CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION
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Results have been discussed according to the hypotheses tested.

Hypothesis 1: There will be significant differences between teachers in tribal and non-tribal schools on personal and familial variables, job involvement and psychological well-being.

The hypothesis testing the significant differences between teachers in tribal and non-tribal schools on their personal and familial variables, job involvement and psychological well-being, was found partially proved. The results showed that the main effect of school type was significant on socio-economic status and stress, and on the dimension of life satisfaction of the psychological well-being. The mean scores indicated that the tribal school teachers were from lower socio-economic status, and had higher stress and lower life satisfaction than the non-tribal school teachers.

The socio-economic status of the tribal school teachers was low and reflected on the physical setting of schools. Most of the tribal schools were situated in remote areas and the local tribal teachers were appointed there. This observation was similar to the other research
(Sinha, 1977). Tribal school teachers experienced higher stress than the non-tribal school teachers, as the environment of the tribal schools was not conducive for their effective functioning. The schools were deprived of basic amenities. Teaching of the equally deprived children alone could be the source of stress and anxiety among teachers. As reported by Patnaik, Pradhan and Panda (1989), teachers in Ashram schools were not motivated to work because of the low standards of students.

Another possible reason for the high stress among tribal school teachers was the perception of incongruence between their efforts in teaching (input) and the academic performance of students (output). As explained by the equity theory (Walster, Walster and Bercheild, 1978), the depressive symptoms resulted when input and output were disproportionate. The lower performance of the tribal students might have acted as pressure on the teachers in terms of lags in parental and community expectations. Generally, parents expected better academic performance, but the teachers in tribal schools, inspite of their efforts were not able to fulfil the parental expectations, leading to the feeling of guilt among them.

The cognitive appraisal theory conceptualised stress as arising out of some perceived discrepancy between environmental demands and the personal competence leading
to an appraisal of threat (Lazarus, 1966, Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). The feeling of non-fulfillment of the community expectations led teachers to experience stress. The person-environment-fit-model viewed stress as the misfit between personal needs and environmental attributes. The present finding of stress differing by the school type, was similar to those of Ushashree and Jamuna (1990), who pointed out that the stress was experienced in different school settings to different extents. (Dharmagadhan, 1988).

The tribal schools lacked facilities to make teaching interesting. The teachers needed to make extra efforts to meet the needs of tribal children and have great amount of patience. They were required to be soft in their dealing with the deprived children.

The tribal school teachers had limited exposure. Also, there was the mismanagement on part of the administration. The Sevashram schools attracted and enrolled low placed students as compared to the general schools. This had a cumulative effect in making the tribal school teachers more stressed. Morgan and Krehbiel (1985); and Ushashree and Jamuna, (1990), reported that a greater amount of stress was experienced by special school teachers.

The life satisfaction of tribal school teachers was low as they did not have basic amenities of life available
to them. Andrews and Withey (1974, 1976) showed that the general life satisfaction could be influenced by work related variables. The objective and subjective conditions of work were important components of satisfaction with life in general (Near, Rice and Hunt, 1978). Seashore (1976) demonstrated that the objective variables in the work context primarily influencing life satisfaction. Similar findings had been obtained over other occupational groups suggesting that the organisational characteristics had a strong influence on persons psychological well-being (Hart, Wearing and Heady, 1993; Kelloway and Barling 1991). Repetti (1987) noted that the quality of social environment at work was related to the mental health of the employees.

The tribal and the non-tribal schools did not differ on job involvement, self-esteem and psychological well-being. These findings were in contrast to the expectation that the better organisational conditions in non-tribal schools would enhance the self-esteem, job involvement, and psychological well-being of the non-tribal school teachers. It also did not support the structural approach towards job involvement and life satisfaction. The argument that organisational structure influenced the employee dedication through affecting the conditions of the work itself (Rosenholtz, 1989, Marcus and Smith, 1985) has not been supported by present findings. The present findings, however, support those of Patnaik, Pradhan and
Panda (1989) who reported that both the general and sevashram school teachers showed similar attitudes towards their profession and had comparable teaching skills. The teachers used work commitment as defense despite the low performance of students. The job involvement implied the reflection of one's subjective effort and concern towards teaching, which was socially desirable and this was visible in their response patterns. Reddy & Babu (1994) reported the residential school teachers having a more favourable attitude towards teaching than their counterparts in general schools.

Hypothesis 2: There will be significant differences between tribal and non-tribal teachers on personal and familial variables, job involvement and psychological well-being.

The main effect of teacher type was found significant on socio-economic status, self-esteem, stress, family interaction patterns, job involvement and psychological well-being. The mean scores indicated that the tribal teachers came from lower socio-economic status, had lower self-esteem, higher stress, poor family interactions, lower job involvement and psychological well-being.

The socio-economic status of the tribal teachers was low as the tribal community suffered from social, cultural and educational backwardness for generations, and lacked
educational facilities in the tribal areas. They also had the traditional occupational patterns. The lower self-esteem of the tribal teachers could be partly due to their disadvantageous position in the society and they were looked down by the non-tribal teachers. They had low socio-economic status, and suffered various prejudices and discriminations etc. The above findings could be supported by the efficacy based view of self-esteem, which stated that the members of the stigmatised groups had lower self-esteem than the non-stigmatised individuals, because of their inability to control and manipulate their environment. Social structural conditions, such as segregation or discrimination against members of the stigmatised or oppressed groups limited the possibilities for the formation of efficacy based self-esteem, by limiting their access to resources that were necessary for producing intended effects (Gecas and Schwalbe, 1983). This perspective was consistent with the looking glass self of Cooley (1956) and also the self-fulfilling prophecy approach which predicted that the members of the stigmatised groups would be lower in self-esteem than members of more advantaged groups. Other social psychological perspectives such as the equity theory (Walster, Walster and Berscheid 1978), social exchange theory (Thibaut and Kelly, 1959), social comparison theory (Festinger, 1954) and social identity theory (Tajfel and
Turner, 1986) also made compatible prediction that social stigma has negative effects on self-esteem. To a considerable extent, personal feelings of worth depended on the social evaluation of the group with which a person identified. Self hatred and feelings of worthlessness tended to arise from membership in underprivileged or outcast groups. Erickson (1956) found ample evidence of inferiority feelings and of morbid self hate in all culturally deprived groups. Parikh and Patel (1980) reported that self-esteem had significant relation with culture and education. They reported that non-tribal students had higher self-esteem as compared to the tribal students. Basavanna and Ujjwalarani (1988) found the upper caste college students showing higher level of self-esteem as compared to the lower caste students whose family were basically not educated.

The tribals had low socioeconomic status. Bott (1957) noted that people with higher education tended to associate more with their friends, whereas those with lower education related more to relatives and neighbours. The tribal community always struggled for their livelihood by involving in different manual activities in which they had little opportunity to interact both verbally and non-verbally. Since they were engaged in different activities, the intent of family was confined to the survival, which hampered the common interest of the
members. They lacked a common authority in the family which broke the family bond. They were more stress prone, and their communication process was adversely affected. A study by Litt and Turk (1985) supported these findings, as the teachers having positive communication with parents and community generally experienced less distress. The differences in the communication behaviours were also noted by Cohen and Dotan (1976) in their study where middle class families were found to be more communicative as compared to the lower class families. The families having more differentiated structure, and clearly defined roles, protected their members from experiencing a decline in the psychological well-being, following stressful life events (Hansen and Johnson, 1979). Burr (1973) argued that a stressful event enhanced the amount of disruptiveness, and disorganisation of the family system. Perlin and his associates (1981) noted that life events brought into focus the unfavourable implications of life problems and hence produced an increase in felt family strain. Family strains tended to decrease the psychological and social well-being (Lavee, Mc Cubbin and Olson, 1987). This finding was also consistent with those of Kanner, Coyne, Schaefer, and Lazarus (1981); and Patterson and Mc Cubbin (1983).

The tribal teachers experienced more stress and had lower psychological well-being as compared to the non-tribal teachers. This finding suggested that tribal
teachers were more under pressure than the non-tribal teachers. According to Jenkins and Calhoun (1991) the pressure was of viewing themselves as functioning at an accelerated pace to meet a lot of demands. The lack of training, lower qualifications and inefficiency among tribal teachers (Jangira and Singh, 1994), led to a feeling of inferiority, and perception of more threatening situation in the school. This was in line with the argument of Lazarus (1966) that the way in which a person interpreted a situation was of great importance for the occurrence or non-occurrence of positive and negative mental health.

The tribal teachers were brought up in culturally disadvantageous settings. Their deprivation perhaps made them more socially isolated and personally stressful (Runciman, 1966). As Kyriacou and Sutcliffes (1978) model suggested the stress among teachers resulted when they felt incapable and had difficulty in meeting the demands made upon them because of the perceptions of uncontrollability. It is the aptitude, the potential ability in the activity of a specialised kind which can be profited by training, an essential condition for the success of a teacher (Noll, 1957).

The policy of positive discrimination helped the STs to enhance their personal position, but they were not
perceived as competent by others. Even if they developed the necessary expertise and professionalism, they were not perceived as efficient as others. This reduced their confidence and motivation to work, resulting in other depressive symptoms. The effect of stress from work experience were physical, psychological and behavioural. The physical effects of stress were the increased frequency of headache, hypertension, fatigue. Psychological effects include the general uneasiness, depression, anxiety and loss of confidence. Behavioural effects included the Procastination, impatience with others, low productivity, absenteeism and withdrawal from teaching (Dewe, 1986). A number of studies have indicated a positive association between self-reported teacher stress and overall measures of mental ill health (Pratt, 1978; Galloway, 1982; Tellenback, Brenner and Lofgren, 1983). Hart (1994) argued that the negative teaching experiences lead to increased psychological distress, which in turn lowered the quality of work life. Employees need for personal growth and self-actualisation were fulfilled through work experiences. The satisfied employees deriving intrinsic pleasure from work enhanced their overall psychological well-being (Srivastava and Krishna, 1992).

factors outside the workplace which contributed to the stress of teachers. Schwab, Jackson and Schuler (1986) indicated that the work stress resulted in the deterioration of the quality of one's home life. The negative effects of stress in one's family life could be especially detrimental, because overtime family members were likely to find it increasingly difficult to remain supportive of the afflicted parent/spouse. The teachers found that the effects of stress at work created pressures at home, which again added to the problems at work and caused psychological distress. Conflict with the family produced strain symptoms of anxiety, fatigue and tension (Kopelman, Greenhaus and Connelly, 1983). Stress from the teaching affected performance and emotional well-being of teacher and the family (Kyriacou and Sutcliffe, 1977).

The tribal teachers were less involved in their job as compared to the non-tribal teachers. Low job involvement of tribal teachers could be a cause of their attachment to culturally valued occupations rather than teaching, which needed extra proficiency. As reported by Jangira and Singh (1994) the percentage of untrained tribal teachers was more than the non-tribal teachers. They also had lower educational qualifications and lower teaching aptitude. The aptitude of general teachers was significantly higher than the SC/ST teacher (Pattnaik, Pradhan and Panda, 1989).
Also, most tribal teachers taught in tribal schools, where the educational achievements of students were very poor and thus promoted unfavourable attitude among teachers. This was corroborated by the findings that satisfaction leads to job involvement (Santhamani, 1983; Mishra and Singh, 1986; Singh and Pestonjee, 1990).

The tribal teachers had different educational exposure. There were problems of the number of educational institutions, language, communication and indifference of authority, which played a detrimental role in the formation of attitude towards the profession. Pattnaik, Pradhan and Panda (1989) noted comparatively less variations in attitudes of the SC/ST teachers and non SC/ST teachers towards their profession.

The tribal teachers had low socio-economic status and poor family interaction patterns, which were not conducive for motivation to work. The poor family interaction patterns put pressures on them for looking after their family members, rather than the students. As a result, their attention always moved around the family and not the job, leading to lower involvement. They also had low self-esteem and high stress, which caused low job involvement (Ganguli, 1976). Also, a majority of the teachers particularly at the school level, did not have teaching as their first preference (Pattnaik, Pradhan and
Panda, 1989). The attitudes of teachers towards the profession, teaching and the process of education were central to the teacher effectiveness (Kaul, 1972; Pattnaik and Panda, 1982).

**Hypothesis 3:** There will be significant difference between more experienced and less experienced teachers, on personal and familial variables, job involvement and psychological well-being.

The results indicated that the more experienced teachers had lower socio-economic status, lower self-esteem, higher stress, poor family interaction patterns, lower job involvement and lower psychological well-being.

The more experienced teachers were from lower socio-economic status and had poor family interaction patterns. They usually came from families where two or more generations lived together. They were confronted with different ideas and attitudes of members. The generation gap made them unable to cope with the present social experiences and actions. The more experienced teachers had grown up children having different attitudes towards life, different life styles and interests, which did not conform to the beliefs of the more experienced teachers. The younger and less experienced teachers lived in nuclear
families and did not have to confront with the grown up children.

The findings of higher self-esteem of the less experienced teachers was not in line with the expectation that the individual's self-image will alter with progression through a career, along with personal changes in motivation and performance. Burns (1979) noted that the self-attitudes and perceptions of the younger female and male teacher were less positive than the older female and male teachers. Joseph (1983) indicated no difference on self-esteem among teachers grouped by teaching experience. Lee (1993) reported no correlation between teacher's self-esteem and age or years of teaching experience. The present findings perhaps resulted from the perceptions of younger teachers as more competent and having higher qualifications. This finding was also different from Gomtimani and Gonsalvar (1980) who found that the teachers having more teaching experience had better self-concepts.

The higher job involvement of less experienced teachers could be related to their high concern about self fulfilment and autonomy. On the other hand, more experienced teachers were already bored of their routine work. Super (1957) found that the job involvement increased upto a point at mid-career but decreased during later career development. As age increased peoples involvement
and active participation in programmes of action, decreased. In schools, the elderly teachers expressed that they had already lived most of their lives and they had little to look forward to. On the other hand, less experienced or younger teachers were expected as well as were willing to take more responsibility and had higher expectations from the schools, self and students. Thus, it was evident that the younger teachers, who were also young in their job career, had greater commitment and higher job involvement. Caplow and McGee (1958) indicated that the need to establish oneself as a professional was an early career concern. The results corroborated the findings of Dale (1967) and Ryans (1969). They indicated that age was an important factor in determining teacher effectiveness. Ryans commented that generally the older teachers were at a disadvantage compared to the younger teachers. Fuller (1969) and Felder, Holliz, Pipen and Houston (1979) reported similar findings. They pointed out that in the early years of teaching career, the teacher effectiveness might increase but probably did not continue to be so in a linear fashion.

In a different context, Dwebedi and Pestonjee (1975) reported that job satisfaction increased during the early period of job life. But after sometime the job-life becomes monotonous for the workers and a decline in the job satisfaction was observed. Arora (1986) indicated that with
more years of teaching experience the teachers felt more anxious and this resulted in a dissatisfied state of mind. Bhatia (1990) was of the view that teachers with less than 10 years of teaching experience were more satisfied than the teachers having experience above 10 years. Similar findings were reported by Veeraraghavan and Bhattacharya (1989) and Mohanty (1991).

In contrast to the present finding, there were some studies on engineers and scientists (Sharma and Sharma, 1978; Hall and Mansfield, 1975) on school teachers (Kulsum, 1985; Wera, 1982) on college teachers (Dharendriah and Aminabhi, 1990) and on nursing personnel (Anantharaman and Kalliapan, 1982, Lodahl and Kejner, 1965) reporting positive relationship between job involvement and length of experience. Some studies also showed an increase in the job involvement as individuals get older (Sharma and Kapoor, 1978; Khandelwal, 1986; Pathak, 1982). Hulin and Smith (1965) reported that length of service was positively related to job satisfaction because of the individual's ability to adjust to further expectations.

The less experienced teachers showed lower stress and higher psychological well-being. The younger teacher's liking for the job, encouraged them in life. In the competitive job market, the younger teachers felt more competent. Moreover, they had lesser responsibilities in
family and in school, whereas the experienced teachers felt more stressed in profession, because of the over-loading with teaching and non-teaching duties, and lack of time to accomplish the tasks. This contradicted the argument that the more experienced teachers could cope better with difficult working conditions. The present findings were consistent with the findings of Caplan and Jones (1975) who reported that length of service was negatively related to job stress.

A number of studies had reported that length of service was negatively related to stress and positively related to psychological well-being. Studies related to the effects of age on psychological well-being showed that the younger individuals experienced lower levels of satisfaction (Campbell, Converse and Rodgers, 1976, Harison, 1978). Gechman and Weiner (1975) reported that age correlated significantly with mental health, as the increasing age was associated with an improved pattern of life adjustment and more positive feelings about the job among elementary teachers. Welsch (1988) indicated that public school teachers regardless of the number of years of teaching experience and level of education showed a common perception about events associated with teaching. Herzog and Rogers (1981) found an average relationship between age and life satisfaction. Diener (1984) reported that young people tended to experience more intense emotions such as.
happiness, whereas the older people experience less intense
demotions. Similar findings were reported by George, Okun
and Landerman (1987). Some findings revealed that age may
relate differently to different measures of subjective
well-being. Dixon (1993) reported that age was positively
related to life satisfaction. The present finding
corroborated the findings of Cole (1989) who found that
those teachers with level of experience between five and
ten years reported higher level of stress than teachers
having less experience. Byungock (1993) reported that
junior college faculty members had higher levels of stress
than that of their four year college counterparts and that
teaching experience was significantly related to stress.

Hypothesis 4: There will be significant interaction
effects of school type, teacher type and
length of experience on personal and
familial variables, job-involvement and
psychological well-being of teachers.

The results indicated significant interaction effect
of school and teacher type on socio-economic status,
self-esteem, stress, family interaction patterns, job
involvement, psychological wellbeing and life satisfaction.
Although school type independently did not affect the
self-esteem, family interaction patterns, job involvement
and psychological well-being, it had significant influence
on these variables in interaction with teacher type.

On self-esteem, the tribal teachers in tribal schools scored higher than those in non-tribal schools. This was due to the differences in the environment of the different types of schools. Perhaps, the tribal teachers in tribal schools felt more comfortable and suffered less inferiority complex. The non-tribal teachers in tribal schools differed marginally from the non-tribal teachers in non-tribal schools, which contradicted the findings of Pattnaik, Pradhan and Panda (1989), who reported significantly different attitudes of non-tribal teachers in different types of schools.

The tribal teachers in tribal schools experienced more stress than the tribal teachers in non-tribal schools, while the non-tribal teachers in tribal schools experienced more stress than the non-tribal teacher in non-tribal schools. This finding was supported by those of Ushashree and Jamuna (1990), that the special school teachers experienced more stress and they had significantly negative perceptions of the administrative support.

The family interaction patterns were those pronounced in case of tribal teachers in tribal schools, as compared to the tribal teachers in non-tribal schools. They showed better familial interactions as they identified more with their own friends and colleagues, who belonged to their own
The non-tribal teachers in non-tribal schools had better family interaction patterns than the non-tribal teachers in tribal schools. The tribal teachers in tribal schools had higher job-involvement than the tribal teachers in non-tribal schools. The non-tribal teachers in non-tribal schools had higher job-involvement than the non-tribal teachers in tribal schools. Similar to this finding, Patnaik, Pradhan, and Panda (1989) reported positive attitudes of tribal teachers in tribal schools, and of non-tribal teachers in non-tribal schools. Reddy and Babu (1994) however, reported the teachers in general having more favourable attitudes in residential schools than those non-residential schools. The present findings confirmed the operation of individual and situation interaction model of job-involvement (Rabinowitz and Hall, 1977).

The tribal teachers in tribal schools had higher psychological well-being than the tribal teachers in non-tribal schools, and the non-tribal teachers in non-tribal schools experienced higher psychological well-being than the non-tribal teachers in tribal schools. The non-tribal teachers in non-tribal schools had higher life satisfaction than the non-tribal teachers in tribal schools, but it was not true of the tribal teachers.

The effect of interaction between school type and experience level was significant on family interaction
patterns and job-involvement. The more experienced teachers in tribal schools had higher family interactions pattern than those in non-tribal schools, but the less experienced teachers in non-tribal schools had marginally better family interaction patterns than such teachers in tribal schools. On job-involvement, the more experienced teachers in tribal schools scored higher than such teachers in non-tribal schools and the less experienced teachers in nontribal schools scored higher than such teachers in tribal schools.

The effect of interaction between teacher type and experience level was found significant on stress and job-involvement. The more experienced tribal teachers had higher mean stress than the more experienced non-tribal teachers, but the less experienced non-tribal teachers showed higher stress than the less experienced tribal teachers. The more and the less experienced non-tribal teachers were more involved in their jobs than the more and less experienced tribal teachers.

The interaction effect of school type, teacher type and experience level was found significant on family interaction patterns and psychological well-being. The more experienced tribal teachers in tribal schools interacted more with the family than the more experienced non-tribal teachers in tribal schools. The less experienced tribal teachers in tribal schools did not differ from the less experienced non-tribal teachers in
tribal schools. In non-tribal schools, the more experienced tribal teachers showed lower family interactions than the more experienced non-tribal teachers and the less experienced non-tribal teachers had better family interactions than the less experienced tribal teachers.

In tribal schools, the more experienced tribal teachers had better psychological well-being than the more experienced non-tribal teachers and the less experienced tribal teachers had marginally lower psychological well-being than the less experienced non-tribal teachers. In non-tribal schools, the more experienced non-tribal teachers had better psychological well-being than the more experienced tribal teachers and the less experienced tribal teachers showed lower psychological well-being than the less experienced non-tribal teachers.

**Hypothesis 5:** There will be significant differences between male and female teachers, between married and unmarried teachers coming from joint and nuclear families and those coming from villages, small towns and towns on different variables.

The results showed that the male and female teachers significantly differed on the variables of socio-economic status, self-esteem, family interaction patterns, job-involvement, psychological well-being and life satisfaction. The female teachers were from higher socio-
economic background, had higher self-esteem, came from families having open family interaction patterns, had higher job-involvement, higher psychological well-being and life satisfaction.

The finding of higher socio-economic status of female teachers suggested that they had educated parents and better economic conditions, which helped them to go in for higher education. The finding of higher self-esteem among female teachers was found supported in other researches (Lincoln, 1966 and Sharma, 1969). Contrary to this, Quantchi (1993) and Winefield and Tiggeman (1985) reported females having lower self-esteem.

The finding of higher job-involvement among females violated the argument that females were not committed to the extent the males were due to multiple roles and responsibilities. The findings may have resulted from the liking of females for teaching job, mainly in primary schools, where they got also the opportunity to satisfy their maternal needs by coming into contact with the small children. This finding reinforced the need of implementing the policy recommendation of employing more female teachers in elementary stage (Ministry of Human Resource Development Report, 1992). Although a number of researches in other settings showed higher job involvement among males (Hollon and Gemmill, 1976; Koch and Steers,
1978; Saal, 1978), but when the effects of other correlates such as job level or seniority were controlled, the gender differences in job-involvement disappeared (Rabinowitz, 1975).

The finding of effect of gender on psychological well-being was supported by Medley (1980) and Markides and Martin (1979). Wood, Rhodes and Whelan (1989) reported that females had more life satisfaction than males. Earlier, Gove (1972) reported females showed higher mental health than males. Sung and Effy (1994) found no significant gender difference in life satisfaction. No gender differences in stress were found in contradiction to other researchers (Harries, Haplin and Haplin, 1985).

According to Haynes and Pelnleib (1980) and Weinstein and Zappert (1980), women tended to have emotional distress and physical complaints more often than men. Gore and Mangioni (1983) reported that female had experienced more physiological complaints than males. The social image of the working women struggling to carry both a job and family suggested that women were more likely to exhibit stress (Bhagat and Chassie, 1981). Beena and Poduval (1992) reported that female executives experiencing more stress than the male executives. Quantichi
(1993) also indicated that females reported more stressful experiences and depressive symptoms than males.

Results showed that the unmarried teachers differed significantly from the married teachers on the variables of socio-economic status, self-esteem, stress, family interaction patterns, job involvement and positive feelings, indicating that the unmarried teachers were from higher socio-economic background, had higher self-esteem, lower stress and better family interaction patterns and were more involved in their job, and had more positive feelings.

The present finding of lower stress among the unmarried teachers was found supported by those of Kendell Davies and Avies (1989), although Brown and Harries (1978) in an earlier study reported the married persons being less vulnerable to stress because of the support from the marital partner.

A good family interaction pattern among unmarried teachers emerged perhaps from their living with a guardian and often unhesitantly accepting the family norms. The higher job involvement among unmarried teachers resulted the low responsibilities in the family. It was also true that the younger teachers were more career-oriented. This finding was, however, in contradiction to other researches. Kanungo, Mishra and Dayal (1975) and Happali and Mallappa
(1988) found the married employees to be more job involved than the unmarried ones. Wera (1982) found the married teachers having more favourable attitudes towards the teaching profession than those who were unmarried.

The finding of more positive feelings of unmarried teachers towards life corroborated by the findings on the relationship between marital status and mental health or life satisfaction. Campbell, Converse and Rodgers (1978) found marriage as the major predictor of overall well-being. Married people were more satisfied than the unmarried ones as reported by Mookherjee (1992). The married persons were found more happier and satisfied by Vredenburgh and Sheriden (1979). Marriage was positively related to subjective well-being Diener (1984). Larson (1978) found the married employee to be more job involved than the unmarried ones.

The teachers from the nuclear and joint families differed significantly on the variables of stress and family interaction patterns. The teachers from joint family experienced more stress. Higher stress in joint family was pointed out by other researchers. Lone and Ahmed (1991) pointed out that the large family size was associated with stress. Gore (1968) noted that women in
joint families showed more stress than women in nuclear families. Sampurna, Ansari, Agarwal and Udupa (1979) concluded that joint family system gave rise to more stress disorder than the nuclear family system.

In contrast, there were some studies which reported that the nuclear family system gave birth to various problems (Bhatti, Mahal and Sharif, 1974; Parsons, 1959; Parsons and Fox, 1952). Emotionally disturbed women were more often belonged to nuclear families, as reported by Menon (1975). Verghese and Beig (1974) reported that the individuals belonging to nuclear families showed a higher prevalence rate of neurotic disturbances. Aggarwal, Mehta and Gupta (1978) indicated that females belonging to nuclear families had significantly more psychiatric illness than the females belonging to the joint families.

The present finding of no significant effect of family type on job involvement contradicted the earlier findings. (Donald, 1989). Similar was the case of no difference by family type on psychological well-being (Sethi, Gupta and Kumar, 1967; Dube, 1970; Menon, 1975).

The teachers from nuclear and joint families differed significantly on family interaction patterns. More healthy interactions were found in nuclear families. The fewer mutual interactions tended to place value on individualistic life, whereas the joint family was seen as
having a more established support pattern inculcating the value of family-ties. The structure of the family, whether nuclear or joint was relevant to the healthy psychological functioning of the family (Beavers, 1977, 1981; Lewis, 1979).

The small town teachers had higher socio-economic background and lower stress, than those from the villages. The teachers from towns had higher socio-economic status, higher self-esteem better family interaction patterns, lower stress and were more involved in their jobs and had higher psychological well-being. The teachers from small towns differed significantly from those in towns on socio-economic status, self-esteem, stress, family interaction patterns, job involvement and psychological well-being indicating that teachers from towns had higher socio-economic status, higher self-esteem, lower stress, better family interaction patterns and were more involved in their job, and had higher psychological well-being.

While the small town teachers had significantly higher socio-economic status and lower stress than those from villages. They differed from town teachers as they were low on socio-economic status, self-esteem, family interaction patterns, job involvement and psychological well-being and low on stress. This indicated to some extent a rural-urban division in society influenced the teachers' cognitive and
behavioural characteristics. The absence of differences between village and small town teachers on many variables perhaps showed that both had overlapping characteristics.

This finding was different from Housely, Martin, McCoy, Greenhaus, Stigger and Chopin (1987) who reported that the middle income group did not differ on self-esteem either from the lower income group or the upper income group. The analysis indicated higher scores for town teachers on all variables, except stress.

The finding that the town area teachers had higher self-esteem supported the earlier findings (Jegede and Bomgboye, 1981; Olson and Carter, 1974; Peterson, Offer and Kaplan, 1979; Reck, 1982) of the urban residents having higher self-esteem than the rural residents. In contrast to the present finding there were some studies which found the rural people having higher self-esteem than their urban counterparts (Wendland, 1968; Trowbridge and Trowbridge, 1972; Cook, 1969; Ezeilo, 1983). Teachers from urban areas reported better family interactions than the rural areas as shown by Sussman (1965) and Smith (1965). The urbanites made very satisfying responses about their relations with their families.

Better family interaction patterns, and positive self-esteem among urban teachers perhaps led to higher job involvement and better psychological well-being than the
rural teachers. The higher psychological well-being of urban teachers was supported in a study by Wilkening and McGranahan (1978). They reported that the levels of living continued to have a bearing on life satisfaction of adults, and that for the youngest age groups, the living in urban areas was found much more conducive to life satisfaction than the living in village or smaller cities. The present findings were somewhat different to those of Dube (1970), who noted that the mental illness was more frequent among individuals residing in urban areas as compared to the rural.

The rural teachers exhibited more stress as compared to the urban teachers. This finding supported the study by Pratt (1978), who indicated that teachers working in primary schools in low socio-economic areas experienced more stress than those working in high socio-economic areas. Pierce and Molley (1990) reported that the teachers working in low socio-economic government schools had significantly more stress than those working in high socio-economic government schools. Milstein, Golas and Doquette (1984) have showed that the urban elementary teachers had moderately high levels of stress for other potential organizationally based stress categories than the rural teachers.

Hypothesis 6: The personal and familial variables will be significantly related with each other and
with job involvement and psychological well-being of teachers.

In general and in different groups, this hypothesis was partially proved. The results showed that among the personal variables, self-esteem was positively related to socio-economic status, indicating that positive self-esteem among the teachers came from their higher socioeconomic status. In rural areas the people having higher socioeconomic status enjoyed recognitions and special position in the community. They exercised influence in decision making process, as they were perceived capable of helping others, if any odd situation arose. This inculcated in people a feeling of superiority, and positive self-esteem. Similar findings were reported by other researchers. Rosenberg (1965) found a positive relation between high social status and positive self-esteem. Thomas and Sananda Raj (1985) reported that socio-economic status and the different dimensions of family integration acted as causal antecedents in the development of positive self-esteem. Sharma (1975) reported a positive relationship between negative perceptions of self and lower socio-economic status. Also, some of the group specific findings showed that upper socio-economic status subjects had higher self-esteem than lower economic group subjects (Housely, Martin, McCoy, Greenhaus, Stigger and Chopin, 1987; Bledsoe, 1981; Osborne and Legette, 1982; Demo and
The socio-economic status was found related to age, marital status and place of residence indicating that the younger, unmarried and town area teachers had higher socio-economic status. It seemed that the older, married, teachers from towns had higher education, had good earning, better social position and overall better conditions of life.

The marital status was found positively related to gender indicating that more female teachers were married and were younger. It suggested that the females got access to teaching profession earlier in life than males. It could be that the males came to teaching only after exhausting all other options while females took it as their first option. Since in the rural areas, fewer females got higher education and those who fulfilled the minimum qualifications for teaching immediately got a job. More married female teachers reported that in Indian society the females had early marriage and this restricted their choice of occupation.

Self-esteem was found negatively related to stress, indicating that teachers having positive self-esteem experienced lower stress. Guindon (1993) pointed out that the global self-esteem contributed only a small but significantly additional amount of variance in
psychological and interpersonal strains that moderated the relationship between occupational stress and strain measures. Also, Black (1993) reported lower level of perceived stress among employees having higher positive level of self-esteem. If the teachers failed in their professional obligations, their self-image and consequently their ability to cope could be endangered.

Home environment of persons could either facilitate or hinder growth. The family composition including family size also had a significant bearing on personality development (Feinberg, Smit and Schmidt, 1958; Eysenck and Cookson, 1970). In this study the family interaction patterns were found positively related to self-esteem, which indicated that the positive self-esteem group had healthy family interaction patterns and the vice versa. This finding was corroborated by other researchers. Roland (1978) suggested that the involvement in family relationships showed mutual interdependence, consideration and greater sensitivity to others' feelings. Slaugh (1983), who examined the family interaction patterns in the household context, reported that family interaction patterns affected human resource development of family members. Goldsmith (1989) found that the self-esteem of the individual positively related with family bonding and parent-adolescent communications. Chubb (1992) noted a relationship between subjects' sense of belonging and
self-esteem. Subjects having a stronger sense of belonging to their families had a higher positive self-esteem. Similar findings had been reported by other researchers. (Rosenberg, 1965; Coopersmith, 1967; Thomas, Gecas and Weigart and Rooney, 1974 and Desselle, 1993).

The family interaction patterns were negatively related to stress, while the family size was positively related. The teachers having healthy family interactions experienced lower stress, while those coming from larger families experienced more stress. Poor family interactions not only deprived the family members the opportunity to share their feelings with each other, but also led to conflicts because of misunderstandings among each other. The basic need of affiliation also remained unmet, which sometimes led to a sense of dejection and disapproval. This was found corroborated by other studies that showed poor personality development among the adolescents having poor parental relationships (Leung and Leung, 1985). More stress was found among teachers from the larger families, perhaps because of the overload of duties, and confrontation with varied demands and behavioural patterns of family members. The larger families had poor interaction patterns and more stress.

Gore (1968) noted that women showed a higher percentage of difficulties in joint family living.
Sampurna, Ansari, Agarwaal and Udupa (1979) concluded that the joint family gave rise to stress more often than the nuclear family system. Lone and Ahmed (1991) reported that the large family size was associated with stress. In contrast, some studies reported that nuclear family system was more problematic for its members (Parsons, 1959; Bhatti, Mahal and Shariff, 1974).

The finding that family interaction patterns were positively related to socio-economic status is in line to those of Walters, Conner and Zurich (1964), who reported that the middle class mothers interacted with their children more than the lower class mothers. Cohen (1976) found the high socio-economic groups interacting more with their children than the low socio-economic families.

The socio-economic status and self-esteem were found positively related, while stress was negatively related to job-involvement of the teachers, indicating that the teachers coming from the higher socio-economic status and having positive self-esteem and lower stress, were highly involved with their job. The teachers from higher socio-economic status had higher job involvement, perhaps because of the lower family responsibility and lower stress. Sharma and Kapoor (1978) found the income of white collar workers positively related to their job involvement. Anand and Sohal (1981) and Anantharaman and Kalliapan
(1982) reported positive relationships between income and job involvement. Cheseborough (1993) reported that teachers' commitment to teach allowed them to continue to teach regardless of the difficulties they faced because of lack of money.

The positively self-esteemed teachers had higher job involvement because such teachers were more motivated to perform well in their job. They were motivated to do better because of their desire to maintain their self-image. The individuals having positive self-esteem had the self-image of a person who was generally adequate and capable to satisfy one's need (Korman, 1966). More effective performance was found among subjects having high self-esteem than the low self-esteem subjects (Korman, 1970; Gechler and Weiner, 1974). There was also evidence that low self-esteem subjects performed poorly than the high self-esteem subjects (Schalon, 1968; Perez, 1973; Korman, 1974). Saleh and Hosek (1976) argued that job involvement was the degree to which the person identified with the job, actively participated in it and considered his performance important to his self-worth. The strong relationship between self-esteem and job involvement also confirmed the hypothesis of performance - self-esteem contingency and the component of self-image of job involvement (Hall and Hall, 1976). The teachers' positive self-concept made their teaching effective (Rosenshine and
Trust, 1971). When the self-esteem and job did not match, dissatisfaction arose (Broøta and Broøta, 1968). Singh (1989) reported that self-concept was significantly related to the job involvement of college teachers. Donald and Siegel (1992) reported that the self-efficacy was positively related to commitment, work quality and quantity. Similar findings were reported by Colodorci (1992).

The finding, that the higher the stress, the lower was the job involvement of teachers, was in line with other studies. An inverse relationship was found between role stress and job involvement by Hammer and Tosi (1974), Madhu and Harigopal, (1976), Abdel Halim, (1982) and Ahmed and Khanna, (1992). Srivastava and Sinha (1983) reported that a high level of job involvement minimised the employees' experience of role stress. Stress was the most powerful predictor of job involvement, as reported by Singh and Nath (1991), Decker and Brogen (1993). The studies suggested an that an increase, prolongment or increased rate of stress had an adverse effect upon job performance (Rahe and Lind, 1971 Hendrix, 1985)

In contrast to the above findings, Beehr, Walsh and Taber (1976) reported that role overload (stress) was positively correlated with job involvement and job stressors had adverse effect on job involvement. Singh and
Singh (1984) noted a positive relationship between occupational stress and job involvement.

The socio-economic status and self-esteem were found positively related and the stress negatively related to the psychological well-being of teachers. This revealed that the teachers from higher socio-economic status having positive self esteem and lower stress, reported better psychological well-being, perhaps by fulfilling the basic needs and by deriving encouragement and motivation. Similar findings were reported by other researchers. Abraham and Prasanna (1987) reported a significant positive correlation between socio-economic status and mental health level. Prasad (1987) found higher socio-economic group differing significantly from the lower socio-economic group in the areas of emotional and overall adjustment. Walter (1993) found the subjects experiencing mental health problems differently depending on their socio-economic status. However, Inglehart (1978) found the people having higher socio-economic status experiencing only slightly greater well-being than the people of lower status, whereas Wilkening and McGranahan (1977) found very little impact of socio-economic status on the life satisfaction of adults. The relation between the self-esteem and psychological well-being suggested that one's positive self evaluation facilitated one's subjective feelings about self. As social learning theory (Bandura, 1977) indicated the realization
of one's worth helps one to exercise control over the aversive situations and in eradicating the stress. As compared to individuals having positive self-esteem, low self-esteem individuals were more likely to suffer from a variety of emotional and behavioural problems such as anxiety and isolation (Coopersmith, 1967). Self-esteem had been found to be a strong predictor of subjective well-being (Carp, 1974; Campbell et al, 1976) and of life satisfaction by others (Read and Ziegler, 1980; Wolk and Tellen, 1976). Headey, Holmstorm and Wearing (1984) reported that self-esteem as related to domain satisfaction, well-being and ill being, and self-esteem relates more strongly to the positive than the negative components. Low self-esteem was also recognised as a clinical component of several psychiatric conditions, such as depression (Quantichi, 1993; Lancet, 1988; McLachlan and Malcolms, 1985) and anxiety (Ingham, Kneitman, McMiller, Sashidharan and Surtees, 1986). Brown, Andrews, Harries, Adler and Bridge (1986) reported the low self-esteem as the final common pathway of factors causing vulnerability to depression.

Diener (1984) however, indicated that the strong relationship between self-esteem and life satisfaction was not always found. Morganti, Milton, Hulicka and Jerry (1988) reported that self-concept and life satisfaction were positively related for the older people but not
necessarily for the adolescents and younger adults.

A strong association between high stress and low psychological well-being had been reported by many researchers (Pearlin et al., 1981; Selye, 1980; Caplan, 1983; Chatters, 1983; Banerjee, 1989). Galloway (1984) reported a high correlation between stress and mental health of the primary school teachers. The findings by Kahn and Quinn (1970), Ferguson (1973), Rosenthal (1978) and House (1979) confirmed that occupational stress was a causal factor in the mental health of the employees, as people under stress are more susceptible to illness, depression, anxiety, low self-confidence and dissatisfaction (Rabkin and Struening, 1976; Caplan, Cobb, French, Harrison and Pinneau, 1980). Clark (1980) reported a strong negative correlation between stress and psychological well-being, and Srivastava (1983) found stress to be positively associated with various types of mental health. Galloway (1984) reported a high correlation between stress and mental health in the primary school teachers.

The stress in the work environment had a negative impact on the mental health of working women (O'Neil and Zeichner, 1985; Kottkamp and Travels, 1986; Srivastava and Singh, 1986; Srivastava and Singh 1988). Knapp and Newman (1993) found an increase in job stressors associated with
the deterioration in psychological well-being. In contrast, Orpen (1990) reported no correlation between work stress and the indicators of well-being. The multiple correlation between work stress and well-being suggested that only four percent of the variance in well-being could be attributed to work stress.

The family size was found negatively related to job involvement. The teachers coming from smaller families were more involved in their job. On the other hand, people having large number of dependents were not able to do their job well. The studies by Pathak (1982) and Chadha and Kaur (1987) supported the present findings. Pathak (1982) indicated that the number of dependents was significantly related to job involvement, as in the present social set up, the large family caused more tensions and unavoidable pressures on the person for earning to feed more number of mouths. Hence, the lesser the liability, the lesser the strain. Alam and Ansari (1992) reported that the large number of dependents adversely influenced the importance attached to the work. The findings by Bala (1986) and Gill (1985) did not find the size of the family affecting the job involvement.

The family interaction patterns were positively related to the psychological well-being, confirming that individuals having healthy family interaction patterns had
better psychological well-being. This corroborated the proposition of socialisation theory that family was important for the development of persons. The family interaction patterns provided emotional support to the members in the face of adversity.

The positive relationship between job involvement and psychological well-being suggested that teachers' attitude towards life and job were interlinked. It appeared that one's job not only provided the financial means to gratify various needs, but was also a measure of social and psychological worth. The teachers who were oriented both intrinsically (satisfy the needs of achievement, independence, self-esteem etc.) and extrinsically (satisfy the needs of security, social approval, salary etc.) experienced positive mental health. The motivational approach to job involvement (Lodahl and Kejner, 1965) which explained the job involvement as a cognitive state of psychological identification with job thus received considerable support in the present research.

Some research supported the finding of positive relationship between job involvement and psychological well-being. Kasl (1973) reported a positive correlation between employees' job involvement and mental health. The employees who were not involved or were dissatisfied with their jobs, were generally maladjusted. Gardell (1975)
pointed out that the workers whose job involvement was circumscribed in two job content aspects i.e. the degree of direction given to the individual to determine pace and working methods, and the possibility of using a variety of human resources in the performance at work, reacted to strain and showed symptoms of impaired mental health. Sinha (1979) reported correlations between happiness and the dimensions of quality of work and life dimensions. Sekaran (1989) reported that work related factors (like job involvement, career salience, time spent on work activities and income) had more influence on the job and life satisfaction for males than the females. Innes and Clarke (1985) were of the view that the relationship between stress and the reported symptoms of psychological and physical illness is moderated by the extent to which a person was involved in the job. The results revealed a positive relationship between the amount of stress and distress experienced and the number of reported symptoms among employees not involved in their job. Dejong and Verhase (1985) suggested that satisfaction with quality of life at work was positively related to quality of life in general and negatively related to depression. Khaleque, Hossain and Haque (1992) reported a significant relation between job satisfaction and mental health. Similarly, subjects with greater commitment to an occupational goal reported greater life satisfaction (Bloor, 1993). Mishra
(1993) indicated positive association between occupational involvement and life satisfaction. Job involvement was found to be a moderator of the relationship between work satisfaction and well-being by Weiner, Muisyk and Martin (1993), Judge and Watanabe (1994).

The view of one's contentment with life as a gestalt concept built upon satisfaction in specific life domains, such as work (Eclectic model) was meaningful. Near, Rice and Hunt (1978) showed that among the primary school teachers, the job satisfied, most of the high level needs, resulting in positive psychological well-being. As pointed out, the need satisfaction was positively related to job involvement (Effraty and Sirgy, 1990) and the positive work experience tended to correlate more strongly with well-being indices (Hort, Wearing and Heady, 1993).

The expectation, that the mental health should reflect a well rounded participation and adjustment in different areas of life was not confirmed. Perhaps the excessive job involvement interfered with participation and adjustment or even caused psychosomatic and emotional problems, both on and off the job.

**Hypothesis 7:** The job involvement and psychological well-being of teachers will be differentially predicted by personal and familial variables.
The hypothesis was found confirmed to a good extent. The personal factors emerged as more meaningful predictors of job involvement as well as psychological well-being. This was true for different groups of teachers defined by school type (tribal and non-tribal schools), teacher type (tribal and non-tribal teachers), and experience level (more and less). The personal and familial variables together predicted more variance than taken separately.

Nearly 47 percent of the variance in the job involvement of tribal school teachers, was explained by personal variables, against the 27 percent by familial variables. The variance explained in the job involvement of non-tribal school teachers was quite high (69 and 52 percent respectively). The variance explained by personal variables for tribal teachers was significantly higher than the familial variables (55 and 31 percent respectively). There was marked difference in the variance explained in the job involvement of non-tribal teachers (25 and 21 percent respectively). The variance explained for more and less experienced teachers were comparable (nearly 60 and 40 percent respectively). It emerged that the motivational and immediate situation factors determined the job behaviour of teachers. This substantiated the finding of earlier researchers, who pointed out the importance of personal and situational factors in the job involvement of
teachers and other employees.

Combined regression analysis showed that both personal and familial variable explained 51 percent of variance of job involvement. The combined predictability of both the personal and familial variables showed that the predictability of self-esteem among personal variables and family interaction patterns among familial variables became lower for tribal teachers. For non-tribal school teachers the combined predictability of personal and familial variables on job involvement was more or less similar (71 percent) to the predictability of personal variables alone (69 percent).

Self-esteem had highest predictability followed by stress. While self-esteem and stress emerged an important predictor for tribal teacher, the family interaction patterns and age were better predictors for non-tribal teachers.

The personal and familial variables taken together explained 63 percent of the variance in the job involvement for both more and less experienced teachers. While family interaction patterns were best predictor for the more experienced teachers, self-esteem was found best predictor for less experienced teachers. This revealed that personal and familial variables were differentially important for the job involvement of more experienced and less
experienced teachers.

Among the personal variables, the self-esteem emerged as an important predictor of job involvement followed by socio-economic status, whereas among the familial variables, the family interaction patterns were important. The self-esteem and socio-economic status were found good predictors of job involvement by other researchers, but little attention was given to understand the effect of family interaction patterns. Chubb and Fertman (1992) reported that those who had a stronger sense of belonging to their families and spent more time with them had a higher level of involvement in their school.

Consistent with the predictability of job involvement, the personal variables explained higher variance in the psychological well-being of teachers than the familial variables, and the two together explained more variance than taken separately. While personal variables explained 38 percent and 70 percent variance for tribal and non-tribal school teachers respectively, the familial variables explained 29 percent and 51 percent respectively. For the tribal teachers, personal variables explained 63 percent variance in psychological well-being, whereas familial variable explained 46 percent variance. The variance explained by personal and familial variables in the psychological well-being of non-tribal teachers were

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For the more experienced teachers, the personal and familial variables explained 55 percent and 42 percent of the variance. The personal variables explained more variance in the psychological well-being of less experienced teachers (47 percent) than the familial variables (36 percent).

The variance in psychological well-being explained by personal and familial variables together was 44 percent for tribal school teachers, whereas for non-tribal school teachers, it was higher (77 percent). Among all personal and familial variables, stress was found important predictor of psychological well-being of both tribal and non-tribal school teachers. For the tribal teachers both personal and familial variables explained 67 percent of variance in psychological well-being, but for non-tribal teachers, variance explained by personal and familial variables was about half of tribal teacher. Stress was found important contributor to the psychological well-being of both tribal and non-tribal teachers. Personal and familial variables together explained more variance in the psychological well-being (59 percent) for more experienced teachers than the less experienced teachers (53 percent). It was seen that stress was important for the psychological well-being of more experienced teachers, whereas,
self-esteem was important for less experienced teacher.

To sum up, personal factors had higher predictability both in job involvement and psychological well-being of teachers than familial variables. While self-esteem and socio-economic factors were important personal predictors of job involvement, self-esteem and stress were best predictors of psychological well-being of teachers.

However, the family interaction patterns were the best predictor of both job involvement and psychological well-being of teachers. This revealed that functional aspect of family was more important than structural aspect in determining the behavioural pattern of individuals. The significant predictability of both personal and familial factors suggested that both individual and situation interacted to influence one's feelings. The variations in the predictability of personal and familial factors suggested the relative importance of individual and situational approach in explaining behaviour. The higher predictability of personal factors in both job involvement and psychological well-being provided more support to the perspectives of cognitive theorists. The differences in explained variance by personal and familial factors in tribal and non-tribal schools suggested that situational factors were important. Researchers showed that tensions between family and work led to poor marital adjustment, inadequate
role performance and other negative outcomes (Blood and Wolf, 1960; Jones and Buttler, 1980; Stains, Pleck, Sheppard and Conner 1978). Kandel, Davies and Avies (1985) found that family stress was more strongly related to negative mental health outcomes, especially depression. Pleck (1985) reported that men's adjustment in the family had substantially greater positive impact on their psychological well-being. Family satisfaction was found the best predictor of well-being by Headey, Holmstrom and Wearing (1985). Stress resulting from the conflict between job and family responsibilities was related to a higher incidence of irritation, anxiety and depression (Bloom, 1989; and Ellison, 1990). Family support emerged as a highly significant and positive indicator of well-being of college teachers (Sahoo and Vidyadhar, 1992) and relationship with parents was the best predictor of life satisfaction (Leung and Leung, 1992). Woznaik, Draughen and Knauh (1993) pointed out that global satisfaction was most strongly related to satisfaction with family. Walter (1993) indicated that women experienced mental health problems differently depending on their family structure and quality of family relationships. Among women, family role stressors were more strongly related to psychological distress and physical illness outcomes than the work related stressors, whereas, among men, work place stressors were more strongly related to symptoms of psychological
distress than family role stressors (Dytell, Pardine and Napoli, 1985). Rosalinds (1992) suggested that the quality of men's work rate and the quality of their family roles contribute equally to their psychological health.

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