form of support available to the teacher was support from relatives. The teachers reported that their relatives' support came mainly in reducing their workload at home, followed by offering advice and encouragements, and stepping in at home in case the house help was absent. Teachers reported that occasionally relatives empathetically listened or assisted in school related activities, searched for domestic workers, or kept an eye on what was happening at home when the teacher was away at school.

Relatives reduced the teacher's workload by assisting with house chores, childcare, and even farm work. Teacher W117 described how her siblings help her out, saying, "I have lived with my younger sisters and brothers who have been of great help to me. They help in the housework especially taking care of my son as I do my duties. I have been able to attend to duties that require me to spend the night away from home and I do so comfortably because I know my son is in safe hands" (CB6 3D). Some teachers working in towns commuted from the rural areas; these teachers had more access to relatives than those living in Nairobi.

The teachers also reported that they looked to their relatives to offer moral support and empathetically understand when they faced challenges of combining work and family responsibilities. A212 shared her experience: "My family members encourage me. I remember my mother encouraging me when I was doing a course in a far university and I had a new born baby. I thank God for her because due to the advice I got from her, my girl is doing well even after leaving her with only one month" (CB6 2D).

The relatives would also be called upon to step in case the house help was not available, and this would enable the teacher not to miss school as well. The relatives also searched for house helps. The teachers generally expected their relatives to create a supportive environment by not adding extra stress to their busy lives. For example, N371 expressed this expectation: “Family members that live with me have helped me cope with these challenges by assisting me when I'm tired, giving me peace and also encouraging me” (CB6 6D). The same idea was echoed by A270: “By giving me time to do my school work after finishing the household chores” (CB6 6D). However, relatives who live with teachers can add more stress if they interfered with the time the teacher devotes to her work at home, or if they place extra demands on her. This called for understanding from these relatives.

Some educated relatives could help the teacher in simple school chores, such as grading students' work. Teacher W07 claimed that “some of them help me mark some papers especially those who are professionals” (CB6 8D). Finally, relatives would supervise the activities that took place at home while the teacher was at school, by overlooking the manner in which the house help handled the young children.

However, not all teachers reported the privilege of being assisted by relatives; there were exceptions. Some teachers did not live with relatives, and some preferred not to stay with relatives except for short visits. Sometimes the relatives were not available or had their own schedules to attend to. Others found relatives to be a source of stress, as expressed by teacher N353: “Some assist with house chores, others make life of everyone in the house a living hell i.e. not cooperative, disorganize the house help and even the

small ones, and create tensions. Others mislead and not mentors to the children” (CB6 10D). Beside support from relatives living near the teacher, the teacher got support from relatives that live far away and from neighbors and friends.

Table 17

Family Members Support (other than the Spouse and Children)

Category	Number of participants'	% of N 375
Reduce workload	204	54
Advice and encouragement	49	13
Standby/step in	37	10
Understanding	6	2
Keep an eye	5	1
Get domestic workers (house helps)	4	1
Conducive environment/ample time	3	0.8
School related tasks	3	0.8

Support from far family neighbors and friends. The greatest source of support from relatives living far from the teacher, neighbors, and friends was in advice and encouragement, followed by reduced workload, material support, and standby arrangements. The other forms of support such as empathetic understanding, keeping an

eye on the teacher's home, creating a conducive environment, and searching for house helps were minimal.

The far family (who do not live near the teacher), neighbors, and friends offered advice and encouragement to the teacher. They offered advice on how to manage the demands of work childcare and how to cope with house helps. The type of advice received was described by W86: "We shared about the challenges that face employed mothers who have to plan time for family and work" (CB7 7D). Neighbors and friends could also be called upon to reduce the workload the teacher faced, such as leaving children with them. Participant W118 had this experience to share: "I have had good friends and neighbors who support me whole heartedly. Sometimes I would contract some of my friends for money to look after my child. Others would even wash my house and clothes just as a way of assisting me" (CB7 2D). In case the house help was absent, these friends and neighbors would step in.

These relatives living far away as well as neighbors and friends gave the teacher material support such as parents sending foodstuffs, or being part of the same 'merry go round' for financial assistance. Sometimes the neighbors were called upon to pass a message to the house help and vice versa when the teacher was away. Friends who were teachers from other schools helped too, as participant teacher W1 noted: "Friends teaching in other schools have networked with me..." (CB7 3D).

Far family, friends and neighbors were also relied upon to search for house helps to hire. They even kept an eye on the home of the teacher when she was away in school and informed her in case of anomalies at the teachers' home, e.g., if the house help

misbehaves by bringing in strangers or leaving the children by themselves. The teachers expected her neighbors to provide a stress free environment at home, i.e. “keeping the environment free from noise pollution” (N370, CB7 8D). On other occasions, the teacher expected the neighbors and friends to empathetically understand her in case she failed to attend communal meetings and gatherings, the family to understand her in case she failed to attend important family meetings, or as MS200 puts it, “by not calling me late at night. Encouraging me through phone calls, by not being angry or quarrel when I miss to take their call because I was busy” (CB7 8D).

However, not all teachers enjoyed this type of support from their neighbors and friends or far family. Some teachers preferred not to bother their neighbors, friends, or far family to keep their children unless for very short periods of time. Or they did not have a network of friendly neighbors or friends. Thus the family that does not live with or near the teacher, neighbors, and friends could not be relied to reduce work-family conflict of the teachers.

I can conclude that each form of support varied slightly from the other in intensity and type. However, overall, these forms of support helped reduce the effects of work-family conflict that the teachers experienced. However, I cannot tell whether they were insufficient amounts, or in the time and manner the teacher expected.

Table 18

Far Family, Neighbors and Friends' Support

Category	Number of participants'	% of 375
Advice and encouragement	119	32
Reduce workload	68	18
Material support	47	13
Step in /standby	47	13
No support	34	9
Search for domestic workers	30	8
Keep an eye	20	5
Conducive environment	7	2
Understanding	5	1

SECTION 4: Burnout and Work-family Conflict

Apart from experiencing work-family conflict, teachers also experienced burnout. This section describes the results related to three hypotheses which sought to find out the extent to which work-family conflict, stressors, and support contributed to (or reduced) burnout. In each sub-section, I started by giving the correlational results, followed by regression results. I also sought to discover whether the regression results would be different if I controlled for school location.

Hypothesis 3: The more work-family conflict a teacher experiences, the more the burnout. Correlational results showed that emotional exhaustion was positively

correlated with time WIF ($r = .396, p < 0.01$); time FIW ($r = .108, p < 0.05$), strain WIF ($r = .487, p < 0.01$), and strain FIW ($r = .212, p < 0.01$). This indicates that time WIF, time FIW, strain WIF, and strain FIW contribute to emotional exhaustion for teachers working in cities. The correlations of strain are much stronger than the correlations of time.

Cynicism was correlated with time WIF ($r = .148, p < 0.01$), time FIW ($r = .229, p < 0.01$), strain WIF ($r = .258, p < 0.01$), and strain FIW ($r = .279, p < 0.01$). This demonstrates that time WIF, time FIW, strain WIF, and strain FIW contributed to cynicism for teachers working in urban areas.

Professional efficacy was significantly correlated with time WIF ($r = .106, p < 0.05$), time FIW ($r = -.182, p < 0.01$), and strain FIW ($r = -.264, p < 0.01$); however, the correlation with strain WIF was not significant ($r = -.045, p = .397$). Professional efficacy was positively correlated with time WIF. Spending more time at school related activities caused teachers to achieve high professional efficacy, but high professional efficacy was negatively correlated with time FIW and strain FIW. This indicates that the more the teacher was satisfied with her work, the lower the time FIW and strain FIW. However, there was no correlation between professional efficacies and strain WIF. This implies that high or low professional efficacy did not determine strain WIF for these teachers.

Overall, these results show that teachers actually experienced burnout.

Emotional exhaustion and WFC. A regression analysis was conducted to find out if emotional exhaustion was predicted by WFC. The dependent variable was emotional exhaustion, and the predictors were WFC constructs. The predictors were

centered to reduce multi-collinearity. Collinearity statistics were: time WIF, Tolerance = .80; Time FIW Tolerance = .74; strain WIF Tolerance = .71; strain FIW Tolerance = .68.

A regression model was conducted to find out if teachers with high work-family conflict experienced more emotional exhaustion. The results show that the relationship between emotional exhaustion and WFC constructs was significant, $R^2 = .29$, *adjusted R*² = .28, $F(4, 359) = 35.81$, $p < .001$. Regression coefficients (one tailed) show that time WIF ($\beta = .24$, $t = 4.81$, $p < .001$), and strain WIF ($\beta = .37$, $t = 6.86$, $p < .001$) contributed significant variance to emotional exhaustion, while time FIW ($\beta = -.04$, $t = -.74$, $p < .231$) and strain FIW ($\beta = .07$, $t = 1.27$, $p < .103$) did not.

This reveals that strain and time pressures from work did contribute to emotional exhaustion, but strain and time pressures from home did not contribute significantly to emotional burnout experienced by these urban teachers. Both the slopes of strain WIF and time WIF are positive, indicating a positive relationship between strain WIF and time WIF with burnout. Thus, hypothesis 3 is partly confirmed. The more work-family conflict a teacher experienced, the more the emotional exhaustion, but only in regard to strain WIF and time WIF.

When I controlled for school location, model 1 was not significant $R^2 = .01$, $F(1, 362) = 3.61$, $p = .06$. The second model was significant $\Delta R^2 = .29$, $\Delta F(4, 358) = 36.01$, $p < .001$. The overall model of emotional exhaustion and WFC was significant, $R^2 = .29$, *adjusted R*² = .28, $F(5, 358) = 29.81$, $p < .001$. Regression coefficients, model 1 school location was significant ($\beta = .10$, $t = 1.9$, $p = .03$, one tailed); in model 2 area was significant ($\beta = .10$, $t = 2.11$, $p = .02$, one tailed), time WIF ($\beta = .25$, $t = 4.96$, $p < .001$)

one tailed), and strain WIF ($\beta = .36, t = 6.85, p < .001$, one tailed). This implies the school location did influence the relationship between emotional exhaustion and WFC of the teacher on time WIF and strain WIF dimensions.

Cynicism and WFC. The dependent variable was cynicism, and predictors were WFC constructs. A regression model was conducted to find out if work-family conflict contributed to cynicism (depersonalization) among the urban teachers. The results show that the relationship between cynicism and WFC constructs was significant, $R^2 = .12$, *adjusted* $R^2 = .11, F(4, 359) = 11.89, p < .001$. The regression coefficient of time WIF ($\beta = .07, t = 1.18, p = .12$, one tailed) was not significant, but time FIW ($\beta = .10, t = 1.14, p = .043$, one tailed), strain WIF ($\beta = .15, t = 2.46, p = .007$ one tailed), and strain FIW ($\beta = .17, t = 2.78, p = .003$ one tailed) were significant. This implies that strain both from work (strain WIF), family (strain FIW) and time FIW contributed to cynicism, but time WIF did not. Hypothesis 3 is partly confirmed; the more the work-family conflict the more the cynicism, but only in regard to strain WIF, strain FIW, and time FIW.

When I controlled for school location, the model 1, $R^2 = .031, F(1, 362) = 11.64, p = .001$; model 2, $R^2 = .106, F(4, 358) = 10.96, p < .001$. The overall model of cynicism and WFC was significant, $R^2 = .137, \text{adj } R^2 = .125, F(5, 538) = 11.351, p < .001$. For regression coefficients model 1 school location was significant, ($\beta = .18, t = 3.41, p < .001$ one tailed); model 2 area ($\beta = .14, t = 2.87, p = .002$ one tailed), strain WIF ($\beta = .14, t = 2.42, p = .01$ one tailed) strain FIW ($\beta = .16, t = 2.65, p = .004$, one tailed). School location contributed to cynicism.

Professional efficacy and WFC. The criterion was professional efficacy, and the predictors were WFC constructs. The regression model was conducted to find out if work-family conflict contributed significant variance in professional efficacy. The relationship between professional efficacy and WFC constructs was significant, $R^2 = .10$, *adjusted* $R^2 = .09$, $F(4, 359) = 9.70$, $p < .001$. The regression coefficients of time WIF ($\beta = .12$, $t = 2.18$, $p = .015$ one tailed) and strain FIW ($\beta = -.26$, $t = -4.26$, $p < .001$, one tailed) contributed significant variance in the model but time FIW ($\beta = -.08$, $t = -1.33$, $p = .09$ one tailed) and strain WIF ($\beta = .01$, $t = .231$, $p = .41$ one tailed) did not. This implies that a high time WIF led to a high score in professional efficacy, and a low level of strain FIW also led to a high score in professional efficacy. However, scores of time FIW and strain WIF of the urban women did not influence professional efficacy. Thus, the results partly confirmed hypothesis 3, that the more the work-family conflict the more the professional efficacy, but only in regard to time WIF. However, the lower the strain FIW, the higher the professional efficacy.

When I controlled for location, model 1 was significant $R^2 = .02$, $F(1, 362) = 7.17$, $p = .008$; model 2, $R^2 = .11$, $F(4, 358) = 8.70$, $p < .001$. Regression coefficients in model 1, school location was ($\beta = -.14$, $t = -2.68$, $p = .004$ one tailed); in model 2, time WIF ($\beta = .12$, $t = 2.06$, $p = .02$ one tailed) strain FIW ($\beta = -.25$, $t = -4.17$, $p < .001$, one tailed). Overall regression was $R^2 = .11$, *adj* $R^2 = .09$, $F(5, 358) = 8.51$, $p < .001$. This implies that school location contributed to professional efficacy. Overall, WFC predicts burnout. Each dimension of burnout was differentially related to the four WFC constructs.

Hypothesis 4a: The more stressors, the more the burnout. Correlational results showed that emotional exhaustion positively correlated with: number of children ($r = .14, p < .01$), time and emotional investment in student behavior ($r = .19, p < .01$), and time and emotional investment in students' parents ($r = .23, p < .01$). Cynicism was positively correlated with: number of children ($r = .11, p < .05$) and flexibility in reporting and leaving ($r = .13, p < .01$), and negatively correlated with number of hours a teacher spend beyond school hours ($r = -.11, p < .05$). Professional efficacy was positively correlated with number of years of teaching experience ($r = .13, p < .05$), time and emotional investment in student behavior ($r = .27, p < .01$), and time and emotional investment in students' parents ($r = .15, p < .01$), and negatively with flexibility in reporting and leaving ($r = -.12, p < .05$).

Emotional exhaustion and stressors. This hypothesis sought to discover whether stressors were the emotional exhaustion experienced by teachers working in towns and in Nairobi. The criterion variable was emotional exhaustion and predictors were stressors, including both family (number of children) and work generic stressors as well as teacher-specific stressors. All stressors were entered in one step in the regression model. The overall regression model was significant $R^2 = .08$, $\text{adj } R^2 = .05$, $F \text{ change } (8, 318) = 3.23$, $p = .001$. In the regression coefficients, only time and emotional investment in students' parents was significant ($\beta = .21, t = 2.95, p = .003$). This confirmed my hypothesis 4a that the more the stress (stressor), the more the emotional exhaustion dimension of burnout, but only in regard to time and emotional investment in students' parents.

After controlling for school location, the first model was barely significant $R^2 - change = .012$, $F - change (1, 325) = 4.02$, $p = .05$; addition of stressors added significant variance in the regression model over and above that of area, $R^2 - change = .071$, $F - change (8, 317) = 3.28$, $p = .002$. For the regression coefficients in the first model, the regression coefficient of school location was significant ($\beta = .11$, $t = 2.01$, $p = .023$ one tailed); in model 2, time and emotional investment in students' parents was significant ($\beta = .209$, $t = 2.97$, $p = .001$ one tailed). The overall regression model was significant, $R^2 = .08$, $adj R^2 = .06$, $F(9, 326) = 3.20$, $p = .001$. School location contributed to the relationship between emotional exhaustion and time and emotional investment in students' parents.

Table 19

Stressors and Emotional Exhaustion

<i>Predictor variables</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>β</i>
Number of children	.07	.06	.06
Number of teaching experience	.01	.01	.05
Lessons per week	.01	.01	.03
Average class size	.00	.01	.01
Number of days participant worked beyond school hours	.07	.05	.08
Time and emotion investment in student parents	.12	.04	.21*
Time and emotional investment in student behavior	.01	.04	.02
Flexibility in reporting and leaving.	.09	.10	.05

Note: Total $R^2 = .08$ adjusted $R^2 = .05$, $F(8, 318) = 3.23$, $p = .001$; * $p < .05$ ** $p < .001$

Cynicism and stressors.

Table 20

Stressors and Cynicism

<i>Predictor variables</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>β</i>
Number of children	.11	.06	.10**
Number of teaching experience	.02	.01	.08
Lessons per week	-.02	.01	-.09**
Average class size	-.00	.01	-.02
Number of days participant worked beyond school hours	.08	.05	-.09
Time and emotion investment in student parents	.06	.04	.10
Time and emotional investment in student behavior	-.02	.04	-.04
Flexibility in reporting and leaving time	.19	.10	.10**

Note: Total $R^2 = .06$ adjusted $R^2 = .04$, $F(8, 318) = 2.50$, $p = .012$; * $p < .05$ ** $p < .001$

In this regression model, the criterion was cynicism, and predictors were general family and work stressors as well as teacher specific stressors. The overall regression model was significant $R^2 = .06$, adjusted $R^2 = .04$, $F(8, 318) = 2.50$, $p = .01$, and some regression coefficients of the stressors were significant. These include number of children in the household ($\beta = .10$, $t = 1.72$, $p = .043$ one tailed), lessons per week ($\beta = -.09$, $t = --$

1.68, $p = .047$ one tailed), and flexibility in reporting and leaving ($\beta = .10$, $t = 1.84$, $p = .03$ one tailed).

When I controlled for school location, model 1 was significant, R^2 - change = .031, F - change (1, 325) = 10.39, $p < .001$. The addition of stressors in the model added significant variance over and above that of model 1, R^2 - change = .05 F - change (8, 317) = 2.27, $p = .023$. The overall regression model was significant $R^2 = .08$, adjusted $R^2 = .06$, $F(9, 317) = 3.21$, $p = .001$. For regression coefficients, in model 1 school location was significant, ($\beta = .18$, $t = 3.22$, $p < .001$ one tailed). In model 2 school location was significant also, ($\beta = .16$, $t = 2.91$, $p = .002$ one tailed). Flexibility in reporting and leaving ($\beta = .10$, $t = 1.90$, $p = .033$ one tailed) and number of lessons per week ($\beta = -.11$, $t = -1.90$, $p = .029$ one tailed) were also significant. In regard to cynicism, hypothesis 4a was partly confirmed. These stressors, namely number of children in the household, lessons per week, and flexibility in reporting and leaving, contribute to cynicism. School location influenced stressors, which contributed to cynicism.

Professional efficacy and stressors. This regression model sought to discover to what extent do stressors influence professional efficacy of teachers teaching in urban areas. The regression model was significant $R^2 = .10$, adjusted $R^2 = .08$, $F(8, 318) = 4.61$, $p < .001$. These regression coefficients were significant: number of children in the household ($\beta = -.20$, $t = -3.36$, $p < .001$ one tailed), number of years of teaching experience ($\beta = .13$, $t = 2.27$, $p = .01$, one tailed), time and emotional investment in student behavior ($\beta = .22$, $t = 1.90$, $p = .001$, one tailed), and flexibility in reporting and leaving ($\beta = -.12$, $t = 1.85$, $p = .04$, one tailed).

Table 21

Stressors and Professional Efficacy

<i>Predictor variables</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>β</i>
Number of children	-.14	.04	-.20*
Number of teaching experience	.02	.01	.13*
Lessons per week	.01	.01	.05
Average class size	.00	.00	.03
Number of days participant worked beyond school hours	.02	.03	.03
Time and emotion investment in student parents	.01	.03	.01
Time and emotional investment in student behavior	.09	.03	.22*
Flexibility in reporting and leaving time	-.12	.07	-.10*

Note: Total $R^2 = .10$ adjusted $R^2 = .08$, $F(8, 318) = 4.61$, $p < .001$; * $p < .05$ ** $p < .001$

Hypothesis 4a was partly supported in regard to professional efficacy. The number of years of teaching experience, and emotional investment in students' behavior, positively contributed to professional efficacy. However, the number of children in the household contributed negatively to professional efficacy.

When I controlled for school location, model 1 was significant $R^2 - change = .02$, $F - change(1, 325) = 7.03$, $p = .008$. The addition of stressors in the model added significant variance over and above that added by model 1 $R^2 - change = .099$, $F - change(8, 317) = 4.47$, $p < .001$. The overall regression model was significant $R^2 = .12$, adjusted

$R^2 = .10$, $F(9, 317) = 4.82$, $p < .001$. Regression coefficients in model 1 urban location was significant ($\beta = -.15$, $t = -2.65$, $p = .008$). In the model 2 school location was ($\beta = -.13$, $t = -2.43$, $p = .02$), number of children ($\beta = -.17$, $t = -2.90$, $p = .004$), number of teaching experience ($\beta = .14$, $t = 2.40$, $p = .02$), time and investment in student behavior experience significant ($\beta = .22$, $t = -3.15$, $p = .002$) were significant. The school location contributed to professional efficacy. In sum, several stressors contributed differently to the burnout dimensions.

Hypothesis 4b: The greater the support the less the burnout

Correlational results. Emotional exhaustion was negatively correlated with supervisor support ($r = -.17$, $p < .01$). Cynicism was negatively correlated with supervisor support ($r = -.16$, $p < .01$), spousal support ($r = -.16$, $p < .01$), and relative support ($r = -.11$, $p < .05$). Professional efficacy was positively correlated with supervisor support ($r = .22$, $p < .01$), support from colleagues ($r = .20$, $p < .01$), spousal support ($r = .33$, $p < .01$), relative support ($r = .17$, $p < .01$), and cynicism ($r = -.21$, $p < .01$).

Emotional exhaustion and social support. This hypothesis sought to discover if support available in the school and home reduced the burnout experienced by the teacher.

A regression model was conducted to find out if the support a teacher received from school and home reduced emotional exhaustion. The overall model was not significant, $R^2 = .02$, $\text{adj } R^2 = .003$, $F(5, 224) = .88$, $p = .50$. No regression coefficient was significant.

Table 22

Social Support and Emotional Exhaustion

<i>Predictor Variables</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>β</i>
Supervisor support	.17	.10	-.14
Support from colleagues	.06	.12	-.04
Spousal support	.06	.10	.04
Relative support	.08	.09	.07
House help support	-.01	.09	-.00

Note: Total $R^2 = .02$ adjusted $R^2 = -.003$, $F(5, 225) = .88$, $p = .50$; * $p < .05$ ** $p < .001$

Controlling for school location was not significant in the first model $R^2 - change = .012$, $F - change(1, 228) = 2.83$, $p = .09$. Model 2 of support variables did not add significant influence $R^2 - change = .02$, $F - change(5, 223) = .77$, $p = .57$. The overall model was not significant, $R^2 = .03$ adjusted $R^2 = .003$, $F(6, 223) = 1.11$, $p = .36$.

Social support did not reduce emotional exhaustion. Hypothesis 4b was not confirmed.

The school location did not have any impact on support.

Cynicism and social support. A regression model was conducted to find whether support influenced the cynicism outcomes of urban teachers. The overall model was not significant $R^2 = .04$ adjusted $R^2 = .02$, $F(5, 224) = 1.87$, $p = .10$. Only spousal support was significant ($\beta = -.15$, $t = -2.06$, $p = .02$, one tailed). Hypothesis 4b, the

greater the support the less the burnout, was not supported in regard to cynicism; however, spousal support was negatively related to cynicism.

Table 23
Social Support and Cynicism

<i>Predictor Variables</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>β</i>
Supervisor support	.07	.09	-.06
Support from colleagues	-.01	.10	-.00
Spousal support	.19	.09	-.15*
Relative support	.01	.08	.01
House help support	-.07	.08	-.06

Note: Total $R^2 = .04$ adjusted $R^2 = .02$, $F(5, 224) = 1.87$, $p = .10$; * $p < .05$ ** $p < .001$

Controlling for school location, the first model was significant, $R^2 - change = .07$, $F - change(1, 228) = 17.49$, $p < .001$. The addition of support variables in the model added significant variance over and above that added by urban area, $R^2 - change = .028$, $F - change(5, 223) = 1.38$, $p = .23$. The overall regression model was significant, $R^2 = .10$ adjusted $R^2 = .08$, $F(6, 223) = 4.09$, $p = .001$. In the first model, school location was significant ($\beta = -.27$, $t = 4.18$, $p < .001$, one tailed), and in the second model school location ($\beta = .25$, $t = 3.83$, $p < .001$ one tailed) and spousal support ($\beta = -.12$, $t = -1.70$, $p = .046$ one tailed) were significant. When I controlled for school location, hypothesis 4a

was partly supported. The overall model was significant, but spousal support was barely significant. This implies that the stressors as a group contributed to cynicism. School location contributed to cynicism.

Professional efficacy and social support. A regression model was conducted to find if support from school and home enabled teachers to experience more professional efficacy. The overall regression model was significant $R^2 = .10$ adjusted $R^2 = .08$, $F(5, 224) = 5.17$, $p < .001$. Only support from spouse regression coefficient was significant ($\beta = .28$, $t = 3.98$, $p < .001$).

Table 24

Social Support and Professional Efficacy

<i>Predictor Variables</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>β</i>
Supervisor Support	.02	.06	.03
Support from colleagues	.09	.07	.10
Spousal support	.26	.07	.28**
Relative support	.02	.06	.03
House help support	-.06	.06	-.07

Note: Total $R^2 = .10$ adjusted $R^2 = .08$, $F(5, 224) = 5.17$, $p < .001$; * $p < .05$ ** $p < .001$

In regard to professional efficacy, hypothesis 4a was supported in regard to spousal support. The higher the spousal support, the higher the professional efficacy.

Controlling for school location, the first model was significant $R^2 - change = .03$, $F - change (1, 228) = 7.46$, $p = .007$). The addition of support variables added significant variance over and above that added by the urban area, $R^2 - change = .088$, $F - change (5, 223) = 4.48$, $p = .001$. The overall model was significant, $R^2 = .12$, adjusted $R^2 = .10$, $F (6, 223) = 5.07$, $p < .001$. For regression coefficients, in the first model school location was significant ($\beta = -.18$, $t = -2.73$, $p = .007$ one tailed). In the second model, school location ($\beta = -.13$, $t = -2.06$, $p = .02$ one tailed) and spousal support ($\beta = .26$, $t = 3.76$, $p < .001$ one tailed) were significant. The school location was significant; school location negatively contributed to professional efficacy, showing it had an influence. In sum, results showed that different stressors influenced different dimensions of burnout.

In summary, WFC influenced burnout. Strain and time pressures from work contributed to emotional exhaustion. Strain FIW, time FIW, and strain WIF were related to cynicism. Time WIF and strain FIW were related to professional efficacy. For stressors, only time and emotional investment in students' parents was related to emotional exhaustion; number of children in the household, number of lessons, and flexibility in reporting and leaving was related to cynicism. Also, the number of children, years of teaching experience, time and emotional investment in student behavior, and flexibility in reporting and leaving were related to professional efficacy. Finally, spousal support was related to cynicism and professional efficacy.

Chapter four on data analysis gave an overview of how the data were analyzed both using qualitative and quantitative measures. It described the sample and gave the descriptive data of the measures used. It explored the relationship between 1) stressors

and work-family conflict, 2) work-family conflict and support variables, 3) stressors and burnout, 4) work- family conflict and burnout, and finally 5) burnout with support variables. The next chapter discusses the findings presented here, in line with prior research and theoretical underpinnings. It also evaluates the limitations of the study and proposes future research implications.

Chapter 5

Discussion

The present study sought to identify: first, primary and secondary school female teachers' stressors and how these contributed to work-family conflict; how demographic factors such as marital status and number of children impacted teachers' WFC; whether specific stressors add more variance beyond that of family and general and work stressors; whether teaching experience and the location of the school influenced WFC experienced by these teachers.

Secondly, the study sought to identify whether the level of support offered to the teacher both from school and home reduced the work-family conflict the teacher experienced; third, whether there was a relationship between work-family conflict and burnout; and fourth, whether stressors influenced the level of burnout, and whether support from school and home reduced the level of burnout experienced by the teachers.

This chapter discusses these findings in line with prior research and theoretical frameworks and is organized in four sections. Section 1: stressors and work-family conflict; Section 2: work-family conflict and various forms of support; Section 3: work-family conflict, support and burnout; and section 4: additional findings.

SECTION 1: Stressors and Work-Family Conflict

Research question 1a sought to identify the teachers' stressors and how they contributed to work-family conflict; qualitative data were used to answer this question. Participants responded to the question: "Describe in detail the challenges or difficulties

you encounter everyday as you combine school work childcare and housework responsibilities.” These challenges and difficulties are potential stressors. According to Rahe (1967), any environmental social or internal demand that makes an individual to change his/her behavior patterns is a stressor.

Overall, the content analysis of their responses revealed that these teachers generally reported similar experiences to those identified in previous research in the U. S. and other western contexts. That is, they had inadequate time to meet the demands of home, work, and their social life, and described experiencing *time* pressures and *strain* from work and home. These confirm two of the three areas of WFC construct identified by Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) in their meta-analysis of previous research: strain based conflict, time-based conflict, and behavior based conflict.

Time pressure leads to time conflict, which arises when the preoccupation in a role in one domain makes it difficult to meet the demands of another role in another domain if they have to be carried out simultaneously. Strain based conflict occurs when the strain in one domain makes it hard to fulfill another demands of another role (Aryee, 2005; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985).

Additionally, the results showed that these teachers’ home life suffered more time pressures than their work life, but the strain pressures seemed equal between work and family, somewhat confirming the results of Frone, Russell & Cooper (1992b), who found that U. S. workers reported that in general work interfered with family life more than family interfered with work.

Finally, the balance of work and family demands seemed to be a no-win dilemma for these teachers. Focusing more on work demands led to complaints from the spouse and feelings of inadequacy in managing responsibilities at home; on the other hand, focusing more on the family led to complaints from the school. Sometimes these teachers were required to be at multiple locations at the same time, and they often felt like they were walking on a tightrope, and their different roles were competing for attention. Thus the general construct of WFC seems to apply to the Kenyan context; however, some stressors and their relationship to WFC may be fairly unique to Kenyan women teachers, as discussed in the following sections.

Stressors. The content analyses identified four categories of stressors: inadequate support from home, strain and time-based stressors at home, interruptions in the normal flow of work and family schedules, strain and time stressors at school. Below is the first category of stressors.

Inadequate support from home. The lack and unreliability of house helps (domestic workers) was a major issue and the most frequently cited stressor in both home and work spheres—a stressor not mentioned in western studies of WFC. House helps were not easy to find, and those teachers who had one feared they might quit without notice, misbehave, or fail to do their assigned duties. There are three possible explanations for the lack and unreliability of house help as a stressor.

First, teachers who are in dual-career couples have fixed working schedules and leave early for work and return late in the evening; this forces the family to depend on external support (e.g. house helps) for childcare and housework. Second, my study took

place just after the government regulated house help pay and working conditions. This regulation made employing house helps more expensive and scarce, as they have become choosier in deciding who to work for (Muiruri, 2011).

Third, domestic work is a temporary job for some as they move to either marriage or other forms of employment, and few women make housework a career (Muasya 2014). On average, the teachers reported that their house helps stayed with them for an average of a year and a half. This finding is in contrast to an earlier study (during the implementation of the legislation) where the average length of employment was three years (Muasya, forthcoming).

Studies from the West and other industrialized countries do not cite lack and unreliability of house help as a stressor but instead cite stressors such as spousal disputes, marital dissatisfaction, and problems with children (Young, Schieman & Milkie, 2013); family role conflict, family role ambiguity and family demands (Carlson & Perrewe, 1999), with life stages of children influencing the level of family demands (Rothausen, 1999), or number of children or dependents in the household (Allen 2001).

Teachers in my study emphasized the need of a good worker (house help) who required less supervision, had good relationships with the children, and were reliable. These results are consistent with other studies, e.g., De Regt (2009), who suggested that the most important criteria for Yemeni house help were cleanliness and reliability, and a major fear was that they could quit at any time. Similarly, Muasya & Martin (in press) found the same criteria and concerns in Kenyan households.

Surprisingly, content analyses revealed no mention of lack of relatives' and neighbors' help as stressors, and only two women mentioned lack of spousal support. How can this be in a collective society where extended family help is, presumably, a given? Perhaps house help is seen as necessary, and relatives' help is seen as voluntary such that when it is lacking, one cannot complain.

There are three possible explanations for the finding that so few women reported lack of spousal support as stressful. First, anecdotal evidence suggests that culturally, Kenyan men are not expected to participate in housework tasks, and thus it not surprising that these teachers do not indicate lack of spousal support as a stressor. Second, most of these teachers' spouses also work full time and cannot care for the children during the day. Both husband and wife could leave home at the same time in the morning and come back home almost at the same time. A third reason could be due to social desirability factor. That is, the teachers did not want to report something negative about their spouse (especially to a researcher) by indicating their husband were less than supportive in childcare and house chores.

Strain and time related stressors at home. This category described the stressors of time pressures and strain, such as general heavy work load at home as women attempted to combine work and family demands. Some of these stressors are universal, and others apply more to the Kenyan context.

To start with, women's descriptions of being stressed by general heavy housework in addition to their work-related demands seems to be a fairly universal stressor. Hochschild and Machung (1989) describe it as the *second shift*. Women

shoulder the burden of housework and childcare more than do men in many parts of the world, including Taiwan (Fong 1992), Malaysia (1999), and the U.S. (Hochschild & Machung, 1989). Teachers in this study described how the peak of this work took place in the evening and morning.

Since the women were away the whole day, when they came home they had to catch up with the unfinished household tasks. Children required bathing, feeding, and to have their homework checked. Demands in the morning involved cooking breakfast, preparing children for school, preparing the husband for work, breastfeeding the young baby, if any, and the teacher preparing herself for work.

Although some women had house helps, due to these heavy demands, teachers often had to lend a hand. Of course, these peak hours were more stressful for women who have no house helps or relatives or spouse to help. These preparations force these women to go to bed late and to wake up early, resulting in sleep deprivation—another stressor.

Lack of finances was also mentioned as a stressor because some of these women could not afford to hire caretakers/house helps and had to do all the housework and childcare by themselves. There have been numerous teachers' strikes in Kenya in demand of higher salaries and good working conditions. Due to the high cost of living coupled with low incomes, most teachers are forced to search for supplementary incomes (Oduor, 2015).

Lack of finances can be a stressor even for poor women in the West as they have to work to provide for the family, unlike many middle and upper class women, for whom work outside the home is a choice, not a necessity (Hay, 1996; Hennessy 2009). This

confirms the observation of Aryee (2005) that inadequate pay is a potential stressor among women in Sub-Saharan countries. In addition, unlike in the U.S. where there are welfare programs, in Kenya there are none.

Another stressor was high expectation of the duties of a wife at home. Anecdotal evidence suggests that in Kenya, the woman is still held responsible for the home even if she delegates some of these duties to the house help. There is high expectation of cleanliness and neatness. Muasya (forthcoming) found that Sub-Saharan African immigrant women cleaned more in their home countries than in U.S. due to cultural expectations. And unlike in the U. S., the Kenyan husband almost always expects to eat tasty meals prepared by his wife, not someone else (e.g. the house help). He also expects his wife to help prepare him for work-- prepare his bathing water, make his breakfast, and iron his clothes. Thus, these Kenyan women would try to put in more hours and effort after school to catch up with housework and childcare demands that were left undone in the morning—all leading to a great amount of stress.

Interestingly, unlike in the West where women are often lauded for being stay-at-home mothers, in Kenya like other Sub-Saharan countries, women are expected to supplement their husbands' incomes and participate in income generating activities (Aryee, 2005). Hay (1996) describes the middle-class model of motherhood in the West: women are either committed to their work or their families. If they choose to work, they are considered as sacrificing the needs of their children for prestige and occupational status, unlike the selfless stay at home mothers who sacrifice these rewards to be

emotionally connected and involved with their children. But working class women in the U.S. have no choice; they work *for* their families, to sustain them.

Kenyan women are in some ways caught in the same dilemma. While there is an expectation that they will contribute monetarily to the family income, there is also a societal critique of women who pursue career/work at the expense of their families. The rhetoric in the newspapers and other media critiques women who so neglect their children and husband for money and credentials by delegating all their duties to the house helps (Njung'e, 2009). Part of the home stressors of high expectations is that these women are also expected to perform in the workplace. That is, there has been a strong narrative in Kenya that women need to be educated and empowered. In fact, a common slogan of Kenyan government is, "If you educate a man, you educate one person, but if you educate a women, you education the whole nation."

The slogan was first introduced by Dr. James Emman Kwegyir Aggrey, a Ghanaian sociologist and educator who advocated for girl child education in Ghana (Ephson, 1969). So many Kenyan parents invest a fortune in their daughters' education so that they will have a career, work, be financially independent, and break the poverty cycle. However, these women find themselves living in the context of the colonial legacy of separation of home and work spheres (Williams, 1999) and under duress to meet competing expectations at work and home. That is, just as in the West, working extra hours and being physically present at work is viewed as a sign of dedication at work (Lewis, 1997). Lewis found that the emphasis on face time (physical presence at work) influenced the work culture in the UK and undermined the implementation of family-

friendly policies even when working remotely at home was accepted. These Kenyan teachers face a unique challenge as their employer (school administration) expects them to demonstrate their job commitment by putting in more time at school, but if they stay longer at school, it brings conflict with the spouse and home responsibilities.

A second challenge that Kenyan teachers face is the inflexibility of their work schedules, as they are expected to be early in school and sometimes on weekends or evenings. All this is based on the assumption that, just like in other Sub-Saharan countries, teachers have adequate resources (e.g., house helps and extended family) to take care of family duties while they are absent (Noyoo, 2014). I wonder if it is possible for women to work in jobs with inflexible schedules and still be at home to care for their children. Some of the suggestions given by teachers in the study to resolve housework and childcare challenges are: be more organized and have a house help.

However, it is questionable whether being organized and having a good house help can solve these women's work-family conflict challenges. My study found that house help was at times unavailable or unreliable. Or even if these teachers had a reliable house help, they do not work for a long period of time. Moreover, despite being organized, at times teachers faced unforeseen interruptions in their schedules.

Interruptions in the flow of work and family schedules. This category had three themes: sick child, unplanned demands from work and home, and long commuting distance and time to and from school. Though these women had young children, this stressor was not the number of children and their ages, but rather the physical health of the child. Most literature from the West identifies the number and ages of children as

stressors (Higgins, Duxbury & Lee, 1994; Huffman, Culbertson, & Henning, & Goh, 2013).

But for these Kenyan women, the results suggest that the issue was not the number or age of the child, but the condition /welfare of the child. A sick child was a major concern and forced the teacher to miss school or seek permission to be absent. Some of the children's illnesses were attributed to poor feeding and care of the young children (often related to problems with house helps). Having many incidences of illness meant the teacher missed more lessons if she did not have someone else to take care of the child.

In addition, anecdotal evidence suggests the Kenyan society expects the mother to monitor the progress of the sick child more than the fathers. So when children are sick, it is likely that the mother will miss work, not the father. This could be due to expectations of gender roles regarding the chores of men and women (Suda 2002). In addition to the instances of a sick child, these teachers would also miss school because they had to attend their children's school events, which were mandatory. On other occasions, the employers would demand the teachers to be at their own schools during school festivities. This would interfere with their weekends or family time.

Furthermore, long commuting distance and time were also stressors; again, this is not often mentioned in the Western research. These teachers mostly used public transportation (often unreliable), forcing them to arrive home very late. This was a major concern in Nairobi city, where traffic jams might cause the teacher to arrive late to school due to unforeseen traffic flow issues. Many workers in big cities tend to leave earlier,

which means waking up very early and leaving home before the children wake up. So some teachers would go for days without seeing their young children awake (Muasya, 2014). These unplanned interruptions affected the teachers' flow of work at home and school, causing more work-family conflict. These findings confirm those reported by Epie & Ituma (2014) in Lagos Nigeria, who found long commuting time as a stressor among professionals working in this city.

Many of these erratic interruptions were unforeseen and called for creative measures. For example, women talked of calling their colleagues to substitute for them if they had to miss a class. These interruptions threw teachers' schedules into disarray, causing them to not be on top of their game, and feeling that sometimes they were on the losing side. The situation seems to call for comprehensive measures at work, at home, and in society to cushion teachers from these effects of work interruptions.

Strain and time related stressors at school. The category had these themes: workload at school, too much time taken by school work, and too much time taken by both home and school—all of which are shared among teachers in Western contexts. Teachers attributed high workload to large classes, many lessons, and pressure to have high mean scores in students' zonal and national exams. This corroborates findings from both Western (Shernoff et al., 2011) and Kenyan studies (Ng'eno, 2008; Sichambo, Maragia & Simiyu, 2012). In order to meet work deadlines, the teachers had to carry school work home or remain at school longer to finish their grading. This meant that during some times in the school year (e.g. exams), the parenting role was ignored or delegated to house helps, resulting in complaints from the spouse.

Effects of work-family conflict at home. This category had three themes: children concerns, spousal concerns, and housework concerns—again, mostly shared by women in many countries. Teachers were concerned that they were not able to attain their desired quality of childcare in feeding, checking homework, instilling moral discipline, or just being together with their children. This was attributed to both leaving home very early and arriving late, and being busy in the house attending school work and not the child.

Failure to offer good care and adequate time and attention to the children made these women feel guilty and helpless. One teacher expressed the concern that they are raising a generation of children with very little input from the mothers, raising “misfits in the society” (CB1 18D). That is why this role cannot be relegated to the house help and suggests that the Kenyan society has to re-think its priorities. Teachers raised the concern that leaders (governmental and school administrators) have to be made aware of these work-family conflict challenges. They have to listen to the concerns of their workers and those of children raised without parental attention.

Inattention to the home. This category of stressor is related to the one discussed earlier—high expectations of wife’s duties at home. Teachers reported feeling bad that some of their responsibilities at home were delegated to the house help or ignored, especially when work at school was at peak season. This led to “feelings of hopelessness and despair” (CB1 23C). Teachers were concerned about their spouses’ welfare as well. Teachers felt they could not cook for their husbands, or offer their conjugal rights due to fatigue or lack of time. They felt they had to make difficult choices between work and home. The Kenyan media report that many women, including teachers, are opting out of

jobs with fixed schedules and choosing self-employment so they do not have to choose between their marriage and work (Okeyo, 2015).

This is contrary to the anecdotal evidence that teachers have more time for their families than those in other professions, due to having time off on weekends and school holidays. But in the era of globalization and intensification of work, does this notion still hold? The reports of the women in this study would suggest not. One might question whether women who opt for self-employment actually have ample time for their families. Further studies should investigate whether women working in the informal sector or who are self-employed have less work-family conflict and fewer stressors than those in more fixed employment.

Effects of WFC at school. These effects include: reduced productivity, tardiness, and poor working relationships with supervisors and colleagues, which confirms a meta-analysis conducted in Western contexts that found that WFC is related to negative work outcomes such as tardiness, absenteeism, job turnover, and ill health (Allen, Herst, Bruck, & Sutton, 2000; Vogelzang, 2008). The women in this study described how work-family conflict had effect on their productivity at school.

For example, sometimes teachers failed to meet the school deadlines, missed school, reported late to school because of responsibilities at home; repeated asking for permission to miss work or delay deadlines was seen as a lack of job commitment both from their supervisors and fellow workers. They also reported reduced productivity due to fatigue, and inability to concentrate due to worrying about their children back at home. Teachers who had no reliable childcare at home were anxious at school. Good childcare

and less fatigue offered an atmosphere for the teacher that was conducive to concentrating at work.

Another effect of WFC at work was poor relationships with colleagues. As noted earlier, there is the belief that workers have to put in extra hours and face time as indicators of ambition and effective job performance (Lewis 1997). One teacher suggested that supervisors should look at productivity instead. When some supervisors gave leeway to some teachers experiencing work-family conflict (i.e. the teacher who had a young baby), it was regarded as favoritism. This type of response from colleagues may hinder the implementation of informal family-friendly policies.

Previous research has found that the way colleagues respond to workers who use family-friendly benefits affected the use of those policies (Haas & Hwang, 1995; Kirby & Krone, 2002). For example, Haas and Hwang (1995) found that Swedish men were hesitant to take advantage of some work benefits (e.g. paternity leave) because they thought that these benefits were meant for women, and that coworkers would be resentful if they used them.

Effects of WFC at both home and work. This category had one theme -- lack of perfection (tradeoffs), probably shared by working women in many parts of the world; for instance, lack of job satisfaction (Cortese, Colombo, Ghislieri, 2010; Grandey, Cordeiro, & Crouter, 2005) and family satisfaction (Aycan, & Eskin, 2005; Boyar, & Mosley, 2007). Teachers claimed that there was no one area where they felt that they were excelling. This could explain why few women teachers are in management positions;

more responsibilities would require more time committed to the work, which may result in more work-family conflict (Ombati, 2003; Wangui, 2012).

Marital status and work-family conflict. Research question 1b asked whether marital status related to the amount of WFC experienced. Results revealed no significant difference in reported WFC between teachers who are married and those who are single. These results contradict those of Panatik et al (2011), who found that single people experienced more WFC compared to married people. Panatik and colleagues attributed their findings to the fact that a single person was assumed to have more time and thus was assigned more tasks than the married person.

Additionally, their sample, unlike mine, included male teachers. But in my study all these women have children. My presumption is that these married teachers seek alternative forms of support from house helps, relatives, neighbors, and friends. Another reason is that men are not culturally responsible for housework and childcare in Kenya, whereas in Western countries spousal support is critical, as noted by Daalen, Willemsen and Sanders (2006) in their study of Dutch households. Furthermore, Cinamon, Rich and Westman (2007) found spousal support reduced family-to-work conflict in Israel. People in Western countries may not have easy access to extended families and house help support that is found in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Number of children their ages and work-family conflict. Research Question 1c asked whether the number of children and their ages contribute to work-family conflict. Data analysis here did reveal a significant relationship between the number of children and age of the eldest child with time WIF and time FIW. However, time WIF

regression coefficients were not significant, and effect of number of children was stronger influence in the model than that of the age of the oldest child. For time FIW, the effect of number of children was positive (more children more pressure) compared to the age of the oldest child, which was negative (stronger time FIW with younger children). The number of children and their ages has been taken to influence family demands, which lead to negative work outcomes.

This was also confirmed in U. S. contexts; Higgins, Duxbury and Lee (1994) and Huffman, Culbertson, & Henning, and Goh (2013) found that the stage in life influenced work-family conflict. That is, Huffman and colleagues and Higgins and colleagues found that parents in U.S. with younger children (under six years) had more WFC compared to those with older school-aged children, and that WFC was lowest for those without children. Also due to the traditional domestic division of labor which exists even now, the burden of childcare rests on the women and not men, irrespective of their involvement in paid employment. The older the women's children, the less demand they place on her, probably because older children can look after themselves as well as help with the younger children and house chores (Voyandoff, 1988).

The study revealed no significant relationship between number of children and the age of the oldest and strain WIF and strain FIW. This finding confirms that of Okonkwo (2014), who found no significant relationship between the number of children and their ages and strain based FIW among secondary teachers in Enugu (capital state of Enugu state in Nigeria). This was contrary to her expectations, and Okonkwo attributed this finding to extended family practices that are prevalent in the southeast region in Nigeria.

When I controlled for domestic workers' help and extended family help in the model, all the four WFC constructs--time WIF, time FIW, strain WIF, and strain FIW--were not significant. Time WIF, which was almost non-significant, moved to non-significance, and time was insignificant too. Thus support variables in the model acted as suppressor variables. According to Cohen and Cohen (1975), a suppressor is predictor which has little correlation with the criterion.

Years of teaching experience and work-family conflict. Hypothesis 1 predicted that teachers with less experience would experience more work-family conflict than those with more experience, but analyses yielded no significant results. This unexpected finding differs from that of Cinamon and Rich (2005b), who found a significant relationship in a study of teachers in Israel. In Cinamon and Rich's study, novice teachers experienced more interrole conflict than more experienced teachers. Some of the reasons they gave were that maybe the teachers who had more experience had learned how to deal with competing demands from work and home, or their children were now older and required less attention.

However, in Malaysia, Noor and Zainuddin (2011) found that work-family conflict *increased* with years of work experience. Despite my study not finding significant results, correlation results show that teaching experience correlated positively with: 1) the number of children a teacher had, 2) lessons per week, and 3) average class size. It correlated negatively with relative support and flexibility in reporting and leaving. Alternatively, work experience may not necessarily matter in contributing to WFC in Kenya per se. Perhaps all that matters is the support system one has. Or the location of

school, or school administrators, or supervisors may also have some influence. Some supervisors are more empathetic than the others. Another alternative explanation could be that the less experienced teachers definitely experience work-family conflict, but they simply refuse to admit it due to social desirability.

School location and work-family conflict. Hypothesis 2 predicted that teachers who work in Nairobi would report from work-family conflict than those who work in towns (towns are smaller than cities and more of governmental administrative centers). This hypothesis was confirmed in regard to time FIW, strain WIF, and strain FIW, but not time WIF. This suggests that all teachers in both Nairobi and in towns faced approximately the same *time WIF pressures*. However, teachers in the large city area experienced more time FIW, strain WIF, and strain FIW compared to those in towns. The city environment poses unique challenges for workers, such as an unreliable transportation system and frequent traffic jams, all of which force these teachers to wake up very early and arrive home very late, and the results here are confirmed by results of Epie and Ituma's (2014) study of professionals working in Lagos, Nigeria.

In addition, there could be less relative (extended family) support in the city compared to towns. Also, some teachers would commute from their rural homes to teach in towns. In the rural areas, it is possible to live adjacent to extended families, friends and neighbors—potential sources of support—unlike the city neighborhoods (Aryee 2005; Miller, Gruskin, Subramanian, Rajaraman, & Heymann, 2006), where people probably know fewer of their neighbors since the renters are fairly transient. My study found that teachers living in towns reported more family support compared to those living in cities.

So no matter where people live, work interfered with family; the village could help with the family, but could not help with work.

Interestingly, teachers in towns perceived that they received more support from their supervisor and colleagues compared to those in Nairobi. A possible reason is that teachers in cities experience more strain and time pressures. A similar study found that women working in universities in Kenya, with young children in kindergarten and elementary school, found their work place less accommodative than those with older children (Muasya forthcoming).

In addition, my study also found that teachers from the large Nairobi area reported more emotional exhaustion and cynicism compared to those in towns. Aside from my study, preliminary studies in Kenya on burnout have not investigated the influence of location on burnout; the studies are conducted within one location or assume the homogeneity of the study population (Ng'ang'a 2012; Sichambo, Maragia & Simiyu, 2012).

This implies that there could be differences in burnout levels depending on the school location, whether it is in a rural area, town, or city. Future studies should further investigate whether teachers in different locations (cities vs. towns vs. rural areas) experience similar stressors, burnout, and work-family conflict levels. This would enable the government to set appropriate region-specific policies.

Specific versus general stressors and work-family conflict. Research Question 1d asked whether teachers' specific stressors explain unique variance in work-family conflict above and beyond that explained by generic work and family stressors. This

research question investigated whether if, after controlling for generic family stressors and work stressors, specific teachers' stressors such as number of lessons and average class size add significant influence to the overall WFC regression model.

The study found that time WIF was related to the number of days a teacher worked beyond school hours and the number of children a teacher had in the household. No stressors were related to time FIW, strain WIF, and strain FIW in the regression models. I controlled for school location, and the results were not significant; only the number of children was significant in all the three models. This implies that location as a suppressor has no impact on time WIF but only increases its impact on the number of children. Location was not a suppressor for time FIW, strain WIF, and strain FIW, as only the school location was significant in these models. This implies that the school location has some significant impact on the WFC experienced by the teacher.

SECTION 2: Work-Family Conflict and Various Forms of Support

Research question 2 asked if the various forms of support (house girl, extended family, spouse, colleagues, and supervisor) were related to work-family conflict. This question was answered with both quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative data analysis revealed that the regression model was not significant with the four constructs of WFC; however, correlational results seem to tell a different story about the nature of these forms of support. For instance, there was a negative relationship between supervisor and support from colleagues with strain WIF and time and emotional investment in student behavior and time and emotional investment in students' parents.

These results show that support from school from both colleagues and supervisor was critical for teachers to handle strain WIF.

Spousal support was positively correlated with the number of days the teacher worked beyond school hours and negatively correlated with flexibility in reporting and leaving (a resource for the generic work stressor). That is, the more support a teacher had from her spouse, the more days she was willing to work after school hours. Also, spousal support was more required for teachers who had less flexible schedules, i.e. someone to pick up the slack at home. The support from relatives (extended family) was negatively correlated with strain WIF and positively correlated with time and emotional investment in students' parents. The more relative support, the less the strain WIF the teacher experienced. It enabled the teacher to reserve some energy for school related tasks. The more support from relatives, the more time and emotional investment the teacher had to invest in students' parents (issue of more energy).

House help support was correlated with the number of lessons a teacher taught. This may indicate that when the teacher had good house help support at home, she had more energy resource to spend in teaching more classes. Controlling for school location did not influence time WIF, strain WIF, and strain FIW, but it influenced the results of time FIW to be significant. I expected some significance in all these WFC constructs with support variables and spousal support to play a major part, but it did not. School location did not have an impact on WFC and support variables, except for time FIW. Prior results showed teachers in towns experienced less WFC compared to those in cities. It seems likely that women teachers in Nairobi would require more support from home than those

in rural areas to mitigate time FIW pressures. It can also be argued that women in towns have more support in the home spheres than those in Nairobi.

Below, I discuss the results of the content analyses of the responses to open ended questions, asking teachers to describe the various forms of support received from different sources. They explained the nature of support from: 1) supervisors, 2) colleagues, 3) spouse, 4) house help, 5) family members living with the teacher, 6) and distant family members not living with the teacher, neighbors, and friends.

Supervisor support. All public schools in Kenya are governed by the same code of conduct (Teachers Service Commission, 2014). The current teaching regulations do not explicitly provide for family-friendly provisions apart from the statutory leaves. Thus the informal family-friendly policies vary from school to school at the discretion of the supervisor and the socio-economic constraints. This agrees with studies conducted in the west, which showed that the informal family-friendly practices and supportive supervisors enabled their workers to reduce work-family conflict (Anderson, Coffey, & Byerly 2002; Kossek, Pichler, Bodner, & Hammer, 2011). Teachers' descriptions of their supervisors' support described a scenario of micro-cultures in each school and revealed that some schools had more supportive environments than others. That is, some supervisors tended to employ to a larger extent proactive (preventative) measures rather than reactive measures in dealing with emergencies and providing moral support.

For instance, as noted in chapter 4, the primary form of supervisor support was in helping teachers with emergencies, more of a reactive measure. Head teachers used this strategy to enable the teacher to manage emergencies at home, such as a sick child or lack

of house helps. Another frequently mentioned reactive form of support was moral (emotional) support, which seemed to be offered mostly to teachers completely beaten down by the pressures of work and home demands. Emotional support is one form of social support (House, 1981) that an individual can receive from the manager to reduce effects of WFC (Frone et al., 1997).

The qualitative data suggested that proactive measures (rewarding performance, providing an environment conducive to productivity, offering material support, understanding and listening) were less used. For instance, some level of flexibility in the teachers' schedules was enjoyed by only 15% of teachers. Another proactive measure was empathetic listening and understanding. This is a measure where the supervisor attempted to put himself/herself in the shoes of the teacher or link the experiences of the teacher to his/her own work-family conflict experiences.

From teachers' comments, it was clear that teachers wanted non-judgmental understanding from their supervisors in instances where their work performance suffered because of work life challenges. My study shows that teachers' perceived that the supervisors' lack of empathetic listening and understanding ultimately led to their poor job evaluations and increased stress. Increased dissatisfaction with one's work may lead to burnout, and the negative emotions at work may spill over to the family domain (Grzywacz, 2000; Sirgy et al 2001; Staines 1980). Yet another 12% of teachers reported receiving no support at all from their supervisors due to various reasons

Reasons for lack of supervisor support. I will start by stating the possible reasons why supervisors do not offer support and then later show how these reasons are related to

WFC literature. First, my study found that according to the teachers, some supervisors were not aware of the challenges their teachers went through and/or they considered the work-family conflict challenges as taking place outside the work sphere, and thus put the onus of managing work-family conflict on the teacher.

Failure of the supervisor to be aware of the challenges of work-family conflict that the teachers go through could be due to lack of sensitivity training, and a solution could be sensitivity training for supervisors. The lack of sensitivity is because work-family conflict/balance is a topic not yet covered by management curriculum in Kenya. A recent survey among Kenyan companies, including academic institutions, showed that work-family policies/issues are at a fledgling stage (Strathmore, 2011). Besides, there is anecdotal evidence suggesting supervisors assume that teachers can easily hire house helps or bring in relatives to cope with family responsibilities. However, my study shows that inadequacy of house help support as the most mentioned stressor among teachers with young children.

A second reason for lack of supervisor support was that some teachers themselves felt that it was their responsibility to manage their housework and childcare issues and not place the burden on the supervisor/school. Failure of teachers to share their work-family conflict concerns and ask for accommodations could be due to fear of being regarded as slackers by supervisors and colleagues (Lewis, 1997; Perlow, 1995) or fear of poor performance reviews. Or some women assumed they were quite able to handle the demands of both work and home.

A third reason for lack of supervisor support was that some schools were faced with financial constraints and unable hire additional help, e.g. Parents Teachers Association (PTA) non-governmental teachers. Despite a lack of adequate resources, supervisors were still under pressure to produce excellent results, i.e. high mean student scores on zonal, district, and national exams. This pressure was also passed on to teachers, creating more work-family conflict pressures. Even in the face of reduced financial resources, supervisors can increase other resources/forms of support to the teacher, including empathetic listening or allowing some degree of flexibility in teachers' reporting and leaving, i.e. free morning or afternoon in the time table, as some women in the study suggested.

For supervisors, there is need to balance the needs of attaining high grades (task accomplishment) and good working relations. The quality of supervision and attention to work relationships determines subordinates' development of trust in their supervisors, communication satisfaction, and finally job satisfaction (Mueller & Lee 2007; Nelson, Barnes, Evans & Triggiano, 2008; Stringer, 2008).

In the same vein, pursuit of good relations and no task accomplishment has its own limitations as it will not be supported by the management. This agrees with Poelemans, Kalliath, & Brough (2008), who argue that family-friendly policies should be created in the context of the socio-economic and cultural environment of the organization and not in a vacuum. A gender balanced and flexible work environment should also consider the bottom line of the organization and the welfare of an individual to avoid resistance from employees.

Support from colleagues. Support from colleagues has been cited as important in many work contexts in Western literature (Etzion, 1984, Carlson & Perrewe, 1999). For example, it has been related to time based conflict for both men and women in dual earner couples with young children in a Turkish context (Aycan & Eskin, 2005). Support from colleagues was the second form of help teachers received to balance work-family demands. The most cited form of support was standby arrangements (one teacher fills in for another), followed by moral support and reduction of teaching workloads. Overall, the working relationships among colleagues contributed to the micro-culture of a school.

My study reveals there were schools with supportive cultures and others without, and this implies that supervisors should encourage and work to create these supportive cultures. According to structuration theory (Giddens 1984, 2003), the rules and norms in a workplace, whether enabling or constraining, tend to be replicated over time. Thus to have cultures of co-sharing and team-teaching, someone must initiate the practice and encourage these practices to be replicated in order to create a pool of resources that each one can draw from.

Although some colleagues were supportive, other were not. Apparently some colleagues would resent when some teachers (who required extra flexibility) were given schedule favors by the supervisor. This resentment can poison this micro-culture and make even genuine cases to be ignored (Haas & Hwang, 1995; Kirby & Krone, 2002). Sometimes the macro-culture works against family-friendly policies. As described earlier, the Swedish study found that some workers, especially the males, would not take

advantage of benefits, unless the management (micro-culture of the organization) emphasized their use and they were not penalized indirectly for using them.

In my Kenyan study, the teachers reported that some colleagues, especially male teachers, did not understand the work-family challenges faced by their female colleagues. It is difficult to understand the work-family challenges of a young mother unless a person experiences them, or their wives experience them. This seems to call for strategies to sensitize everyone on the issues of work-family balance and also devise practices which are transparent and which benefit all, even male colleagues. Thus, colleagues can be both a source of support and a stressor.

Spousal support. In many western contexts, spousal support has been hailed for moderating the WFC experienced by women in dual-career couples. In Turkey, a collectivistic culture, Aycan and Eskin (2005) found that spousal support was related to time and strain based FIW for both men and women. In Kenya, the scenario is different. There is a discrepancy between the high quantitative ratings of support from husbands and the anecdotal evidence of men having little involvement in childcare and housework chores. In general, Kenyan cultures do not socialize men to do housework or childcare, but rather to attend to duties outside the home (Suda, 2002). Like in other Sub-Saharan countries, even in dual working couples, women culturally bear a disproportionate burden of housework and childcare (Mokomane, 2014).

However, since more women are taking jobs outside the home, where the working hours are fixed, some social norms need to change. For dual-career couples, spousal support is necessary in an era where extended family support is declining and house help

support is unavailable, limited, or unreliable. It is important for couples to equally share home responsibilities. If the husband set some hours for housework and childcare, it would increase the pool of resources from which the family can draw. Unlike in Western cultures, where the stay-at-home mother is valorized, in Kenya due to the economic situation, the society expects the women to be co-breadwinners. However, there are conflicting social norms. Women are expected to work outside the home, but men are not expected to do any of the housework.

In addition, in many societies, the burden of housework and childcare is placed on the women. Thus women carry a heavy responsibility. The results here seem to call for a change in the way our boys are brought up in the Kenyan society. They should also be socialized to do housework. Medved, Brogan, McClanahan, Moms & Shepherd (2006) found that the U. S. families still socialize their children into gender specific roles--men as breadwinners and women as homemakers--especially after women have children. But in Kenya's current economic situation, as in other Sub-Saharan African countries, the wife and husband are both breadwinners (Aryee, 2005). Furthermore, parents sacrifice a lot to ensure both their boys and girls are well educated so that they get good jobs, which translates to economic empowerment.

Besides, there is a high prevalence of females as heads of household in Kenya, with six out of ten women expected to be single mothers by age 45 due to having children out of wedlock or divorce (Kiberenge, 2013). So there is this cultural bind--females are expected to work outside home and take care of children and house chores, but they are not given the resources to enable them achieve these duties.

However, results also showed that some women had spouses who understood the strain and time pressures their wives experienced. A few spouses even chose to get themselves ready (dressed, breakfast) in the morning to reduce strain on their wives. By placing fewer demands on their wives, they enabled the women to conserve their energy and time resources and use it on children, housework and childcare.

Spouses seemed to assist more in meeting some of their children's needs—such as dropping their children to school and checking homework--than in the actual housework tasks such as cooking. A related study of immigrant women in U.S. from Sub-Saharan Africa found that these women perceived that their husbands were supportive when they helped them with *any* tasks, even though the women did most of the house chores (Muasya, forthcoming). These women's spouses, due to acculturation and economic pressures, turned out to be the greatest source of support for their wives within a relatively short time after arriving in the U. S. They either stepped in, or the family sunk (suffered drastic economic consequences). However, in Kenya, the reliance on house helps and relatives weakens this form of support.

House help support. Women who had reliable domestic workers at home could rely on the house help to reduce their work strain and time pressures. The teachers would not be worried about their children while at work and thus could focus and be more productive. A reliable house help meant less conflict at home between teachers and their spouses, since most house help tasks would be completed in a satisfactory manner. My study also showed that a reliable house help meant less tardiness at school and better

working relationship with other colleagues and the supervisor, and eventually good performance reviews for the teachers.

However, perhaps the overreliance on house helps has caused other forms of support, such as flexible work programs, not to be developed. The most cited form of support from house help was “reducing workload” in the home sphere. However, for this to happen, the house help and the teacher had to maintain good working relations in order for the teacher to balance family demands and work. Failure to create such an environment within the home between the family and house help led to conflicts that arise in this type of work relationship.

Muasya & Martin (in press) found that the house help/employer relationship was different from that found in formal organization described in much of the organizational communication scholarship. That is, house helps were treated simultaneously as an employee *and* as a family member, which leads to role ambiguity and frequent conflict. The house help had to do her duties well or lose her job; at the same time, she was expected to behave as a family member, which meant participating in family activities, such as family prayers, and adhering to the moral values of the particular family. Most of the women in this study on average kept the house help for one and half years. There is anecdotal evidence that women prefer less beautiful house helps for fear they may steal their husbands.

One major drawback of house help support was their lack of availability and their unreliability, which was a major stressor, unlike other sources of support described by the teachers. This is fairly unique to the Kenyan (and other Sub-Saharan) context and is

consistent with (De Regt 2009). Lack of house help support meant the teacher had to do all the housework by herself, adding more strain.

Other family support (family living with the teacher). This section describes support the teacher received from relatives living with or near the teacher. Relatives were called upon to reduce the workload at home, and they could step in when the house help was not there. Teachers who lived near their relatives would take their children to them in case they had no house help. Despite help from extended family being hailed, as in Okonkwo's (2014) study, as a source of work-family conflict support, the qualitative data revealed that not all teachers enjoyed this type of support.

Sometimes the relatives would be committed to their own responsibilities and were unable to provide support. For instance, if the teacher lived with her younger sisters or brothers, they would also go to school or college or work and were only available in the morning and evenings. Some relatives would visit for short periods of time, and this support was only very temporary or available as an alternative only when the house help was absent.

In addition, teachers reported that some relatives were hard to get along with or would place extra demand on the teacher, and so the teachers would prefer not to rely on them for support. Previous research findings both confirm and contradict these findings. Okonkwo (2014) found that teachers in Enugu town in Nigeria reported that support from house helps and relatives decreased their work-family conflict; however, other studies show that this form of support is on the wane even in other parts of Sub-Saharan Africa (Aryee 2005; Miller, et al, 2006; Mokomane 2014).

Support from far (distant) family, neighbors, and friends. Can the teacher have a village to help where she lives? Neighbors and friends can be “fictive kin” who can offer resources for work-family support. For example, in many U. S. Black communities, due to black communalism, there is tendency for multi-generations and even fictive kin to help in the care of children (Wilson, 1989). My study found that friends and neighbors who had the same age of children formed strong support networks, to provide help in case one of them lacked a house help. Or a family who lived far away would come to the city to stay with young children if needed, or the young baby could be taken to the home village for short periods of time until the teacher is able to find adequate childcare.

Teachers who had lived longer in an area had more social capital than those who had recently moved in, and some had a social network of teachers from other schools who could assist in acquiring teaching materials. Muasya (forthcoming) found that women who immigrated to U.S. did not have the same social capital as when they were home in Africa; that is, they could not rely on neighbors and friends to the same extent for childcare support. Their belief in collectivism tended to wane as they moved to U.S., and they were only able to rely on their neighbors and friends for very short periods of time; this was partly because those neighbors and friends also had to go to work, and partly because there was not the same collectivistic expectation of helping out others with childcare and other household responsibilities.

Inconsistency between qualitative data and quantitative data. It is important to note here that the qualitative data showed that teachers actually do receive different

forms of support from supervisor, colleague, spouse, relatives, and house help, but the regression models did not predict this relationship. There are several possible reasons for these inconsistent findings. First, the scales used for support and WFC could have failed to translate to the Kenyan context due to a work-family culture with different norms of what constitute support and work-family conflict compared to that of the West. Aryee's (2005) model of work-family conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa shows there are stressors which are found in Africa but not in the West, such as inadequate pay.

In addition, some sources of support (e.g. relatives support) could also be stressors in that the relatives also need financial assistance and a source of support because they assist in childcare. Second, the relationship between spousal support, house help support, and WFC could be weak, or these support variables could be indirectly related to WFC. For instance, Carlson and Perrewe (1999) gave numerous possible relationships in which support variables could be related to WFC. One of them is that support could be an antecedent to stressors that cause work-family conflict. Spousal support correlated with the number of days a teacher worked beyond school hours and negatively with flexibility in reporting and leaving. House help support correlated with the number of lessons a teacher taught; however, these correlations were weak given the large sample size. When I regressed support variables and WFC, the relationship disappeared.

Also, the two sets of data seemed to have answered different set of questions. The teachers described different forms of support they received; however, I expected a significant influence between the support measures and WFC subconstructs, but the results were insignificant, giving rise to inconsistency. The fact that teachers described

the support they received from the various people did not imply that this support would reduce WFC as expected.

These teachers may have received the support, but not in the time or quality or quantity they desired. Also, the sizes of correlation were small compared to the large sample size, and small correlations vanished in the regression if they overlapped. It could also be a language issue; maybe the women understood the meaning of support, strain, and time pressures differently than conceptualized by myself as the researcher. Further research is require to better understand this inconsistency.

SECTION 3: Work-Family Conflict, Support and Burnout

Hypothesis 3 predicted that greater work-family conflict a teacher experiences would be positively related to burnout. Regression analysis indicated that time WIF and strain WIF were related to one dimension of burnout, emotional exhaustion, but not to the other dimensions--time FIW and strain FIW. Thus, work-related time and strain pressures influenced burnout for teachers, but not pressures from the home side. Prior studies have shown that there is a relation between emotional exhaustion and WFC. For instance, the possibility of WFC has negative effects of emotional exhaustion (Demerouti, Bakker, Bulters, 2004), and Thompson Kirk and Brown (2005) found that female officers who reported high level of emotional exhaustion also reported WFC. Hall, Dollard, Tuckey, Winefield & Thompson (2010) emphasized the reciprocal effects of job demands, WFC, and emotional exhaustion. My study specifically shows WIF from the work side to be the cause of emotional exhaustion.

Cynicism, another dimension of burnout, was related to strain WIF and strain FIW. This finding agrees with Burke and Greenglass (2001) who found WIF and FIW related to emotional exhaustion and cynicism, although in their study they did not differentiate between strain and time based WIF or FIW. Cynicism, unlike emotional exhaustion, was influenced by strain both from work and home and time FIW. Professional efficacy was related to time WIF and strain FIW. The higher the time WIF, the more the professional efficacy; if a teacher spends more time in school, she will probably be more successful at her job and even be a candidate for promotion. Perhaps professional efficacy implies prioritizing work before family, thus creating this conflict.

On the other hand, there was a negative relationship between professional efficacy and strain FIW. The teacher had to experience less strain from the home sphere; you need more energy resources from home to be able to excel at school and more time at school. Burke and Greenglass (2001) found among nurses that high FIW led to low levels of professional efficacy.

Stressors and burnout. Regression analyses were conducted to find out if family, work, generic, and teacher specific stressors influenced burnout, and results revealed that time and emotional investment in students' parents influenced emotional exhaustion. The regression of stressors on cynicism revealed, when school location was controlled, that flexibility in reporting and leaving and number of lessons were significant predictors. In considering professional efficacy, the number of children in the household, years of teaching experience, time and emotional investment in student behavior, and flexibility in

reporting and leaving significantly predicted this burnout dimensions. School location was a significant predictor when added.

In summary, these results show that study of burnout in Kenya should require the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods. The use of burnout scales helped to identify stressors that had an impact on Kenyan teachers such as time and emotional investment in students' parents, number of children in the household, number of lessons per week, and flexibility in leaving and reporting, years of teaching experience, and time and emotional investment in student behavior.

These results concur with the qualitative studies of Sichambo, Maragia & Simiyu (2012) who found discipline problems, working overtime, and remedial classes as some of the contributors of burnout among Kenyan teachers. In another Kenyan study, Ng'eno (2008) found heavy workloads as a predictor of burnout. These two studies also identified factors which are unique to Kenyan context such as low salaries, lack of involvement in decision making, lack of promotion opportunities, poor working conditions, and lack of resources.

Support and burnout. Regression analyses were conducted to find out whether the type of support a teacher received reduced burnout. Surprisingly, results revealed that no type of support reduced the emotional exhaustion experienced by teachers and controlling for school location did not alter these results. The regression of cynicism and support was not significant, though spousal support was significant. Women with increasing spousal support experienced less cynicism. The regression of professional efficacy and support showed that support

from the spouse was related to professional efficacy; teachers whose husbands supported them had higher levels of professional efficacy than those who had less or no spousal support.

Halbesleben's (2006) meta-analysis of social support and burnout found that social support was not differentially related to the various burnout dimensions. But when interactions between different sources of support and burnout dimensions were considered, then work sources would have more direct impact on the influences of work demands, while non-work sources would have more direct impact on cynicism and personal efficacy.

Work-family conflict contributed to burnout, and the teachers in Nairobi experienced more burnout compared to those in towns. There could also be different stressors for burnout and WFC in Kenya. Just like work-family conflict, the regression models between work burnout and support variables were not significant. This could be either that the effect of support variables could be small, such as that of spousal support, or they do not translate to the Kenyan context. Or the relationship between support and burnout could be different from that anticipated in this study. The current quantitative results fail to confirm the COR theory, which in my study assumed that with more support from school and home, the teacher would experience less burnout.

Chapter 6

Summary

This chapter will present a summary of the most important findings of my study. In addition, it discusses the theoretical and the policy implications of these findings. It concludes with a discussion of the limitations of the study and directions for future research.

Key Findings

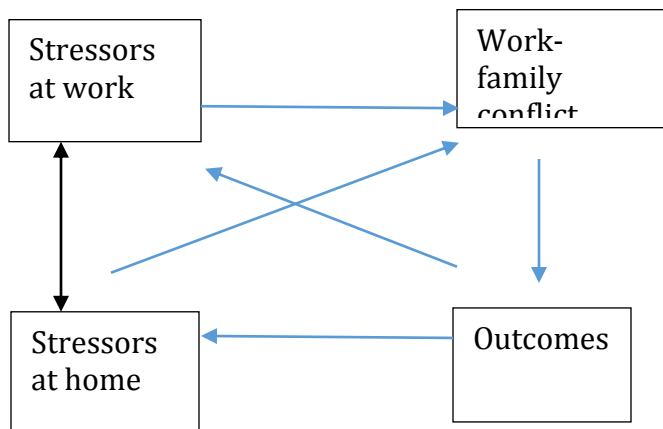
There are at least five important findings in this study: (1) the cyclical nature of work-family conflict and (2) the inconsistent evidence between qualitative and quantitative data. That is, qualitative and quantitative data revealed different scenarios regarding stressors, support, and work-family conflict (WFC) experienced by these Kenyan teachers, but revealed a fairly robust relationship with burnout. (3) The relationship between work-family conflict and burnout, (4) the relationship between work-family conflict, burnout and support, and (5) the role of culture in understanding work-family conflict, stressors and burnout.

Cyclical nature of WFC. A conceptual mapping of the qualitative data categories reveals the cyclical nature of work-family conflict. That is, as shown in Figure 1, time pressures and strain drive outcomes; these outcomes then act as secondary stressors that loop back to drive the strain and time pressures. The outcomes are the effects of work-family conflict already mentioned, such as children concerns and spouse concerns. The stressors include things such as lack and unreliability of house helps and long commuting distance and time. So there is a need to look for ways to break the loop.

For example, the loop can be broken if time and strain pressures are reduced at home or work or at both places.

It is futile to address the outcomes of work-family conflict, such as tardiness poor performance, and negligence of the home without addressing the root causes--stressors. This calls for concerted effort from the school, family, individual and society at large. We cannot continue to bury our heads in the sand anymore and just *imagine* positive changes to take place in our schools and families and society in general. This is the time the society needs to view work-family conflict as a societal concern, rather than an individual cross to bear.

Figure 1. The Cyclical Nature of Work-family Conflict



Source: Author

Inconsistent evidence of the nature and impact of stressors. Another key finding was the inconsistency between quantitative and qualitative results. First, the quantitative analysis found two stressors which were significantly related to WFC--the number of days a teacher worked beyond school hours and the number of children in the household

as the two potential stressors with time based WIF. However, the qualitative analysis revealed more and different stressors. For example, the lack and unreliability of the house help support was the most cited stressor, in contrast to the lack of spousal support which is cited in many Western studies (Cinnamon & Rich, 2005b; Cinamon, 2009; Netemeyer et al., 1996). Even the lack of extended family support was not mentioned at all in my study.

Second, despite the quantitative analysis not showing teacher workload (in form of average classes or number of lessons) as a stressor that predicts WFC, the qualitative analysis revealed that teachers mentioned high workloads and time taken in school work as potential stressors. Teachers also indicated long distance to work and time and lack of finances as stressors.

Third, the qualitative analysis revealed a number of other stressors. For example, while the number and or age of their children were not concerning (Aryee, 2005 & Goh, 2013; Higgins, Duxbury & Lee, 1994; Huffman, Culbertson, Henning & Goh, 2013), the welfare of the children was, i.e. good health, proper feeding, and acquisition of good morals. Thus, a sick child was one of the frequently cited issues that caused interruption in their normal flow of work. Some of the illnesses were linked to poor feeding. Fourth, the location of the school influenced the level of WFC and burnout a teacher experienced. Teachers working in Nairobi experienced higher WFC compared to those working in towns.

Fifth, regression analyses did not predict a relationship between work-family conflict and support variables. Though spousal support had the highest mean compared to

house help and relative support, it did not show any significance in the WFC model. However, the qualitative data showed that teachers received support from various sources, i.e. supervisor, colleague, spouse, house help, and relatives. This could imply an indirect relationship between WFC and the support variables. That is, the survey questions asking women about what types of support they received did not mention WFC and so did not yield answers focused on WFC, but yielded other information which could be used to make different hypotheses in future research.

Work- family conflict and burnout. A third key finding was that WFC was related to burnout. Time WIF and strain WIF were related to emotional exhaustion, while strain WIF and strain FIW were related to cynicism, and finally time WIF and strain FIW were related to professional efficacy. Teachers experienced different levels of burnout depending on the school location. Time and emotional investment in students' parents was the only stressor that influenced emotional exhaustion. The number of children in a household and flexibility in reporting and leaving partly influenced cynicism.

The number of children, number of years of teaching experience, and time and emotional investment in student behavior influenced professional efficacy. Controlling for school location showed that a school location in Nairobi or in towns had some effect on the level of burnout experienced by a teacher. School location did not influence the relationship between emotional exhaustion and WFC. However, it influenced the relationship with cynicism (positive) and professional efficacy (negative). School location influenced the relationship between burnout and stressors. The relationship was positive for emotional exhaustion and cynicism and negative for professional efficacy.

Work-family conflict, burnout, and support. A fourth key finding concerns the relationship between burnout, work-family conflict, and support. Quantitative analysis showed WFC contributed moderately to burnout among Kenyan teachers, but the stressors leading to burnout could be different from those measured in the quantitative analysis in the study. Qualitative analysis showed teachers experienced higher levels of burnout than revealed by the quantitative data. Spousal support was seen to be related to cynicism and professional efficacy, but not the other support variables. The other support variables were not significant in the regression models. In this study I assumed that there was a main effect between support variables and burnout variables.

However, the relationship could be indirect for support variables that were not significantly related to burnout. It may be good to establish which of the two relationships apply to the Kenyan context. Some scholars have postulated that WFC could be a mediator between job demands and burnout or could be reciprocal in nature (Halbesleben, 2006). Halbesleben's prediction, that social support would be related to cynicism and professional efficacy, was not supported by the meta-analysis that he conducted. In his critique and contributions to COR theory, Halbesleben asked for a redefinition of resources and their utilization. However, in my study, spousal support was related to cynicism and professional efficacy.

Role of culture. A fifth key finding was that cultural context seems to play an important role in understanding teachers' experiences with work-family conflict, its antecedents and outcomes. As discussed throughout the dissertation, some findings contradicted those found in previous research and only made sense when

interpreted within the Kenyan cultural context. The implication of this finding will be discussed in more detail below.

Contribution to Theory

The results of this study make important contributions to theorizing in the work-family conflict scholarship: (1) conceptualization of work-family conflict and (2) stressors, (3) the important role of culture in work-family conflict studies as well as studies on burnout and support, (4) the limitations of conservations of resources (COR) theory in explaining the relationship between support variables and WFC, and (5) the importance of using both quantitative and qualitative methods in investigations of WFC . These five contributions are discussed below.

The first contribution to theory is that results of the study seem to suggest that the *construct* of work-family conflict is a universal construct. My qualitative analysis showed that women reported experiencing time pressures and strain as they attempted to balance work and family demands, confirming results in studies conducted in Western and non-Western contexts (Burke & Greenglass 2001; Byron 2005; Cinamon & Rich 2005a; Eby et al., 2005; Epie & Ituma 2014 ; Frone, Russell & Cooper 1992a; Yildirim & Aycan, 2008). However, *what drives the conflict* i.e. the stressors, could be different or have different impacts among Kenyan teachers than in Western contexts, due to different cultural norms. For instance, lack of spousal support is not considered a stressor because in Kenyan culture men are not socialized to do housework (Suda, 2002). Additionally, Aryee's (2005) model proposes a different set of stressors in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The second contribution to theory is the identification of stressors not emphasized in Western literature. That is, results suggest that there could be a different set of stressors in Kenya and Sub-Saharan Africa which may not be experienced in other parts of the world, such as lack of house help support. My study also emphasized stressors such as health condition of the child, e.g. illness, lack of adequate finances, and long commuting distance and time, which may also be experienced by other low-income families in other parts of the world.

Lack of house help (domestic worker) support was a major stressor, while lack of spousal support was not mentioned as a stressor, probably due to cultural norms. Lack of a house help or unreliability of the house help caused great problems for these women at their workplace. Lack of spousal support or extended family support was not seen as a stressor, explaining why teachers with no spouses did not report higher WFC than those with spouses.

Despite the study focusing on female teachers with young children, women did not report the presence or age of children as a stressor, as suggested in previous Western research, but rather the condition and the needs of the child. Thus a sick child was a stressor as the woman would be forced to miss work and stay to take care of the child. In addition to the stress of a sick child, women were also concerned about their child's poor feeding and moral upbringing. That is, they were stressed due to not having time to feed their children, either because they left early to school or came very late or were overburdened with school work. Poor feeding of children led to frequent illnesses and trips to the doctor. In addition, most of these teachers did not have medical insurance,

causing a strain in their finances. A sick child implied more days missed from school. Besides, seeking permission to be away from the school could result in conflict with their supervisors.

Lack of finances was seen a stressor as it meant that teachers could not afford to hire domestic workers to help with housework and childcare and thus reduce their (teachers') time and strain pressure and also meet the basic needs of the family. This is consistent with Aryee (2005), whose work-family conflict model for Sub-Saharan Africa includes inadequate pay as a work domain stressor. In my study, teachers with inadequate finances did most of their housework (not able to afford house help), leading to fatigue. It also meant waking up early and going to bed late, which resulted in sleep deprivation and more stress. Lack of finances meant teachers walked to school or used public transport, reporting late at work. In Western contexts lack of finances impacts working class women more than those in the middle class (Hays 1996; Hennessy, 2009). This implies the working class in the West could face the same experiences as these teachers, where working becomes a necessity for family survival.

My third contribution to theory is the suggestion that, in order to understand the nature of work-family conflict among Kenya teachers and how to mitigate it, there is need to understand the role of culture in these phenomena. It is important to point out that this is true for *all* investigations of work-family conflict, wherever in the world. It is helpful to conceptualize three levels of culture in this and other studies: macro, intermediate, and micro-culture. The macro level culture operated in two ways in Kenya. First, there is the overall structure that governs all public schools; most teachers are

employed by Teacher Service Commission (TSC), the human resource arm of the Ministry of Education Science and Technology which influence the human resource policies in schools (Teachers Service Commission, 2014). Currently, apart from statutory leaves there are no organizational family-friendly support initiatives Mywage.org/Kenya (n.d.-a). The second aspect of the macro culture in Kenya are the societal norms, which dictate and set the expectations of behaviors for wives and husbands. For example, the Kenyan culture does not encourage men to participate in housework chores and childcare (Suda, 2002).

The second level of culture, the intermediate, refers to the influence of the numerous ethnic groups in Kenya, and each tribal group has slightly different norms and expectations of what it means to be a wife and a husband; these norms impact work-family conflict and stressors differently. Some ethnic groups have more strict sanctions on men participating in house chores and childcare than others. One teacher cited that in her culture, men are not allowed to cook or help with childcare unless they are cooking for themselves and taking care of a child who is slightly older.

Furthermore, the macro and intermediate culture influenced what teachers labeled as stressors or not. For instance, there are norms which dictate the expectations of a wife at home, in regard to housekeeping, childcare, and care of their husbands. Failure to meet these expectations led to conflict with spouse over neglected duties. The fact that men are not socialized to do housework chores and childcare led some teachers to not cite lack of spousal support as stressor, though; they gave their husbands very high ratings on social support.

Finally, macro cultural expectation dictates that the women should also be bread earners (Aryee, 2005; Mekomane, 2014) as well as take care of the family; this puts these women in a cultural bind, especially when men are not encouraged to participate in house chores and childcare. These women are not given resources, yet are expected to manage these home and family in a context where house helps are sometimes unreliable or unavailable and expensive to hire (De Regt, 1998; Muasya, forthcoming) and extended family support is declining (International Labour Organisation, 2004; Mekomane, 2014).

The third level of culture, the micro level, refers to smaller units within the larger culture--the family unit and the school culture. The family unit could establish its own norms, of course partly influenced by the intermediate and macro norms of Kenyan culture (Giddens 1984, 2003). Each family either succeeds or fails to create a home environment and relationship between the husband and the wife that facilitates (or does not facilitate) the teacher to balance work and family demands. This micro-culture of family also influences the spouse's relationship with the house helps and live-in relatives, which enabled the teacher to handle (or not handle) work and family demands (Muasya, 2014).

The various schools also represent the micro level of culture. The study found that the micro-cultures of the school varied in their norms and expectations for teachers and the degree to which supervisors and colleagues were sources of support (or not); for instance, some schools were more family-friendly than others. In addition to the influences of the three levels of culture, there is also the individual perspectives of the teachers, the perceptions that influenced individual decisions to participate in behaviors

that facilitated (or not) the teacher to handle demands of work and family. On the individual level, some husbands responded differently to the WFC challenges their wives experienced; some assisted and others did not. Some teachers had their own initiatives to resolve WFC conflict, some of which were effective and others were not.

A fourth theoretical contribution involves the relationship between support variables and WFC and Conservation of Resources theory (Hopfoll, 1989, 2001). As noted earlier, the regression models did not show significant results of the support variables with WFC constructs. Spousal support and house help support were correlated to other stressors instead. My qualitative analysis showed that teachers did receive some form of support from school and home; however, my regression models did not find that support variables were related to WFC.

As described in Chapter 2, according to conservation of resources theory (COR) (Hopfoll 1989, 2001), if a teacher received enough resources, then she would not experience (or would experience reduced) stress and subsequent work-family conflict. The resources are generally conceptualized as objects (e.g. a car, kitchen appliances), conditions (e.g. condition at work and home), personal characteristics (e.g. self-efficacy, self-esteem), and energy resources (e.g. social support). The COR theory assumes the gradient of resource loss is steeper compared to the gradient of resource gain. That is, you lose your resources faster than you can acquire them. The loss of a resource leads to a resource loss spiral or a gain of resource leads to a resource gain spiral. The loss of one resource can lead to a loss of another. What is regarded as a resource is individually

appraised and is dependent on the cultural context, and finally, resources are often bundled together and inter-related (Hobfoll, 2011).

According to Geurts and Demerouti (2003) an individual experiences work-family conflict when they use more resources than they get. But my study found that some things can be both a source of support and a stressor at the same time. For instance, colleagues can be a source of support and stressor, and the same applies to house helps and extended family. That is, the extended family can offer work-family balance support, which enables the teacher to be productive in her work, but at the same time, they may require financial assistance or time and energy, putting a strain on the family finances and support system. Similarly, house helps (domestic workers) enable the teachers to work outside the home but can also be a source of conflict at home. This really challenges the definition of a stressor or a resource.

In addition, as noted earlier, culture influences work-family conflict experiences as it sets the expectations of the husband, wife, and work. One tenet of COR is that resources are individually appraised, but results here show that work-family conflict and related phenomena are influenced by cultural levels in Kenya, and that some resources can be communally appraised. It seems likely that this COR tenet of assuming individual appraisal of resources is a reflection/expression of an individualistic cultural/researcher orientation. Ultimately this suggests that in conceptualizing and measuring resources related to WFC, researchers need to recognize the importance of cultural influences.

Finally, a fifth contribution is the use of mixed methods. My study shows that to get a clearer picture of the nature of work-family conflict, the researcher should employ

mixed method approach as recommended by Mokomane (2014). This is because measures used in previous research are mostly developed in the Western cultural context and may fail to give a full picture of stressors which are not regarded as stressors in other contexts. This could be due to varying cultural norms. Despite women in my study reporting work-family conflict and burnout, the drivers of burnout were somewhat different from those identified in previous literature.

Combining quantitative and qualitative methods which probe the work-family conflict phenomenon can help fill in the missing information. Scales included in this study measuring different forms of support did not yield the expected significant results in WFC, but showed some relations with burnout dimensions. However, qualitative data showed that teachers *did* receive various forms of support from school and home. The descriptive data indicated that teachers reported moderate work-family conflict and moderate burnout, but analyses of the qualitative responses seem to show that actually teachers experienced high levels of work-family conflict and burnout.

Policy Implications

The results of this study reveal that women teachers experience considerable stress and work-family conflict in trying to balance competing demands in their work and family life. These findings have some policy implications for Kenyan government, educational institutions, and community organizations. The above findings call for a change of perception at school, home and society in general regarding work-family balance/conflict issues of families. If we do nothing, we deceive ourselves that everything is fine. Our leaders should write legislation and develop community resources that would

enable families to ease the burden of work-family conflict. As it is now, the future of many Kenyan children is in the hands of domestic workers who may lack the skills required to raise these children with good morals and proper nutrition.

My study found that work-family conflict is influenced by culture at various levels, and policy should aim at these four levels--at the macro, intermediate, micro, and individual level. At the macro level, the Ministry of Education Science and Technology, in collaboration with Teachers Service Commission, should come up with policies and resources that may help schools and their supervisors to create more family-friendly institutions. At the school level, the supervisors should encourage a family-friendly working environment. Supervisors can improve the productivity of their teachers, reduce tardiness and absenteeism, and eventually improve working relations, especially among female teachers, by addressing the work-family conflict challenges that they face. The work-family challenges faced at home and school are intertwined.

This calls for schools to have built-in mechanisms to reduce interruptions that occur due to work-family conflict challenges among the teachers, such as having substitute teachers. Teachers expressed the need for formal family-friendly policies, which could enable them to combine work and family. It seems likely that increases in perceived support from supervisors could impact teachers positively and ultimately improve the perception of the school environment as family-friendly and a good place to work. Interestingly, some of the support resources, such as flexible schedules and workload, do not require a big capital outlay but re-organization of the school activities and better time management.

To foster change of culture in the Kenyan society, it has to start at an early age. The Ministry of Education Science and Technology can add work-family conflict issues in social studies' curriculum of primary schools. At tertiary level, it can add to administration and management curriculum of teachers and other managers. This will sensitize young boys and girls--future husbands and wives--as well as supervisors on importance of work-family balance. The current supervisors and teachers in schools can be sensitized through seminars.

Study Limitations

There are a several limitations to this study. First, I collected the data using one method, self-reported measures, making common method variance a possibility (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003). Common variance is an error that arises due to the measurement method used in research rather than the validity of the constructs. Second, despite assuring anonymity of responses, the self-reported data may suffer from social desirability effect in that respondents may show more positive traits of their personality and respond to questions in a way to be approved by others, especially on sensitive issues (Phillips & Clancy, 1972). To overcome these limitations, I used both open ended and closed ended questions to seek information from the respondents and this lowered the concern about common variance error.

Third, I collected the data at one point in time and I cannot assume causal relationships. This concern can be addressed by longitudinal studies, in which data are collected at different times and using repeated measures. Fourth, I adapted the scales from western work-family conflict and burnout the scales, which may not fully measure

the realities of the African culture. What was perceived as a source of work-family conflict in the West may have been perceived as a social obligation in the African cultures. For example, lack of spousal support was not viewed as a stressor (Aryee, 2005). Aryee proposes that there could be different set of antecedents in the West compared to Sub-Saharan Africa due to the country sociocultural and level of economic development.

Fifth, the sample only included female teachers in public schools with at least one young child and it did not include females with no children or with fully grown children or from rural areas. It did not include male teachers or cover all towns and cities in Kenya, and thus it may not be generalizable to all teachers in all parts of the country. However, it sheds some light to the nature of work-family conflict in Kenyan urban schools.

Conclusion and Future Research

This research found that some stressors found in Kenyan context which impact on WFC and burnout could be different or have a different impact on Kenyan teachers than those of women in Western contexts. The most frequently mentioned stressor was lack of reliable house help support. Spousal support though was not related to work-family conflict but was related to teachers' ability to reduce cynicism and improve their professional efficacy. This research was a seminal study and suggests several directions for further research. In order to get more nuanced picture of work-family conflict among teachers, longitudinal studies with more representative data should be conducted using both qualitative and quantitative methods. This research should not only cover teachers,

but teachers' representatives, employers, and other stakeholders in the education sector.

Possible further research areas and questions include:

First, the present study did not include male or single teachers. This does not imply male teachers do not experience work-family conflict or burnout; they may be experiencing work-family conflict or facing different set of stressors. Future samples should incorporate them as well.

Second, from my study it was apparent that location influenced the level of WFC and burnout a teacher experienced. This partly influenced by the proximity to the extended family, as well as the different socio-economic features that differentiate towns and cities (Okonkwo, 2014). The current study can be extended to include teachers from rural areas to discover whether there are differences in stressors, work-family conflict, and burnout among teachers located in schools in rural areas, small towns, and big cities.

Third, my qualitative study showed there could be a different set of stressors of work-family conflict in Kenya as opposed to Western literature. Thus a qualitative study should be carried out as a follow-up study in order to get the perspectives of the employer and the supervisors; this might include both the perceptions of school supervisors and administrators on ways in which they can enable teachers to overcome work-family conflict challenges in schools in Kenya.

Fourth, for dual-career couples, the same study of teachers could be carried out comparing the perceptions of husband and wife and the extent one partner's work-family conflict influence the other partner's work-family conflict, marital satisfaction, and job

satisfaction. This will enable policy makers to understand gender specific as well as cross over effects of WFC on families.

Fifth, in my quantitative analysis, I used mostly stressors identified from literature from other parts of the world. However, it would be more interesting if the stressors used in the study are those identified in Kenya and Sub-Saharan work-family conflict or burnout literature. These stressors may paint a different scenario.

Finally, there is need to further explore the role of culture in understanding work-family conflict in Kenya. All along, there is this assumption that work-family conflict is the same everywhere and may be influenced by the same set of stressors. However, my study proved that the work-family conflict construct is the same, but the stressors are different.

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APPENDIX A
ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY'S INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
APPROVAL



EXEMPTION GRANTED

Judith Martin
Human Communication, Hugh Downs School of
480/965-6750
Judith.Martin@asu.edu

Dear Judith Martin:

On 5/19/2014 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title:	The relationship between work and family stressors, work family conflict and burnout among female teachers in Kenya urban schools.
Investigator:	Judith Martin
IRB ID:	STUDY00001114
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Study Documents.pdf, Category: Consent Form;• Muasya Protocol.pdf, Category: IRB Protocol;

The IRB determined that the protocol is considered exempt pursuant to Federal Regulations 45CFR46 (2) Tests, surveys, interviews, or observation on 5/19/2014.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator

cc: Gladys Muasya
Gladys Muasya

APPENDIX B

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY APPROVAL

APPENDIX C

INFORMATION LETTER FOR HEAD TEACHERS

INFORMATION LETTER- For Head Teachers

The relationship between Work and Family Stressors', Work-family conflict and Burnout among Female Teachers in Kenya Urban Schools

Dear _____

I am a graduate student under the direction of Professor Judith Martin at Arizona State University. I am conducting a research study to try to better understand the everyday challenges that primary and secondary schools' female teachers in urban areas of Kenya face as they try to combine work and family responsibilities. The study seek to identify teaching specific stressors' and how they relate to burnout and work-family conflict, and how family and work support mitigate these challenges.

I am inviting your participation in this study by requesting your office to forward the 'Recruitment Script' and 'Questionnaire survey 'through departmental email or mail to the female staff in your school to fill in my survey.

Their participation in this study is voluntary. If they choose not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, of course there will be no penalty. This study is exploratory in nature and there are no foreseeable risks or discomforts to their participation.

I will ensure their responses are confidential and remove any personal identifiers from the data. The results of this study may be used in reports, presentations, or publications but their name will not be known. If applicable, results will only be shared in the aggregate form.

If you have any questions concerning the research study, please contact the research team at Prof. Judith Martin: (1-480-965-6750), Judith.martin@asu.edu

Or Gladys Muasya: (1-480-307-1930), (254-732-389-310), gmuasya@asu.edu. Please let me know, by email contact or phone if they wish to be part of the study.

Thank you very much for your cooperation in this important research project.

Sincerely,

Gladys Muasya

APPENDIX D: SURVEY

Dear Participant:

I am a graduate student in the Hugh Downs School of Human Communication in the College of Liberal Arts at Arizona State University in the United States. I am working under the direction of Dr. Judith N. Martin, Professor of Intercultural Communication. This questionnaire seeks to better understand the challenges female teachers' face every day as they combine work and family responsibilities. This questionnaire will take around 25 minutes of your time.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You can skip questions if you wish. If you choose not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty.

Please complete this questionnaire as completely as possible. There is no right or wrong answers but your honest opinions are very important to us.

Although there is no direct benefit to you for participating in this study, there are also no foreseeable risks or discomforts that should stem from your participation. However, a small token of will be provided.

Please do not write your name or any identifying information on your survey. Your responses will be anonymous. Although the results of this study may be used in reports, presentations, or publications, your name will not be known or used. Results will only be shared when combined with other responses.

If you have any questions about this survey, please contact Dr. Judith Martin at the Hugh Downs School of Human Communication at Arizona State University (Judith.martin@asu.edu) or Gladys Muasya (gmuasya@asu.edu).

Return of the questionnaire will be considered your consent to participate.

Thank you very much for your participation. Sincerely,

Gladys Muasya

Questionnaire Code: _____

Instructions

Please answer the questions as completely and honestly as possible. As women attempt to combine work and family responsibilities (childcare and housework) they encounter some challenges/ tensions. This study seeks understand your experiences at work and home and how you ensure that both work and family are running smoothly.

SECTION A

1a) Describe in detail the challenges/ difficulties you encounter everyday as you combine school work, childcare, and housework responsibilities.

1b) In what ways does your supervisor at school help you to combine school work , childcare, and housework responsibilities? _____

1c) In what ways do your colleagues at school help you to combine schoolwork, childcare, and housework responsibilities?

2a) Do you have a house girl? Yes () No ().

(b) If YES, Is your house girl a day scholar? Yes (); No ().

(c) How many days does she work for you in week? _____ .

(d) How long have you employed your current house girl? _____

(e) In the last year, in what ways has your house girl helped you to cope with your school work, childcare, and housework responsibilities_____

(3a) In what way does your spouse help you to combine your schoolwork, childcare and housework responsibilities?_____

(b) In what ways have other family members that live with you helped you to cope with challenges you face balancing school work, childcare, and housework responsibilities.

(c) In the last year, in what ways has your friends, neighbors, and family members that don't live with you helped you to cope with the challenges that you've faced combining your schoolwork, childcare and, housework responsibilities?

SECTION B

For each question circle the answer that matches your opinion.

1. On a scale of 1= strongly disagree to 5= strongly agree, rate the level of your agreement with each of the following statements.

- a) I have clear planned goals and objectives for my job at school
- b) I know that I have divided my time properly at school
- c) I know what my responsibilities are at school
- d) I know exactly what is expected of me at school
- e) I feel certain about how much authority I have on this job
- f) Explanation is clear of what has to be done at my work at school

- g) I have to do things that should be done differently under different condition at work at school
- h) I receive an assignment without the manpower to complete it at school
- i) I have to go around a rule or policy in order to carry out an assignment at school
- j) I work with two or more groups who operate quite differently at school
- k) I receive conflicting requests from two or more people at school
- l) I do things that are likely to be accepted by one person and not by others at school
- m) I receive an assignment without adequate resources and materials to execute it
- n) I work on unnecessary things at school
- o) The amount of work I am expected to do at school is too great
- p) I never seem to have enough time to get everything done at school
- q) It often seems like I have too much work at school for one person to do

2) Please rate your level of agreement with the following statements concerning your life in general.

On a scale of 1= strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree, rate the level you agree with the following statements concerning your life satisfaction.

- a) In most ways my life is close to my ideal (what I wanted it to be).
- a) The conditions of my life are excellent.
- b) I am satisfied with my life.
- c) So far I have received the important things I want in life
- d) If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing

3) On a scale of 1= strongly disagree to 5= strongly agree, rate the level of your agreement with each of the following statements.

- a) The work I do in my school is meaningful to me.
- b) At the school where I work, I am treated with respect
- c) I feel I am a part of the group of people I work with at school
- d) look forward to being with the people I work with at school each day
- e) I am satisfied with the opportunities that I have at work to learn new skills that could help me get a better job or find another equally good job if this one doesn't work out.
- f) Presently, I am actively searching for another job
- g) In the last few months, I have seriously thought about looking for a new job.
- h) Intend to leave teaching in the near future

4) a) On a scale of 1= small and 10 =is large; rate your agreement with the following statements.

- a) Students' behavior problems require from you....

- b) Relations with your students' parents require from you.....
- c) Students' behavior problems require from you
- d) Relations with your students' parents require from you.....

5) The items that follow measures teachers' perceptions about the potential challenges female school teachers with children face as they combine the responsibilities of home and family.

On a scale of 1 "Strongly Disagree" to 5 "Strongly Agree", rate your agreement of your experiences with the following statements

- a) My work at school keeps me from my family activities more than I would like.
- b) The time I must devote to my teaching job keeps me from participating equally in household responsibilities and activities.
- c) I have to miss family activities due to the amount of time I must spend on school responsibilities.
- d) The time I spend on family responsibilities often interferes with my work responsibilities at school
- e) The time I spend with my family often causes me
- f) The time I spend with my family often causes me not to spend time in activities at my school work that could be helpful to my career. I have to miss school activities due to the amount of time I must spend on family responsibilities.
- g) When I get home from school I am often too tired to participate in family activities/responsibilities
- h) I am often so emotionally drained when I get home from school that it prevents me from contributing to my family
- i) Due to all the pressures at my work at school, sometimes when I come home I am too stressed to do the things I enjoy
- j) Due to stress at home, I am often preoccupied with family matters at school.
- k) Because I am often stressed from family responsibilities, I have a hard time concentrating on my work responsibilities at school.
- l) Tension and anxiety from my family life often weakens my ability to do my school tasks.

6) On a scale of 0 = "never" and 6 = "always", rate your level of agreement with the following statements

- a) I feel emotionally drained from my school work.
- b) I feel used up by the end of the school day.

- c) I feel tired when I get up in the morning and have to face another day at school.
- d) Working all day at school is really a strain on me.
- e) I feel burned out (exhausted) from my school work
- f) I have become less interested in my work at school since I started this teaching job
- g) I have become less enthusiastic about my work at school.
- h) I just want to do my teaching job and not be bothered.
- i) I have become more cynical about whether my work at school contributes anything
- j) I doubt the significance of my work at school.
- k) I can effectively solve problems that arise in my work at school.
- l) I feel I am making an effective contribution to my school.
- m) In my opinion, I am good at my teaching job.
- n) I feel excited when I accomplish something at school.
- o) I have accomplished many worthwhile things in this teaching job.
- P) At my school, I feel confident that I am effective at getting things done.

7) The following features explain the nature of family roles. On a scale of 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree, please indicate the extent you agree with these features in your family responsibilities.

- a) I have clear planned goals and objectives for my family.
- b) I know that I have divided my family time properly.
- c) I know what my family responsibilities are.
- d) I know exactly what my family expects of me.
- e) I feel certain about how much authority I have in my family.
- f) The details of what has to be done in my family is clear.
- g) In my family, have to do things that should be done differently under different condition.
- h) I have family tasks but lacks the manpower to complete it.
- i) I have to break some family rule or policy in order to carry out some family tasks.
- j) My spouse and I operate quite differently.
- k) I receive clashing demands in my family from my children and /or spouse.
- l) I do things in my family that are likely to be accepted by one person and not by others.
- m) I receive/have family assignments without adequate resources and materials to execute them.
- n) In my home, I work on unnecessary things.
- o) The amount of work I am expected to do for my family is too great.
- p) I never seem to have enough time to get everything done for my family.

q) It often seems like I have too much for one person to do in my home/family.

8. CIRCLE the option that best describes flexibility at your work place.

a) To what extent are you allowed to choose the time to report and close at work or change the time you report and close from work on a daily basis?

(1) I cannot change (); (2) I can change within certain limits (); (3) and I am entirely free to decide.

b) How difficult would it be for you to take an hour or two off during working hours to take care of personal or family matters?

(1) Not difficult at all (); (2) not too difficult (); (3) somewhat difficult (); (4) very difficult ().

9) The following statements indicate the extent you may rely on different people to reduce the challenges between work and family responsibilities. On a scale of 1= “not at all “to 5 = “A great deal” rate the level of your reliance from the person (s) indicated.

To what extent can you count on your school leadership/colleagues/spouse/extended family/ domestic workers to?

- a) back you up when you have difficulty combining work and family?
- b) listen to you when you face difficulties in combining work and family?
- c) help you when you face difficulties combining work and family?

10. The following items indicate work and family values. On a scale of 1= strongly disagree to 5= strongly agree, indicate your agreement with the following items.

- a) I live, eat, and breathe my teaching job(so much absorbed in with work)
- b) The most important things that happen to me in my life occur at my work at school.
- c) The major satisfaction in my life comes from my teaching job
- d) Everything I do in my life is for the sake of my family
- e) The most important things that happen in my life occur within my family
- f) The major satisfaction in my life comes from my family
- g)

SECTION C

Please tick or CIRCLE the correct response or fill in the blanks.

1) Marital status: Married () Single () Widowed () Divorced ().

b)If you have a spouse, is he employed full time? Yes () No

2) What is your Age? ___ 20-30 (); 31-40(); 41-50 (-----); above 50 years ().

3a) How many children live in your household? ().

b) What are those children's ages? _____

4a) What category of school do you teach in? Primary (); Secondary ().

b) How many years of teaching experience do you have? ().

5 a) What is your highest education level?

(i) High school (); (ii) Teacher's College Certificate () (iii) Diploma ()

(iv) Bachelor's Degree (); (v) Master's Degree (); (VI) Other () Please specify _____

b) Do you have administrative responsibilities? YES () NO ().

If YES specify: (i) (Class teacher () (ii) departmental head () subject teacher ();

(iii) Deputy () (iv) Principal (); (v) Games master (); Dormitory head ()

(vi) Other (please specify (_____) **(Tick all that apply)**

6a) Where do you live? (i) In the School compound ()

(ii) Outside school the school compound ().

(b) How long does it take you to travel from home to school? _____

(c) Which mean of transport do you use often to travel to school?

(d) How long have you lived in your current neighborhood? _____

7a) How many lessons do you have per week? (_____).

(b) What is your average class size? (____).

8. What type of support would you like to see your school implement to help its workers to combine the demands of school work, childcare and housework responsibilities?

Thank you for completing the questionnaire

Table 2
Descriptive and inter-correlation Among the Stressors

No	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1	2.74	1.37	1																
2	12.30	7.69	.360*	1															
3	25.18	7.54	.163**	.149**	1														
4	2.89	1.61	.048	.034	.132*	1													
5	6.49	2.48	.145**	.065	.028	.085	1												
6	7.19	2.28	.113*	.101	-.041	.054	.620**	1											
7	3.48	.90	.131*	.060	.080	.153**	.096	.067	1										
8	2.32	.90	.085	-.061	-.029	-.037	.077	.000	.084	1									
9	3.14	.93	.108*	.025	.061	.050	.090	.069	.447**	.240**	1								
10	2.25	.91	.085	-.053	.035	.019	.048	-.029	.122*	.509**	.362**	1							
11	3.36	1.13	-.048	.003	.077	.102	.147**	.118*	.023	-.005	-.120*	-.021	1						
12	3.40	1.05	-.018	.011	-.029	-.031	.126*	.179**	-.014	.063	-.126*	-.034	.457**	1					
13	4.15	1.03	-.044	.041	.100	.124*	.064	.093	.050	-.039	-.107	-.083	.370**	.235**	1				
14	3.07	1.18	-.100	-.111*	-.014	.090	.116*	.083	-.075	-.010	-.119*	-.096	.342**	.375**	.227**	1			
15	3.38	1.14	.015	-.032	.142*	-.096	.085	.092	.011	.028	-.026	-.020	.154*	.219**	.194**	.310**	1		
16	1.54	.78	-.038	-.107*	-.127*	-.067	-.002	-.025	-.107*	.079	.061	.067	-.034	-.016	-.120*	.046	-.008	1	
17	46.14	12.86	.076	.148**	.133	.087	-.078	.020	.081	-.128*	.006	-.052	-.025	-.045	-.090	.003	.085	-.081	1

1. No of children; 2. Teaching experience; 3. No of lessons per week; 4. Number of days worked beyond school hours; 5. Time and emotion investment in students' parents; 6. Time and emotional investment in student behavior; 7. Time WIF; 8. Time FIW; 9. Strain WIF; 10. Strain FIW; 11. Supervisor support; 12. Colleagues support; 13. Spousal support; 14. Relative support; 15. House help support; 16. Reporting and closing time; 17. Average class size
 *p<.05; **<.01

Table 3

Teachers' Stressors, Outcomes and Work-family Conflict

Manifestations of work- family conflict	Time pressures' manifestations	
	Inadequate time for school work	14
	Inadequate time for home	116
	Inadequate time for both home and school	55
	Inadequate time relaxation and social time	14
	Fatigue manifestations	
	Fatigue from school related tasks	43
	Fatigue from home related tasks	49
	Fatigue from both home and school (unspecified)	92
	Stressors	Inadequate support from home
unreliability of house help support		70
Uncooperative spouse (lack of spousal support)		2
	Interruptions in the normal flow of work and family schedules	
	Sick child	43
	Long distance and commuting time to and from school	15
	Sudden interruptions in the flow of work	23
	Strain and time related stressors at home	

	Lack of enough sleep	66
	General workload at home	7
	Lack of finances	17
	High expectations of duties at home	7
	Strain and time related stressors at school	
	workload at school	43
	Too much time taken by school work	14
	Too much work at both home and work	92
Effects of WFC	Effects of WFC at home	
	Children concerns	25
	Housework concerns	27
	Conflict with spouse	20
	Effects of WFC at school	
	Poor working relationship with boss and colleagues	19
	Reduced productivity at school	36
	Tardiness	39
	Effects of WFC at school and home	
	Inability to perform duties to perfection	36