

THE DEVELOPMENT OF WORKING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN
INDIGENOUS AND EXPATRIATE TEACHERS: A CASE STUDY

by

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DECLARATION

Student Number: 3297-394-2

I declare that **THE DEVELOPMENT OF WORKING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDIGENOUS AND EXPATRIATE TEACHERS: A CASE STUDY** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Signature

Date

ABSTRACT

The education reform efforts in Botswana have focused predominantly on teacher preparation, recruitment and compensation. Recruitment efforts have resulted in a significant number of expatriates working with indigenous teachers in many schools. However, as the schools are currently upgraded and restructured, the quality of the working relationships forged between indigenous and expatriate teachers represents one vital aspect in the reform effort that has gone almost unattended. Many teachers have become dissatisfied and concerned about these relationships, despite compensation and preparation. A decisive first step in attending to these relationships lies in understanding how they develop. The aim of this exploratory study was to identify and describe factors related to the development of working relationships between indigenous and expatriate teachers and illustrate how those factors contribute to the development of these relationships. The study employed a micropolitical perspective and through phenomenological interviews, observation and document analysis, indicated that cultural differences in language and communication, regard for time, handling of student discipline, work ethics and professionalism along with ambiguity and uncertainty, professional and interpersonal obligations, indigenous to expatriate teacher ratio and the interplay of micropolitics are related to the development of these relationships. Results, however, are specific to one school context and should not be generalized. The study recommends management strategies such as provision of programmes for cultural exchange, communication mode standardization, a dean of discipline system, faculty building and further research to redress the situation.

KEY WORDS

Indigenous teachers, expatriate teachers, working relationships, development, school, metatheoretical perspective, theoretical assumptions, micropolitics, micropolitical perspective, research ethics, trustworthiness, cultural differences, ambiguity and uncertainty, qualitative, cross-cultural, work ethics and professionalism, strategic factors, disciplining of students, time conscious, language and communication, professional and interpersonal obligations.

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DEDICATION

To Soyinka,
who will never be forgotten.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

OVERVIEW AND RATIONALE

1.1	INTRODUCTION AND RATIONALE.....	1
1.2	PROBLEM STATEMENT.....	4
1.3	RESEARCH QUESTION.....	5
1.3.1	Sub-questions.....	6
1.4	PARADIGMATIC PERSPECTIVE.....	6
1.4.1	Metatheoretical perspective.....	7
1.4.1.1	<i>Assumptions about human nature</i>	7
1.4.2	Theoretical assumptions.....	8
1.4.3	Methodological assumptions.....	8
1.5	DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS.....	8
1.5.1	Development.....	8
1.5.2	Working relationships.....	9
1.5.3	Indigenous teachers.....	9
1.5.4	Expatriate teachers.....	10
1.5.5	School.....	10
1.6	RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY.....	10
1.6.1	Ethical measures.....	10
1.6.2	Measures to ensure trustworthiness.....	11
1.6.3	Method.....	11
1.6.3.1	<i>Sampling</i>	11
1.6.3.2	<i>Data collection</i>	11
1.6.3.3	<i>Data processing</i>	12

1.6.3.4	<i>Literature control</i>	12
1.7	DIVISION OF CHAPTERS	12
1.8	SUMMARY	13
 CHAPTER 2		
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY		
2.1	INTRODUCTION	14
2.2	AIMS OF THE RESEARCH	14
2.3	RESEARCH DESIGN	14
2.3.1	Qualitative phenomenological	16
2.3.2	Exploratory	16
2.3.3	Descriptive	17
2.3.4	Micropolitical perspective	17
2.4	RESEARCH METHODS	19
2.4.1	Research ethics: ethical measures	19
2.4.1.1	<i>Informed consent</i>	19
2.4.1.2	<i>Voluntary participation</i>	20
2.4.1.3	<i>Researcher's identity</i>	20
2.4.1.4	<i>Researcher's action and competence</i>	21
2.4.1.5	<i>Protection from harm</i>	21
2.4.1.6	<i>Relationships with participants</i>	22
2.4.1.7	<i>Anonymity and confidentiality</i>	22
2.4.1.8	<i>Deception of participants</i>	23
2.4.1.9	<i>Debriefing</i>	23
2.4.2	Trustworthiness: measures to ensure its application	23
2.4.2.1	<i>Truth-value as ensured by the strategy of credibility</i>	24

2.4.2.2	<i>Applicability as ensured by the strategy of transferability.....</i>	26
2.4.2.3	<i>Consistency as ensured by the strategy of dependability.....</i>	26
2.4.2.4	<i>Neutrality as ensured by the strategy of confirmability.....</i>	27
2.4.3	Data collection.....	27
2.4.3.1	<i>Sampling.....</i>	27
2.4.3.2	<i>The researcher as an instrument.....</i>	29
2.4.3.3	<i>Data collection methods.....</i>	30
2.4.4	Data processing and analysis.....	31
2.4.4.1	<i>Method of data analysis.....</i>	32
2.4.4.2	<i>Literature control.....</i>	34
2.5	SUMMARY.....	34

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH RESULTS, CROSS VALIDATION AND LITERATURE CONTROL

3.1	INTRODUCTION.....	35
3.2	REALISATION OF SAMPLING.....	35
3.3	RESEARCH RESULTS.....	36
3.3.1	Cultural differences.....	37
3.3.1.1	<i>Communication and language differences.....</i>	37
3.3.1.2	<i>Disciplining of students.....</i>	46
3.3.1.3	<i>Time consciousness.....</i>	51
3.3.1.4	<i>Perceived differences in work ethics and professionalism</i>	55
3.3.1.5	<i>Cultural conceptions of teaching.....</i>	60
3.3.2	Ambiguity and uncertainty.....	63
3.3.3	Professional and interpersonal obligations	67
3.3.4	Strategic support and interactions.....	69
3.3.5	Indigenous and expatriate teacher ratio.....	75

3.4	CONCLUSION.....	76
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CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

4.1	INTRODUCTION.....	77
4.2	CONCLUSIONS.....	77
4.2.1	Cultural factors	77
4.2.2	Micropolitical factors	79
4.2.3	Factors related to ignorance	80
4.2.4	Factors related to teachers' obligations	80
4.2.5	Strategic factors	81
4.3	RECOMMENDATIONS.....	81
4.4	LIMITATIONS.....	84
4.5	SUMMARY.....	84
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	85
	APPENDICES	92

CHAPTER 1

OVERVIEW AND RATIONALE

1.1 INTRODUCTION AND RATIONALE

Indigenous and expatriate teachers have for years comprised the teaching force of public schools in Botswana. A mixture of these teachers can be found in the staff of primary, secondary and tertiary educational institutions across the country, although not necessarily in the same proportion (Maphorisa 1998:14). For example, it has been acknowledged in the Government Revised National Policy on Education (Botswana 1994:11) that at the primary school level, expatriate teachers constitute zero per cent of the academic staff while in secondary and tertiary institutions the number of expatriate teachers is 57 per cent and 66 per cent respectively. Thus, except for primary schools, expatriate teachers form a substantial proportion of the staff in the public school system. The bias of the staff towards foreign teachers has grown steadily over recent years, and has been linked by education officials and individuals inside and outside education to rapid expansion of schools, particularly secondary schools, in the country and the slow pace at which indigenous teachers are recruited and trained for the system (Hunyepa 2000:13; Moahi 1999:3; Ndebele 1994:7). This slow pace of training creates a shortage of indigenous teachers, as demands cannot be met (Kufa & Mathibi 1994:12).

Indigenous and expatriate teachers work together predominantly at the classroom and lower management level in public secondary schools. They form the bulk of the teaching staff at this level and are essentially responsible for implementing the school curriculum. During the execution of their work, these teachers interact and cultivate what Kruger (in Badenhorst 1995:85) has characterized as “working relationships” in their working environment. In terms of the Government Revised National Policy on Education (Botswana 1994:6-30), good working relationships among teachers at all levels in the school system are fundamental to the growth, development and delivery of quality education in Botswana and must be fostered in schools. This position is also reflected in the report of the National Commission on Education (Botswana 1993:335-361) and has been stressed by various writers on educational

management, who believe working relationships among teachers should be fostered positively, in the country (Swartland in Kooreng 1998:4; Bakwena in Lekuntwane 1997:3; Mitchell in Motlatshiping 2000:5). In the light of these publications, poor working relationships among teachers, indigenous and or expatriates, should be discouraged.

However, the grave importance placed on good working relationships among teachers by education officials, has not materialized in actual terms, especially between indigenous and expatriate teachers in many schools. Various forms of indifference have surfaced in their working relationships (Kooreng 1998:4; Mitchell in Motlatshiping 2000:5). In many cases the academic staff in schools finds itself technically divided when it comes to indigenous and expatriate teachers working together on certain issues. Cases of these teachers working in isolation are common. At the departmental or subject level, work collegiality has become superficial in many respects. Some indigenous teachers, for example, frequently lament their difficulties working with expatriates, preferring instead to work with their local colleagues because, as one indigenous teacher puts it: "It's enough that they are more than us; coping with their differences is asking too much. It is much easier relating to colleagues whom one can easily understand". This comment may prompt one to say that this is the sentiment of many indigenous or expatriate teachers in the schools system, at a time when good working relationships need to be encouraged.

But despite the problems among some indigenous and expatriate teachers, there are many others among whom working relationships seem to flourish satisfactorily.

Difficulties in the working relationships between indigenous and expatriate teachers are not unique to the education system and schools in Botswana. Bascia (1996:145-167) researched the situation with minority immigrant (expatriate) teachers, and their indigenous colleagues working in Canadian schools. She found that no close working relationship exists between the minority immigrant and citizen teachers in the schools studied. Immigrant teachers described their work and relationships with citizen teachers as intensely isolated (Bascia 1996:151-165). Similar results have been recorded in studies conducted in schools in Indonesia and Thailand (Cannon 1991:455-471). Smylie and Brownlee-Conyer (1992:150-184), in an impressive research project, assessed factors which influence the formation of

working relationships between teacher-leaders and their principals in American schools. They recorded several factors that influence these relationships and pointed out that, depending on the nature of these factors, working relationships between teacher-leaders and their principals fluctuate between very poor and good in many American schools. This gives us an impression that working relationships between indigenous and expatriate teachers, at whatever level in the school system, are not always satisfactory, and dissatisfaction is not isolated to Botswana. Understanding how such relationships develop between the teachers may be the pivot needed to foster it positively.

It appears, however, that problems in the working relationships between people from different nationalities, in its broadest sense, are not new; they are as old as human society. Poor working relationships can be traced back to primitive societies, for instance, where the young worked with their elders in tribes and learned skills and habits necessary for hunting, food-gathering and chasing away dangerous animals (Abosi & Kandjii-Murangi 1995:64). Tribes controlled defined hunting areas and territories and intrusion by other tribes to hunt, was not tolerated, let alone tribes hunting or working together (Dowson in Hamilton 1995:51-55). Intrusion was seen as a threat to economic resources, tribal culture and identity, unity and preservation of ethnic origin (Castles & Miller 1993:13; Manson in Hamilton 1995:356-360) and attempts to settle or hunt (work) in their territory led to serious conflicts (Dowson in Hamilton 1995:51-58; Eldredge in Hamilton 1995:123-156). [The treatment of the Kalahari Bushmen people by settlers in what is now Botswana is a prime example (Dowson in Hamilton 1995:54)]. Some of these views still prevail in Botswana and may have much relevance to the state of the working relationships among the different teachers in schools.

In modern society, crossing into tribal territory can be linked to contemporary human migration (Castles & Miller 1993:13).

If the factors and circumstances associated with the development of a positive working relationship between indigenous and expatriate teachers can be discovered, we may have a basis for changing and ultimately improving this relationship. It is in this light that the

researcher seeks to identify crucial factors in the development of working relationships between indigenous and expatriate teachers in secondary schools in Botswana.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

From personal observation and informal interviews with teachers and school officials, the researcher can state that there is indifference and an element of division in the working relationships that exist between indigenous and expatriate teachers in many schools in Botswana. This is particularly true of the school in which the researcher has been based as a teacher for the past three years. Cases of indigenous and expatriate teachers working in isolation are common (Hunyepa 2000:3; Kufa & Mathibi 1994:12). In situations such as the formation of ad hoc committees in the schools, which often force these teachers together, the work interaction and collegiality among them (teachers) evolve superficially. This situation has impacted negatively on the organizational climate of these schools and on teaching morale. It also affects the quality of the teachers' work-life and effectiveness in the execution of their work.

Problems in the working relationships among people from different ethnic origin or cultural groups, as in the case of indigenous and expatriate teachers, are not an invention of the late 20th century, nor of modernity; these are century old problems, as indicated earlier, that have been part of human history from the earliest times (Parsons in Hamilton 1995:323-349). Such problems seem to have persisted in consequence of "deep history"- a belief which project outsiders or foreigners as alien in the homeland of natives, and a consequential threat to unity, tribal culture and identity, economic resources and preservation of ethnic origin (Vanqa in Abosi & Kandjii-Murangi 1995:4-5; Castles & Miller 1993:13; Manson in Hamilton 1995:356-360). Although largely untested, these ideas and beliefs still prevail in contemporary Botswana and may have a bearing on the current problem that exists in the working relationships among the teachers.

Educational officials and individuals outside education, concerned about the quality of teaching and learning, have called for improved teacher relations in the schools (Swartland in Kooreng 1998:4; Bakwena in Lekuntwane 1997:3; Mitchell in Motlatshiping 2000:5). It is

also in teachers' interest to foster good working relationships in order to enhance the atmosphere in their workplace (Darling-Hammond 1994). Many, such as Donaldson and Sanderson (1996:9-16) and Bacharach and Shedd (1991:100-101), have stressed the value of good working relationships among teachers in general, and have noted that positive working relationships encourage, *inter alia*, greater teacher collaboration which can impact positively on students' learning. It may have been from these perspectives that education officials in Botswana view working relationships among teachers when they intoned in the Revised National Policy on Education that relationships among teachers are fundamental to the growth, development and delivery of quality education in the country (Botswana 1994).

However, in the views of Donaldson and Sanderson (1996:5) "... the difficult question is, how will these relationships grow?" Hargreaves and Fullan (in Donaldson & Sanderson 1996:xi) put it aptly in saying: "... the relationships between teachers and their colleagues are among the most educationally significant aspects of teachers' lives and work... what goes on inside the teachers' classroom cannot be divorced from the relations that they forged outside it." The implications of continued deterioration in the working relationships between indigenous and expatriate teachers in Botswana are too significant to ignore.

In the light of the above and the existence of a number of different factors that shape the nature of teachers' work relationships, that the researcher seeks to identify crucial factors that are related to the development of working relationships between indigenous and expatriate teachers in secondary schools in Botswana. No study within the Botswana or overseas context addressed the issue of the development of such relationships within the context of a school setting, directly. This research shall contribute to this gap and to the on-going discourse on teacher work relationships in schools. The specific aspect to be addressed in the research is reflected in the research question.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTION

There exists a sharp and clear way of formulating a research question related to the problem (Mavhivha in Dzivhani 2000:4). The main question is sometimes followed by sub-questions (Dzivhani 2000:4). By the same token, Schulze and Roets (in Hoberg 1999:36) indicate that

the research question controls the investigation programme, sets the limits of the concerned problem, circumscribes procedures that are to be followed, governs the kind of data that may be required and directs the interpretation of the findings.

For this research, the main question that directs the study is:

Which factors are related to the development of working relationships between indigenous and expatriate teachers in the secondary school from the perspectives of both groups of teachers, and how do these factors function in the development of these relationships?

1.3.1 Sub-questions

From this main question, a number of sub-questions have been deduced:

- i. Which factors do the teachers perceive to influence their working relationships?
- ii. How do these factors function in the development of working relationships among the teachers?
- iii. What management strategies can be devised to foster positive working relationships among teachers?

Working relationships exist between expatriates (expatriate teacher- expatriate teacher work relationship) and between indigenous teachers (indigenous teachers-indigenous teachers work relationship) and are quite important. However, it is the relationship between indigenous and expatriate teachers that may be most crucial, especially in its early stages of development since these teachers are unfamiliar with each other, yet are required to work together.

1.4 PARADIGMATIC PERSPECTIVE

The researcher's perspective includes aspects such as the metatheoretical, theoretical and

methodological assumptions (Dzivhani 2000:4).

1.4.1 Metatheoretical perspective

The primary task of teachers in schools is the realization of effective teaching and learning (Kruger 1999:27-28). Effective teaching and learning takes place where there are, *inter alia*, positive working relationships among teachers (Newmann & Wehlage in Donaldson & Sanderson 1996:3). Such relationships encourage teacher collaboration and the development of a healthy work atmosphere and interactions, which are crucial to effective teaching and learning, as "... what goes on inside the classroom cannot be divorced from the relations forged outside it" (Hargreaves & Fullan in Donaldson & Sanderson 1996:xi).

Hostility and divisions in working relationships have historically been a problem among teachers, especially indigenous and expatriate teachers, even in schools outside Botswana (Bascia 1996:151-165). The researcher thus believes that, although there are obvious cultural and ideological differences among these teachers, a positive working relationship should be cultivated and fostered among them in the schools for the achievement of not only effective teaching and learning but also the preservation of a healthy climate and quality of work life of teachers in the schools.

1.4.1.1 Assumptions about human nature

The researcher believes that indigenous and expatriate teachers, as human beings and as practising educators, have an inherent desire to relate to each other positively, despite their geographic areas of origin. Ways can be found, and suitable strategies can be devised, to foster positive working relationships among these teachers in schools, and effectively mitigate divisions. This suggests a need for school administrators, managers and teachers to seek, consider and acquaint themselves with these strategies for fostering good working relationships among teachers in schools.

1.4.2 Theoretical assumptions

Dzivhani (2000:4) asserts that the broad scope of educational literature has a number of theories that vary in scope, complexity and range from simple teaching theories to those regarded as of large scale. These theories could be associated with religious or socio-political positions.

In this study, theoretical assumptions will consist of theoretical statements and concept definitions, as outlined in 1.5.

The factors that encourage positive working relationships can be built into personnel management, as part of school management in school. This should enable school administrators to cultivate and manage effectively working relationships among the teachers to achieve improved work interactions, so that work atmosphere as well as teaching and learning can be enhanced.

1.4.3 Methodological assumptions

The researcher views scientific research, along with a functional approach, as essential in this study. Teachers will be the ones to supply data in phenomenological interviews which will describe key factors related to the development of working relationships between indigenous and expatriate teachers. In the process, management strategies will be devised that capture those factors found to foster positive working relationships among teachers, to guide the management of such relationships in the school.

1.5 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

1.5.1 Development

According to Moorad (Abosi & Kandjii-Murangi 1995:103) “development” is a value-laden concept with different meanings for different people based on the perspective used. Vanqa (in Abosi & Kandjii-Murangi 1995:1-6) views development in social and economic terms

and says that it is a dynamic process relating to desirable social and economic outcomes. Liebermann and Miller (1979:ix) take a personal and professional stance, saying “...by development we mean a rejection of notions of training and an acceptance of notions of growth - often in a nonlinear and non-rational way.” In a physiological sense, development is associated with a gradual growth towards maturity (Heller, Orians, Purves & Sadava 1998: 883-334).

In this study “development” refers to growth in teachers’ professional interactions with colleagues in their workplace.

1.5.2 Working relationships

“Working relationship” is a term that has been used quite extensively in the literature on school and education management (Kruger in Badenhorst 1995; Darling-Hammond 1994; Donaldson & Sanderson 1996). Donaldson and Sanderson (1996:9-10) regard a “working relationship” as the professional interaction forged when people work together. Kruger (in Badenhorst 1995:85) relates it to the contact teachers make with colleagues during the course of their work. In this study “working relationship” will refer to a productive interaction that is geared towards the achievement of some common goal.

1.5.3 Indigenous teachers

Vanqa (in Abosi & Kandjii-Murangi 1995:4) postulates that “indigenous” means original in nature, belonging naturally.

In terms of the Teaching Service Act (Botswana 1976:3), Act 67 of 1976, “teacher” means any person employed in a post in a government or local authority school or in an aided post on a full or part-time basis and possessing such qualification as may be prescribed. In the Republic of South Africa (RSA) National Education Policy, Act 27 of 1996, (1996:1) “educator” (teacher) means any person who teaches, educates or trains other persons in an institution or assists in rendering education services, or education auxiliary or support services provided by or in an education institution. In this study “indigenous teacher” will

refer to a teacher who is a native of Botswana and whose duty is to facilitate the learning of students in a school as defined by the Botswana National Education Act of 1967.

1.5.4 Expatriate teacher

Armitage and Powell (1997:504) regard expatriate teachers as teachers recruited from and working in education in countries overseas. Bascia (1996:151-165) uses the terms “expatriate” and “immigrant” interchangeably and refers to immigrant teachers as minority teachers from overseas, teaching in schools. In this study expatriate teachers will refer to foreigners who are working as teachers in schools in Botswana and whose duty is to facilitate the learning of students.

1.5.5 School

In terms of the Botswana National Education Act, Act 46 of 1967, “school” refers to an institution in which not less than 10 students receive regular instruction. In the RSA Employment of Education Act, Act 76 of 1998, “school” means an educational institution or such an institution at which education and training, including pre-primary education, is provided and which is maintained, managed and controlled or subsidized by a provincial department (university and technikon excluded). In this study “school” will mean an institution, which is the workplace of teachers, and where students are taught and teachers teach.

1.6 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This study on the development of working relationships between indigenous and expatriate teachers is qualitative, exploratory and descriptive.

1.6.1 Ethical measures

The researcher undertakes to consider all ethical measures throughout this study, which are the principles guiding the study from the beginning.

These principles included the researcher's competency (De Vos, Fouche, Poggenpoel, Schurink & Strydom 1998:30); the relationship with participants (Dzivhani 2000:8); anonymity and confidentiality (Brink & Wood 1983:165) and debriefing, where necessary, (De Vos et al 1998:27). These aspects have been explained in chapter two.

1.6.2 Measures to ensure trustworthiness

It was the researcher's responsibility to ensure that measures of trustworthiness were observed throughout this study. Trustworthiness must be considered at all costs. Guba's model of trustworthiness of qualitative research was employed. This included truth-value (also referred to as credibility), consistency (or dependability), applicability (also called transferability) and neutrality (which refers to conformability) (De Vos et al 1998:348-350). These measures are fully explained in chapter two.

1.6.3 Method

A qualitative research method was followed in the study. The following was discussed under research method:

1.6.3.1 Sampling

Purposive sampling was used. According to Schumacher and McMillan (1993:378) in purposeful sampling the researcher identifies "information rich" participants for the reason that they are possibly knowledgeable about the phenomenon under investigation. A single school was selected for the purpose of this study.

1.6.3.2 Data collection

The researcher conducted unstructured phenomenological interviews with teachers from the different groups (indigenous and expatriates) at the school identified. Individual teachers will be interviewed. Tape-recording of the interviews was done and interviews were

transcribed. In addition, a field journal was kept in which notes from observations were made. Relevant documents were also analyzed.

1.6.3.3 Data processing

The researcher carefully read through the transcribed interviews and field journal notes. The transcriptions were then analyzed according to qualitative methods. Data were interpreted and the results presented. A micropolitical perspective was employed in the study and guided data analysis and interpretation (Ball 1987; Hoyle 1986). This allowed the researcher to interpret and view the development of these relationships as a dynamic, interactive, intentional, transactional process grounded, probably, in the individual's beliefs and expectations and, perhaps, in the social normative context of the school. This have been fully explained in chapter two.

1.6.3.4 Literature control

The approach in this study will be inductive in that the empirical research will *precede* the literature review. However, the findings of this study will be placed in the context of what has already been discovered about the development of working relationships among teachers, particularly indigenous and expatriate teachers. This provides the basis for comparing, contrasting, categorizing, aggregating and ordering (Booyse, Lemmer & Smit in Dzivhani 2000:9).

1.7 DIVISION OF CHAPTERS

CHAPTER 1

Chapter one contains the overview and rationale of the study as stated above.

CHAPTER 2

Chapter two contains the research design and methodology along with specific measures to ensure research ethics and trustworthiness of the results.

CHAPTER 3

The realisation of the sampling and discussion of the research results will be presented narratively in chapter 2, along with the literature control and cross validation

CHAPTER 4

Conclusions and limitations of this study will be presented. Recommendations for managers on how to foster good working relationships between indigenous and expatriate teachers, as well as recommendations for future research, will be made.

1.8 SUMMARY

The overview, problem statement, research question and sub-questions, paradigm perspective, research design and method have been stated. In chapter 2, the research design will be explained.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter the overview and rationale of the research was described. This consisted of the problem statement, the research questions, paradigm perspectives and concept definitions. A brief overview of the research design and methodology was also stated. In this chapter a more detailed description of the research design and methodology, along with the context of the study is presented. In addition, the research aims are stated and the instrument for data collection is discussed, with the procedure for data collection and the measures to ensure trustworthiness of the findings.

2.2 AIMS OF THE RESEARCH

The research aim is directly related to the research problem. It expresses what the researcher wishes to achieve with the research in respect of solving the research problem (Hoberg & Steyn in Hoberg 1999:192). The aims of this research are as follows:

- To explore and describe factors related to the development of working relationships between indigenous and expatriate teachers in a secondary school from the perspectives of the teachers and, in the process, examine how these factors function in the development of these relationships.
- To recommend management strategies that can be implemented to foster positive working relationships among the teachers.

2.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design is a general plan or blueprint and structure of the investigation which the researcher uses to obtain evidence to answer the research questions (De Vos et al 1998:80;

Booyse et al in Dzivhani 2000:11). It guides the manner in which the study is to be conducted and creates a framework for the research (Brink & Wood 1983:89; Huysamen in De Vos et al 1998:123-124).

According to Selltiz (in Brink & Wood 1983:252), the function of the overall framework which guides a research study is to arrange conditions for the collection of data in a manner that intends to combine relevance of the research purpose with economy in methodology. But more so, it is to provide answers that are valid and accurate to the research question (Dzivhani 2000:11). Even at the most fundamental stage of building a research design, however, one other factor should be considered: sensitivity to the potential adverse effects on the participants. These effects may be inherent in the characteristics that make the participants eligible for inclusion in the sample. Sensitivity to these effects has become an integral, initial consideration in shaping this research design.

Since the aim of the research involves the examination of factors crucial to the development of working relationships among a group of culturally diverse participants, the research design must be responsive to the nature of the variable that makes people eligible to become research participants. Primary to forming the design for this study is a concern that the data to be collected and the manner of procedure do not combine to create further divisions or undermine any characteristics (cultural, work or otherwise) of the participants. Since teachers (the participants in this study) are historically more sensitive to research dealing with issues related to their relationships with colleagues (Hargreaves 1972:402), let alone cross-culturally, a research design that is flexible and that can facilitate these concerns is essential (Brink & Wood 1998:91; Buckley 2000:142-148).

- The research design for this study is qualitative, exploratory and descriptive. According to the distinction made by Booyse (in Hoberg 1999:26) as well as Glaser and Strauss (1965:261), the design is more closely aligned with inductive building of theory as opposed to deductive testing or extension of theory. Qualitative research emphasizes the dynamic, holistic and individual aspects of the human experience and attempts to capture those aspects in entirety, within the context of those who are experiencing them (Hungler & Polit in Mathebula 2000:24). It includes the identification, study and analysis of subjective and objective data in

order to know and understand the internal and external worlds of people (Mathebula 2000:24). Through this design, the researcher will be able to examine the experiences of indigenous and expatriate teachers and find out what they perceive to be crucial to the development of working relationships among each other in the schools. The qualitative design is most suitable as it facilitates flexibility and will allow teachers to describe their perceptions from their own frame of reference (Lewin, Stephens & Vulliamy 1990:11).

2.3.1 Qualitative phenomenological

Schulze (in Hoberg 1999:51) specifies that qualitative approaches are useful when the researcher seeks to develop an understanding of human phenomena, and to investigate the meaning given to events that people experience. This study involves interaction with the participants (teachers) in the setting of their workplace and is directed towards understanding what they think are crucial to the development of their working relationships with colleagues from other nationalities. Against this understanding, the phenomenological form of qualitative design is deemed most appropriate and has been chosen for this research. It allows the researcher to enter the participants' life worlds (De Vos et al 1998:80) and to understand, describe and interpret the meaning they give to their experiences of these relationships. This is a naturalistic inquiry, aimed at understanding phenomena holistically, as they occur naturally.

2.3.2 Exploratory

Qualitative research can be oriented towards a discovery (Dzivhani 2000:12). Such research is deemed exploratory as it is situated in a relatively unknown research area or an area about which little is as yet known (De Vos et al 1998:124). This research is exploratory in nature. It attempts to gain insight into what the indigenous and the expatriate teachers perceive to be crucial factors for the development of their working relationships. This is a relatively unexplored area of research, especially in the Botswana context. The exploratory nature of the research will enable the researcher not only to share in the understanding and perceptions of the teachers as participants in the study, but to explore and build knowledge on how they structure and give meaning to this aspect of their everyday lives. Flexibility is essential in this

context (Brink & Wood 1983:91) as situations rather than the researcher control the phenomenon being investigated.

2.3.3 Descriptive

The design of the study is not only exploratory but also descriptive in nature. A descriptive study will provide a detailed description of the phenomenon under investigation in order to answer the research question (Brink & Wood 1983:91). The researcher will, after an empirical investigation, describe the lived experiences of the teachers (participants) as they realise their working relationships with colleagues from other nationalities. The description will be predominantly textual narrative, that is, a recounting of the participants' own words. Their own words can best explain the meaning that they ascribe to their world and experiences in respect of the problem. In the description, no attempt will be made to establish cause and effect relationships under experimental conditions (Steyn & Van Wyk 1999:38) but only the essence of the teachers' experiences. After all, as Leininger (in Mathebula 2000:25) mentioned, the goal of qualitative research is to document and interpret as fully as possible the totality of whatever is being studied in particular contexts from the people's point of view or frame of reference.

2.3.4 Micropolitical perspective

The study will be guided by a micropolitical perspective (Ball 1987; Hoyle 1986). There are several definitions of micropolitics in the literature. Most focus on the strategic use of power in organizations to achieve preferred outcomes (Bacharach & Lawler 1980; Ball 1987; Hoyle 1986). The study will adopt Hoyle's (1986:126) definition that "micropolitics consists of the strategies by which individuals and groups in organizational contexts seek to use their resources of influence and authority to further their interest". Hoyle (1986:126-127) distinguished micropolitics from administration and management in that micropolitics is more likely to focus on: (a) individual and group self-interests than on organizational goals, (b) power and influence among individuals and groups than on the structure of authority in the organization, (c) informal strategies exercised at the individual and group levels than on formal procedures. Micropolitics concerns itself with hidden agendas, with the implicit rather than the

explicit and with those activities that occur among individuals and groups outside rather than inside the formal structures of (school) organizations (Hoyle 1986:126-136).

A key element of the micropolitical perspective is interpersonal interaction and strategic transaction among individuals and groups that take place in the absence of formal operating procedures (Blasé & Anderson 1995:2-11). Exchange theory provides a complementary view of this element (Blau in Hoyle 1986:130-131). Exchange theory suggests that many aspects of social life can be explained in terms of implicit and explicit bargaining and negotiating between individuals and groups. It assumes that even though individuals may enter into a relationship (working or social) with different degrees of relative power/influence, each necessarily must reach accommodation with the other to serve their mutual interests (Hoyle 1986:130-134).

The bargaining and negotiation involves a calculus of benefits and costs, or that which can be gained and that which must be lost to achieve that gain. Benefits and costs are defined according to individual and collective normative frameworks. These frameworks incorporate beliefs and assumptions regarding self-interests, rewards and the interests of others as well as beliefs and assumptions regarding roles, responsibilities, and rights and obligations in relationships (working or otherwise). As held by individuals and as grounded in collective contexts, such frameworks suggest which types of working relationships, for instance, are in individuals' best interests, which are most legitimate and which are most costly. They also suggest how individuals are to interact with each other or how and in what directions they are to shape their relationships.

In terms of this study, the micropolitical perspective will be employed to describe and explain factors crucial to the development of working relationships among indigenous and expatriate teachers, from their perspectives, and how these factors function in the development of such relationships. The micropolitical perspective suggests that these relationships can be in large part products of intentional strategies employed by both indigenous and expatriate teachers to maintain or advance their own prerogatives and self-interests. These prerogatives and self-interests are likely to be grounded not only in the teachers' beliefs, expectations and the social

normative context of their schools, but also in their cultural context, previous work orientation and relationships, to which they may have become socialized.

2.4 RESEARCH METHODS

The methodology of this research incorporates issues related to research ethics and trustworthiness, sampling, data collection and processing, and literature control. These are elucidated in the sections below.

2.4.1 Research ethics: ethical measures

Ethics is a set of moral principles which offers behavioural expectations about the most correct conduct towards participants (De Vos et al 1998:24). The researcher is aware that at every stage of this research process, he will be confronted with ethical issues to resolve. Some of these ethical issues may be straightforward while many may not be. Thus the researcher will have to be continually ethically aware, and always consider, *inter alia*, the interests of the participants (Angus 1998:111).

Ethical principles have guided this research from the beginning. The researcher undertakes to consider the following ethical measures throughout the study.

Prior to the commencement of the study:

2.4.1.1 Informed consent

De Vos et al (1998:25-26) postulate that informed consent relates to the communication of all possible or adequate information, as accurately as possible, about the research - its purpose, procedures, possible benefits, drawbacks, dangers, et cetera which it poses for participants - to prospective participants so that they can choose whether or not to participate in the process or discontinue such participation. Such measures help to ensure the full knowledge of participants and safeguard their rights (Brink & Wood 1983:161).

The participants in this study are adults who have the capacity to give informed consent, directly. Informed consent will be formally requested of participants after all issues related to such consent have been explained. This means participants will be informed, in a language of their choice of, *inter alia*, the following in order to make their decisions: the potential risks that they might be exposed to, and their right to participate or not to do so. Issues related to the study such as its goal, procedures of investigation, possible advantages or disadvantages will be shared with them. The researcher's credibility will also be communicated to them, verbally and in writing, prior to the commencement of the study, even if they (participants) do not listen or show no interest in knowing as suggested by Loewenberg and Dolgoff (in De Vos et al 1998:26-27). The above mentioned will allow them to give the necessary informed consent.

2.4.1.2 Voluntary participation

The assumption behind informed consent is that, given sufficient information on which to base a decision, the participants' consent to participate is free and voluntary. Informed consent further implies that the research participants should not be coerced, in any way, to participate in the study. The participants' participation in this study will be strictly voluntary, with the freedom to withdraw at any time. This will be explained to them before the research begins. No organ of the state or body with such affiliation or influence sponsors the research, so there will be no financial remuneration or coercion of participants (whether direct or indirectly as in job promotion or contract loss) to participate.

2.4.1.3 Researcher's identity

The disclosure of the identity of the researcher is not a dominant issue of ethical measures in this research. In the context of this study, however, the researcher's identity will be disclosed to participants. This is part of a strategy to establish rapport with participants in order to become part of their environment as quickly as possible. This will be aligned with Gold's (in De Vos et al 1998:260) observer-as-participant role of the researcher.

2.4.1.4 Researcher's action and competence

Many, such as Brink and Wood (1983:163) as well as De Vos et al (1998:31), have maintained that an ethical obligation rests with the researcher not only to ensure that he is competent and skilled to do the research that he proposes, but that his actions reflect awareness of the ethical responsibilities involved. The actions and competence of the researcher are fundamental in carrying out this research. This is particularly so as the investigation involves participants from across cultural boundaries. Of significance is the view that the researcher's manner of conduct during the investigation should not create undue stress or undermine any characteristic (cultural, work or otherwise) that may be held by the participants. Sensitivity towards participants in areas of their cultural customs, sampling and objectivity will be shown.

The actions and competence of this researcher are enhanced by the fact that he has studied research methods and is supervised by a university professor who is highly experienced in supervising qualitative research projects. This will help to ensure that the most appropriate actions and decisions are taken at the various stages of the research process.

2.4.1.5 Protection from harm

It has been recognized that participants can be harmed in both physical and emotional ways when they participate in research (De Vos et al 1998:25; Drew 1980:43). Although equally severe as physical harm, emotional harm has been acknowledged to be far more difficult to predict or determine than physical harm (Drew 1980:43-44). Protection from emotional harm is the main concern in this research, in the light of the problem being studied. Everything will be done to assess the manner in which participation in this investigation might be stressful to participants relative to their normal everyday activities (McBurney in Dzivhani 2000:14). This will involve the elimination of questions that cause unnecessary stress. It will also involve identifying participants who may be too sensitive to participate in the investigation and excluding them beforehand (De Vos et al 1998:25). Debriefing sessions will also be undertaken, if necessary.

During the study:

2.4.1.6 Relationships with participants

Relationships with participants are among the most crucial research issues to be resolved in qualitative research (Angus 1998:112-113). De Vos et al (1998:257) are of the view that the sort of attitude projected by the researcher, especially during the early stages, is critical to the success of the study. This implies that the onus is on the researcher to establish and maintain a relationship with participants that is most appropriate to produce valid research. Throughout this study, the researcher will ensure that a relationship of trust is maintained with participants. Although no recipe as to how this will be achieved can be provided at this stage, it will involve the researcher being honest and candid in his interaction with participants to gain their trust and cooperation. The researcher will also be guided by Gold's (in De Vos et al 1998:260) observer-as-participant role.

2.4.1.7 Anonymity and confidentiality

Brink and Wood (1983:165) maintain that confidentiality implies that the researcher will keep all records and the identity of the participants only known to him and his committee members. This makes the information privileged (Robinson in De Vos et al 1998:28). In contrast Babbie (1990:342) suggests that anonymity indicates that no one, including the researcher, should be able to identify any participant afterwards. This is to ensure their privacy (De Vos et al 1998:28). Strict confidentiality and anonymity of participants will be maintained in this study, even if findings are published. This will be communicated to participants formally. To achieve this, the name and address of data sources will not be published and every attempt will be made to group the data collected so that personal characteristics or traceable detail of participants will not become known. The location where the study will be conducted will not be identified by name; participants' responses will not be labeled, except to the extent needed to discuss the results. In addition, no concealed media will be used in the data collection process. A tape recorder will be used with the consent of the participants.

2.4.1.8 Deception of participants

Loewenberg and Dolgoff (in De Vos et al 1998:27) regard deception of participants as intentionally misrepresenting facts in order to make another person believe what is not true, thereby violating the respect to which that person is entitled. Corey et al (in De Vos et al 1998:27) think of deception as withholding information. The deception of participants who participate in this research will be strictly avoided. Where deception might occur inadvertently, such incidents will be discussed with participants promptly (De Vos et al 1998:27).

After the study has been completed:

2.4.1.9 Debriefing

Debriefing is a session between the researcher and research participants, where they have an opportunity to reflect upon and discuss the data and its collection process. It represents the end of a learning experience that began when the participants agreed to participate (Dane 1990:45).

Debriefing sessions will be conducted after the study as part of a strategy in this research to allow the researcher and the participants to work through their experience that will be gained during the investigation and its aftermath (Judd et al in De Vos et al 1998:33). During the debriefing session, any misconceptions or inadvertent misrepresentations, whether on the part of the participants or the researcher, will be rectified.

The following will also be observed after the study: participants' anonymity; respect for information that has been provided in confidence and the use of the data for only the agreed purposes.

2.4.2 Trustworthiness: measures to ensure its application

The research, as indicated earlier, will be conducted in the qualitative tradition. Thus, there will be no emphasis on testing of hypotheses. In consequence, trustworthiness rather than validity/reliability will form the basis of assessing the findings of the investigation.

The researcher has an obligation to maintain trustworthiness throughout the study. Thus measures to ensure trustworthiness of the findings will also guide this research. In an effort to achieve this, the researcher has opted to follow Guba's model of trustworthiness as depicted in De Vos et al (1998:348-351). The model is comparatively well developed conceptually (De Vos et al 1998:348). It has been used to validate the trustworthiness of many investigations in the past, and is best fit to assess this study and ward-off biases in the results. The four measures adopted from the model in this study are the following: truth-value, applicability, consistency and neutrality (Guba & Lincoln in De Vos et al 1998:349-350).

2.4.2.1 Truth-value as ensured by the strategy of credibility

Truth-value will be employed in the data collection and analysis process. This will be applied to establish the extent of the researcher's confidence in the truth of the findings based on the research design, participants and the research context (De Vos et al 1998:349). This will be based primarily on what is discovered about the teachers' experiences in their working relationships as they are lived and perceived by them.

The strategy of credibility will be applied to ensure the achievement of truth-value in the research (Krefting in De Vos et al 1998:331). The goal in applying this strategy will be to demonstrate that the research is conducted in a manner that shows that the contributors to the problem are accurately identified and described. The idea of multiple realities in the problem takes precedence in the research, thus efforts will be made to report these realities, as revealed by the participants, in a clear and adequate manner (De Vos et al 1998:349).

The following criteria will be applied to achieve the strategy of credibility:

- Prolonged engagement

The investigation will not be conducted in the school setting to which the researcher is currently attached. A new setting will be used. In this setting, the researcher will adopt the strategy of prolonged engagement to learn the ropes (De Vos et al 1998:261) and become as familiar as possible with the participants and their environment. During this extended time, the researcher

will strive to blend in with the new setting (Newton & Rudestam 1992:29-38) and establish a positive rapport with the participants. He will also try, where necessary, to think and speak in the language of the participants in order to understand their life worlds better (De Vos et al 1998:260). These measures are aimed at increasing the level of trust between the researcher and the participants with the hope of motivating participants to participate freely and reveal information which they would otherwise conceal.

Prolonged engagement will give the researcher time not only to interview the participants but also make multiple observations in order to acquire a better understanding of the interactive process that shapes the participants' behaviors (Shaffir & Stebbins in De Vos et al 1998:260). Prolonged engagement in this study will comprise a minimum period of eight weeks.

- Reflexivity

Being a qualitative investigation, the researcher will be unavoidably linked to, and cannot be separated from, the data collection process. Thus his influence on the process will be inexorable, but can be minimized. The strategy of reflexivity will be employed to minimize the researcher's influence in this study. This will be achieved through the use of tape recorders, and observational notes.

- Authority of the researcher

The researcher has achieved excellence in various undergraduate research programmes and was a member of various research teams that have conducted research in the qualitative tradition for private, non-government organizations in the past. In addition, the researcher has worked for many years in various capacities with teachers from different nationalities, not only in Botswana but also in countries overseas. This has given him an in-depth grasp of the phenomenon under study so that he can investigate it with authority.

- Triangulation

The strategy of triangulation will also be used as a way of improving the credibility of the research findings. Marais and Mouton (in De Vos et al 1998:359) point out that triangulation refers to, *inter alia*, the use of multiple methods to collect data. In this study, triangulation will be applied in two forms based on Duffy's categorization (in De Vos et al 1998:359): *methodologically*, (that is, via the use of unstructured face-to-face in-depth interviews, observation and document analysis) and *theoretically*, (that is, through reliance on not only the investigator's analysis of the data but also on the analysis of the same data by at least one additional coder who is familiar with the situation and with qualitative research).

2.4.2.2 Applicability as ensured by the strategy of transferability

Applicability in this research refers to whether the findings of the investigation will be transferable or will fit into other contexts outside of the study situation (Guba in De Vos et al 1998:331&349) as determined by the degree of similarity or goodness of their fit. De Vos et al (1998:349) indicate that applicability is achieved through the strategy of transferability. To achieve this in the study, the researcher will present a sufficient description of the data to facilitate comparisons of the findings with other contexts.

2.4.2.3 Consistency as ensured by the strategy of dependability

The third criterion of trustworthiness considered in the research as postulated by Guba (in De Vos et al 1998:350) considers the consistency of the data (or its reliability). This is explained in terms of the dependability of the data, that is, whether the findings would be consistent if the study were replicated with the same participants or in a similar context. Dependability will be achieved by creating an "inquiry audit trail" (Hunger & Polit in Mathebula 2000:32) in the form of analytical notes which an external reviewer can follow. Thus, by means of the research design, data collection and processing methods, the researcher will describe the various decisions and actions taken at the different stages of the data collection and analysis process (for example coding of raw data so that others may be able to understand and determine if they

would arrive at the same themes/conclusions). By so doing a clear decision trail, which others can trace, can be created.

2.4.2.4 Neutrality as ensured by the strategy of confirmability

Neutrality in this research, as a means of ensuring trustworthiness of the research findings concerns the freedom of the research procedures and results from bias (De Vos et al 1998:350) or the degree to which the research findings are purely a function of the participants and conditions of the research, and not of other influences or biases. It will be ensured through the strategy of confirmability which will be realized through prolonged engagement in the field, reflexivity, a confirmability audit and when other truth-value and applicability strategies described earlier are realized (Krefting in De Vos et al 1998:350).

2.4.3 Data collection

The following aspects of the research design will be explained: sampling, the role of the researcher and data collection methods.

2.4.3.1 Sampling

Apart from selecting educational settings and negotiating access to the participants (Measor 1985:55), one of the most important tasks for a qualitative researcher is deciding on the participants to select as sample for the investigation. De Vos et al (1998:253) and Hoberg (1999:203) indicate that the participants forming the sample should be information-rich. Information-rich participants are the central consideration in the selection of the sample for this study.

This study will be conducted in a select secondary school in the South Central Region of Botswana to investigate what indigenous and expatriate teachers perceive are crucial factors for the development of their working relationships. The study will also assess how these factors function in the development of these relationships. There are eight senior secondary schools in the South Central Region. A friend and former colleague who is now an inspector of secondary

schools in the Department of Education in the South Central Region, agreed to act as gatekeeper (Lofland and Lofland 1984:35) and has identified a school whose staff he judged to be experiencing the identified problem and which is both accessible and willing to participate in the study. This was further verified by the researcher.

The school is situated in an area where both formal and informal housing and business are provided and has a staff of 85 indigenous and expatriate teachers (all full time). Teachers are accommodated in houses on the school premises. The expatriate teachers on staff are from different nationalities in Europe, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean and the wider diaspora of Africa. They form approximately 48 per cent of the staff. This is nine percent below the national average of 57 per cent (Revised National Policy on Education 1994). Twelve hundred students (girls and boys) are enrolled at the school and the medium of instruction is English.

Information-rich participants and the view that small samples are usually adequate to capture a full range of themes emerging in relation to the phenomenon being studied (Cobin & Strauss in Mathebula 2000:27) influenced the restriction to one school. It was also influenced by, not only the general geographic location of the schools and foreseeable time constraint in reaching them, but also the need to improve the validity of the research which is enhanced when the investigation is based in one context.

Purposive sampling will be used to select the sample for this study. The sample will consist of a number of teachers (both indigenous and expatriates) who will be selected purposively from the school by the researcher after a week of observation and initial conversation with them. Morse (in Mathebula 2000:26) states that in purposive sampling the researcher selects the participants according to the needs of the study. Purposive sampling will be done in this study because of the need to get participants who are information-rich, and who can inform the investigation adequately (De Vos et al 1998:253). The researcher's knowledge of the research problem and purpose of the study will be used when making crucial decisions about the choice of participants.

The participants selected will have had numerous years of working with teachers from different nationalities, either in their current posts or in current and past posts combined.

Once the sample has been selected, a letter from the researcher will be sent to each member, introducing the researcher formally, giving details about the research, protection from harm, promise of anonymity, confidentiality of information shared, protection from deception and the assurance that they can stop participation at any time (see appendix A). A form for participants to sign to indicate their consent to participate will also be attached to this letter.

2.4.3.2 The researcher as an instrument

The research will be conducted in the qualitative tradition. As a result, the researcher will be directly involved, over a prolonged period, not only with the participants in the research setting but also in the data collection process. This involvement in the data collection process makes the researcher the data collection instrument (Tuckman in Schulze 2001:15): much depends on what he sees and hears and much rests on his power of observation and listening skills. According to Angus (1998:115) however, as instrument, the researcher is not free from bias; rather is prone to it and other influences from within his own subjective frame of reference. Thus, to obtain accurate data, his biases, opinions, obtrusiveness or curiosity must be warded off or minimized and not allowed to affect his behavior in the data collection efforts (Tuckman in Schulze 2001:15).

Measures to minimize researcher biases and subjectivity, as instrument, will be taken in the research. These will include the ethical measures (discussed in 2.4.1) and measures to ensure trustworthiness (discussed in 2.4.2) of the results. The researcher will familiarize himself with the procedures involved in administering the various instruments and will develop the skills (social management, observation, interviewing) and competence needed to function effectively and objectively before commencing data collection. In addition, the researcher's supervisor will act as an independent coder in the analysis of the data.

2.4.3.3 Data collection methods

Data collection methods are the ways in which the research data are obtained (De Vos et al 1998:82). The methods chosen for data collection in this research are influenced by the research question and design. In an effort to acquire different facets of the same problem (symbolic reality) of the participants (Berg 1995:4) and obtain more valid results in the research, the following three methods (triangulation) will be used to collect the data: interviews, observation and document analysis. These are described below.

- Interviews

The unstructured face-to-face conversational form of phenomenological interview will be conducted. This form of interview will be used to give participants the opportunity to describe their experiences and problems in their working relationships with colleagues in their own words without being restricted in order to get an “insider’s view”. Each participant will be interviewed individually. A single question: “*Tell me about your working relationships with indigenous (or expatriate) teachers*” will be posed to kick-start the discussions. Probing questions, emanating from the participants’ responses will follow.

The researcher will interview the participants until the data has been theoretically saturated, that is, become predictable and without any new insights (Morse 1994:231). Interviews will be conducted at convenient times for participants within the research setting. This should aid recollection of experiences. All interviews will be tape-recorded with the participants’ permission and transcribed (see appendix B for sample copy of interview).

- Observation

Observations will be used to investigate and clarify the research context. The aim will be to observe and record ongoing events and behaviours of the participants in relation to the research question, without attempting to change these events or behaviours. In this context the researcher will observe the manner in which participants from the different groups (indigenous and expatriate) collaborate in the research setting. The attitudes, comments, dispositions and

other related behavioral signs that participants display during their collaboration in the work setting will form part of what the researcher will observe. These will be noted in a field journal.

Observations will be made throughout the data collection period until data has been theoretically saturated. Observational, theoretical and methodological notes will be made as described in Schatzman and Strauss' (in De Vos et al 1998:285) model of note taking. Observational notes will give an account of what happened while the theoretical notes will form the researcher's conscious, systematic attempt to derive meaning from the observational notes on reflection. The methodological notes will create the audit trail of the methodological process followed in the data collection while in the field. These notes will allow the researcher to give a more informed description of the working relationships among the teachers.

- Document analysis

The researcher will also make a study of relevant documents such as newspaper articles, minutes of meetings, logs, formal policy statements, letters, memos, dissertations, journals, files, et cetera which could help to answer the research question. These pieces of information will be analyzed and used as additional information to answer the research question.

2.4.4 Data processing and analysis

Data analysis is the stage in this research where the researcher will reduce the collected data to themes and categories by manipulating, ordering, categorizing and summarizing (Kerlinger in De Vos et al 1998:203) them with the aid of a coding procedure, to facilitate interpretation and obtain answers to the research question(s). It commences with data processing, that is, rewriting of the research notes and creating files, which begins during data collection (Babbie & Rubin in De Vos et al 1998:48).

The method, procedure and protocol of data analysis that will be followed in the research are described below.

2.4.4.1 Method of data analysis

The main method of data analysis that will be used in the present study is the constant comparative method of content analysis, which entails identifying, coding and categorizing the primary patterns in the data (Corbin & Strauss 1990; Guba & Lincoln 1985; Miles & Huberman 1994). This method permits inductive identification and classification of themes and patterns in the data across participants. Themes and patterns that emerged from this analysis will be clarified and verified in complimentary ways.

- Data analysis procedure

The process of analysis will proceed as follows:

Assembling and organizing data

The data collected by means of an audiotape will be transcribed verbatim, and data collected through observations will be organized into observational, theoretical and methodological notes. The observational notes will include a descriptive account of the participants, their setting and the actual happenings; theoretical notes will be the researcher's reflective notes on the field experiences as seen from the observations. Methodological notes will reflect the researcher's methodological actions and decisions during data collection. Relevant document information will also be assembled and organized. These will form the universum for analysis (Modungwa in De Vos et al 1998:345).

Analyzing the data

The data will be analyzed in the language in which it will be collected, using Guba and Lincoln's (in De Vos et al 1998:338) constant comparative method of analysis. The method involves the following:

□ *Categorizing and comparing units*

The researcher will read “carefully” through all the transcripts to get a sense of the whole. “Carefully” means to read and reread the transcripts and listen again and again to the tape recording of the interviews in order to gain familiarity with them. At this stage the aim is to use the data “to think with” (Newport 1994:229). The same will be done with the field notes.

From the readings, the researcher will identify “units of information” that will serve as the basis for defining or representing categories in each universum, as the transcripts, field notes and documents are read and reread. A “unit of information” refers to a sentence or paragraph that has the following two characteristics: (a) is aimed at the understanding that the researcher needs to have, (b) is the smallest piece of information about something that can stand by itself.

The researcher will then code all units identified and place them into major categories (and subcategories). Units applicable to each category will be compared constantly, to generate theoretical properties of the category, which can describe it. Both emerging and constructed categories should appear from the constant comparison of the coded units.

□ *Integrating categories and their properties*

After tentative categories and their properties have been identified, the researcher will compare units within the same categories, with the properties that describe it, to integrate and make a more comprehensive and stable category set.

□ *Delimiting the construction*

Categories will be defined and redefined by continual comparison until a shorter but much improved and integrated list of categories emerges, which can provide answers to the research question. The observational notes and document information will assist the researcher in identifying the final categories.

- External coder

The raw data will also be sent to one additional (experienced) coder for analysis. This coder will be familiar with the research context and situation. The coder will not be given any pre-arranged themes or categories to use. Only a protocol with guidelines for data analysis will be given (Modungwa in De Vos et al 1998:345), (see appendix C for protocol). Following the analysis, a meeting will be convened with the coder for consensus discussion on the themes and categories. My researcher promoter will serve as the external coder.

The analysis will be discussed with the teachers who will serve as participants in the study. This is to ascertain that the analysis reflects what they shared with the researcher and that the analysis is correct. Comments, insights and clarifications raised by the coder and participants will be incorporated into the analysis. The final result will be discussed in the light of relevant literature.

2.4.4.2 Literature control

The researcher will place the findings of the study in the context of what has already been discovered about the research problem: that is, the factors and circumstances crucial to the development of working relationships between indigenous and expatriate teachers and the manner in which these factors or circumstances function in the development of these relationships in the school situation.

2.5 SUMMARY

The research design and methodology have been discussed in this chapter. This discussion contained a detailed description of the design and the setting where the research will be conducted. The aim of the study was also stated in the discussion. In addition, the instruments for data collection were discussed in conjunction with the procedure for data collection and analysis and the measures to ensure ethics in the research and trustworthiness of the findings. The chapter concludes with an exposé on literature control. The next chapter, chapter 3, will reflect the results of the investigation.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH RESULTS, CROSS VALIDATION AND LITERATURE CONTROL

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The point was made in the previous chapter that the research design and methodology are the most crucial aspects of the research process. The design and methodology impact directly on the nature of the results obtained from answering the research question(s). The results obtained from the research design and methodologies discussed in the previous chapter are presented in this chapter. The results are combined and discussed with the cross validation and literature control. The aim of the results was to answer the research question posed in chapter two, concerning the factors that are related to the development of working relationships between indigenous and expatriate teachers and how these factors function in the development of these relations. Before the results are presented, however, a brief expose on the realization of the sampling is noteworthy.

3.2 REALISATION OF SAMPLING

The research was conducted in a secondary school with 85 full time indigenous and expatriate teachers in the South Central Region of Botswana (see 2.4.3.1). The researcher entered the research setting (school) in the latter part of April 2001. Following a preliminary week of introductions, the researcher made observations and conducted phenomenological interviews with several indigenous and expatriate teachers who volunteered to participate in the investigation. Each teacher-respondent interviewed was selected purposively, that is, on the basis that the respondent was information-rich and was able to inform the investigation adequately. After a prolonged period of about eight weeks, when data appeared saturated (i.e. revealed no new information), a total of eight respondents were interviewed and observed in their work setting. Indigenous and expatriate respondents were interviewed alternately; each interview lasted about 45 minutes.

Four of the eight respondents were indigenous and the others expatriates, whose roles were focused primarily at the classroom and management level where they collaborate with their indigenous colleagues as subject teachers. The expatriate respondents were John, Rose, Lincoln and Mary while the respondents among the indigenous group were Mpho, Maso, Kenielwe and Binnie (all names are pseudonyms).

Although there was no emphasis on gender balance and on nationalities, it turned out that two of the four indigenous respondents were women and the others men. A similar balance in gender was also realized among the expatriate respondents; however, their nationality was not the same. This varied across the different ethnic groups, which cannot be revealed at this stage for fear of jeopardizing the anonymity and confidentiality promised.

All eight respondents varied in terms of the number of years that they collaborated with teachers from outside their own country. John, Rose and Lincoln were all in their late thirties. They came to Botswana five to six years ago; ever since they have been working with indigenous colleagues as teachers in the public schools. For the remaining expatriate, Mary, the experience working with indigenous teachers commenced a year ago. However, the situation was slightly different among the indigenous-respondents. Mpho and Maso, were in their mid twenties and had been recently posted to the school while Binne and Kenielwe were in their thirties and had collaborated with expatriates for over three years. The results obtained from the sampling as realised are presented below.

3.3 RESEARCH RESULTS

The main method of data analysis used in the study was the constant comparative method of content analysis (Corbin & Strauss 1990; Guba & Lincoln 1985). Data was analyzed from documents, observational notes and interviews. This revealed the following eight main themes in relation to the factors related to the development of working relationships between the indigenous and expatriate teachers: cultural differences, ambiguity and uncertainty, professional and interpersonal obligations, strategic support and interactions, indigenous-expatriate teacher ratios, perceived salary and benefits disparity.

Although they applied somewhat differently to each teacher, these themes appeared consistently across all respondents. It is also noteworthy that there was substantial 'within group' (expatriate-expatriate and indigenous-indigenous) agreement among the respondents in both reference to and interpretations of these themes during debriefing and the interviews, although each respondent was interviewed separately. Each theme that emerged is now considered alternately.

3.3.1 Cultural differences

Virtually without exception, indigenous and expatriate teachers referred to experiences of cultural differences as conditions in which they had to develop their working relationships. Culture is generally seen as the way in which a group of people has come to solve common human problems – their way of life (Taylor in Chalfant & Labeff 1988:28), or as everything that is socially learned and shared by a group of people in a society (Chalfant & Labeff 1988:28). Each culture has its distinct practices (Safire in Stimson & Stimson 1983:73). Differences of culture are experienced when people of different cultural orientations come into contact (Chalfant & Labeff 1988:28). It seems indigenous and expatriate teachers experienced elements of cultural differences in their working relationships because socially they have each learned and shared different beliefs and practices and each has come to accept and expect different things in these relationships. The following aspects of cultural differences were identified.

3.3.1.1 Communication and language differences

Communication and language differences emerged as prominent cultural factors related to the formation of working relationships between indigenous and expatriate teachers at the school. Communication and language differences were referred to by both groups of teachers. Each group showed preference for a different mode of communication when communicating with each other. The expatriate teachers showed a preference for and were more inclined to communicate in the written form when communicating with their indigenous colleagues. However, indigenous teachers preferred to communicate and be communicated with orally.

This disparity in the teachers' preference for a particular mode of communication is captured well in one indigenous teacher's reflection:

... the most important thing is that I personally don't believe in communicating in black and white – i.e. writing a person a note. I believe in somebody calling me and telling me something - addressing the issue verbally. But for some reason, expatriates, they have a tendency of communicating through papers. I don't know the reason they should do that... but I personally believe that the best way to communicate is call a person and address the issue verbally rather than to put it down on paper (Mpho).

An expatriate teacher who has over four years experience working at the school commented:

...too much time is spent in conversation and meetings talking about things that can be communicated in writing (John).

Another expatriate teacher noted:

...it's not always easy to attend so many meetings and workshops talking about, sometimes, irrelevant things which sometimes can be communicated in writing. Meetings eat up your time so you end up unable to correct students' work and plan properly (Rose).

These comments reflect the teachers' strong preferences for a different communication mode. The tendency of indigenous and expatriate teachers to communicate through different modes was also noticed when they were observed by the researcher. Riches (in Bush & West-Burnham 1994:245) points out that communication, although an everyday experience, is quite a complex activity. In accordance, Rasberry and Lemoine (1986:23-26) are of the opinion that the mode that is chosen for communication is vital if the message is to be fully received, accepted and acted upon. Gudykunst, Nishida and Ting-Toomey (1996:3) suggest that culture influences communication modes and communication modes influence culture. This implies

that the teachers' sharing of different cultures may be related to their particular choice of communication modes.

But in addition, both indigenous and expatriate teachers appeared to have deep-rooted, underlying reasons for their preference for a particular mode of communication. The indigenous teachers in the study said communication in the verbal form is more meaningful and can prevent misunderstanding on their part. One explained:

...it's cultural for us to communicate verbally. Putting things down on paper, sometimes, I may misinterpret what you have written and it can cause more conflict...I feel better when issues are best addressed if you sit down and discuss; you would be able to understand exactly how I feel about the thing rather than writing them orders or giving them what you feel on paper. People should be free to talk to one another, you know (Kenielwe).

On the other hand, expatriate teachers felt it is more professional and time saving to communicate in writing when collaborating with their indigenous colleagues. This interpretation was also shared by some indigenous local teachers who felt disturbed by expatriates' preference for a written form of communication when dealing with them. One explained:

I don't understand or know why communication is a problem between us locals and expatriates. Maybe expatriates think written communication is more professional; they can refer to it when necessary such that when conflicts arise notes are on files (Mpho).

Additionally, some indigenous teachers felt that expatriates preferred to communicate in writing as a way to avoid listening to the other person's side of the story or to have something to file, which can be used against them later – for example, in the case of a conflict arising. One indigenous teacher asserted:

...the one thing that I have realized is that when they (expatriates) are assigned

to supervise you, they don't look at other reasons to things like... the main thing is they don't want to take another person's side of the story. You were late and even if you had a reason for being late, maybe by five minutes, they feel you are late and that's it, regardless of your reasons... it's written and in the end you may never know what happen to that piece of paper; you don't know whether it's going to be filed or use against you later (Mpho).

What the research has highlighted so far, in terms of these teachers' preference for a particular mode of communication is that indigenous and expatriate teachers each have seemingly deep-rooted habits of communication, which are distinctly different, and to which they are each unaccustomed in the context of communicating with others at work. Their choice of communication mode seems to have cultural connections. These differences appear to have generated a certain level of uncertainty in their interactions and have created barriers in their communication as each group (indigenous and expatriate) appears to resent and is in disfavor of the other's communication mode. These seem to have caused hostility in the development of their working relationships at the school.

These findings are entirely in line with those from the wealth of cross-cultural communication research from the 1960s to present. For example, Dumont (in Cazden, Hymes & John 1972:433) when studying communication among people in the *Lakota and Cherokee* societies, observes how people communicate differ across culture and societies. Riches (in Bush & West-Burnham 1994:249) contents that modes of communication among people can be enormously varied and warns that a person's choice of a mode depends on personal preference based on the sender's knowledge of the receiver, experience and the environment. Similarly, Gudykunst et al (1996:4-5) reviewed the literature on communication in relationships across cultures and argue that a society or individual's affinity for certain modes of communication, socially or at work, is not unusual especially across culture as communication and culture reciprocally influence each other or the culture in which individuals are socialized influences the way they communicate. Buckley (2000:143-146) and Deutscher (in Crossley & Tsayang 1994:65-66) warn that breakdown in communication becomes inevitable as styles of communication vary and can create hostility in relationships.

To emphasize this point, Quarmby and Kann's (in Mautle & Youngman 1990:64) note "...communication amongst Batswana (the people of Botswana) is rooted in the political culture of a traditional 'Kgotle' court which is characterized by open discussions, which values interpersonal communication and which depends heavily on face-to-face contact. To Batswana face-to-face interaction allows for a more full and frank exchange of views, and facilitates probing for further clarification and insights through other means, including observation of body language and facial gestures." Quarmby and Kann (in Mautle & Youngman 1990:64) observation may uncover the basis for indigenous teachers' strong preference for oral communication as emerged in the study.

But perhaps the most interesting and remarkable development concerning choice of communication mode among indigenous and expatriate teachers is revealed in an apparent twist highlighted by some indigenous teachers who claimed that their expatriate colleagues' tendency to communicate in writing only exists between expatriates and indigenous teachers. One explained:

...they talk verbally to their expatriate counterparts...if you can call maybe your...another expatriate counterpart and talk, why can't you call me. I don't think...and it only exist – this sort of communication – between the locals and expatriates but among themselves it's not an issue...they can just call each other and discuss whatever it is they want to discuss, but when it comes to the issue of addressing it with a local person it becomes something else (Mpho).

The situation described by Mpho indicates that although the expatriate teachers at the school are from different countries or cultural orientations and origins, in terms of communication, they used a similar communication mode (written) when relating to their indigenous colleagues. This disturbed indigenous teachers as one said, "...I don't know why they do that". This contrasts expatriates' inclination to use a verbal mode when communicating with each other. Perhaps one explanation for this lies in a comment made by one expatriate teacher, who noted: "...their (indigenous teachers) language and general communication, at times, it's difficult to understand...their English accent sounds different." This suggests that some

expatriates communicate verbally with each other because their use of English is easier to understand.

Adding to the teacher's comment, Gudykunst et al (1996:246-247) maintain that the degree of certainty and familiarity in language exchange among individuals plays a role in their choice of verbal communication. In accordance, Carroll (in Brislin, Cherrie, Cushner & Yong 1986:175) notes, for instance, that among the French, an animated style is used in conversation with people they are close to. These views substantiate the findings in the study and are compatible with cultural differences in individualism and collectivism communication across cultures (Gudykunst et al 1996:33-34).

- *Language differences*

Another aspect in cultural differences which also links to communication, and which was cited as related to the development of good working relationships between indigenous and expatriate teachers concerns language usage. Language is seen as a complex system of verbal, nonverbal and written symbols (Chalfant & Labeff 1988:35). Language is a key element of culture; without it culture would not be possible. It appears, on the basis of the findings, that there are differences and disparities in the language usage or linguistic frameworks of some indigenous and expatriate teachers at the school. The expatriate teachers, on the one hand, spoke about experiences of difficulty when responding to answers of 'yes' or 'no' from their indigenous counterpart. One expatriate teacher explained:

...the language and general communication at times, it's difficult to understand...I asked a question arising from a meeting; the question was "aren't you going to the workshop?" the response I got was 'yes' which I took to mean 'yes I am going', only to find at the very last minute that the person meant 'no, I'm not going', you see what I mean (Mary).

Another expatriate echoed a similar sentiment:

...the answer you get from a question may not be what you think it means; it

may be completely opposite to what was asked, not because they did not understand the question but it seems because we have different meaning or whatever (John).

This suggests that indigenous and expatriate teachers experienced instances of communication breakdown in their relationships as a consequence of misinterpreting each other's responses. Vulliamy (in Vulliamy & Stephen 1990:45-50) reports a similar situation among people in Papua New Guinea who answer 'yes' to all English language questions they do not understand. The Papua New Guinea experience corresponds with Stephen's (in Vulliamy & Stephen 1990) discussion of the natives of the Hausa culture in Nigeria where he found people often say 'no' when they actually mean 'yes'. These corroborate the situation uncovered in language use between the indigenous and expatriate teachers and stand in sharp contrast with the notions, among some linguistic scholars, that as long as two people talk to each other in the same language, effective communication is taking place (Deutscher in Crossley & Tsayang 1994:65-66).

Similarly, indigenous teachers lamented their experiences of misinterpreting the expressions of expatriates with whom they work. Some spoke about the tendency of expatriates to support or agree and say 'yes' verbally, but do not do what they agreed to. One indigenous teacher commented:

...the other thing that I have realized is that even when they have supported an issue verbally, when you get to the issue such as extra-curricular activities or something like that, they will support it 'oh we have to go there, we have to do this and that' but when you get there you don't find them...it's like they just appear as if it's something they are going to do but in actual fact they don't mean it. That's the problem. When they say 'yes' they don't mean yes; they mean something else. They will talk about it as if they like it such that...(Binne).

Another indigenous teacher observed:

...they will talk about issues as if they like it...everyone for example does not

like non-academic activities but verbally expatriates would pretend as if they do when they know they are not going to do it (Maso).

The teachers' responses suggest that, on the one hand, it is difficult for an indigenous teacher to know precisely when a verbal support or 'yes' acknowledgement from an expatriate teacher, in relation to certain professional duties (e.g. extra-curricula) on which they both have to collaborate, really means as stated verbally because their 'yes' response does not always correspond with their actual action. The same is true for the expatriate teachers regarding their indigenous counterparts, to whom they have to relate and ask questions. This affects how they relate in their relationships. These findings parallel Zimmerman (1985:22) who found in a study of Japanese and American (educators) that, because of the former culture's concern with etiquette and proper behaviour, it is difficult for the Japanese to say 'no' directly if it might be construed as rude thus. Thus, *hai*, (their word for yes) will be used occasionally when the person does not really mean yes. However, Zimmerman argues that the Japanese may say 'yes' just in acknowledgement of a question or a statement, which can communicate the wrong meaning to those who are not aware of this cultural difference.

In accordance, Crossley and Tsayang (1994:64-67) associate these variations to nuances in the teachers' language use and maintain that nuances in languages vary across culture. As in the case of the indigenous and expatriate, Crossley and Tsayang (1994:67-68) point out that differences in the interpretation of similar linguistic symbols by the same language speakers are not abnormal, and are linked to cultural aspects of language usage.

But Louis and Smith (1987:23-34) contend that "to not following up on agreement is indicative of unprofessionalism rather than nuances in other languages." However, Ochs (in Gudykunst et al 1996:8) argues that most cross-cultural differences in language (as may be the case with indigenous and expatriate teachers) are differences in "*context and/or frequency of occurrences*" and point out that cross-cultural differences in language usage are functions of "the semantic-pragmatic context covered...the number of interlocutors involved...the social relationships of the interlocutors... and the setting".

Beyond the above mentioned comments, however, the nuances in the language usage of some indigenous and expatriate teachers appear to have frustrated communication between them and created annoyance, which spills over into their interactions, and working relationships at the school. One indigenous teacher who has been frustrated by the situation articulated:

...this really annoys me personally and creates a drift between us locals and expatriates in terms of working relationships because when people do this you always have certain feelings towards them like 'ah, these people we know definitely that they are going to support it, we know they will not do it but they are going to support it'. This is the sort of attitude it creates; it's annoying (Binne).

The frustration appears not to be specific to the indigenous teacher groups. As one expatriate teacher pointed out:

...it can be quite frustrating at times as you are never quite sure ...my experience with the locals has been for their tendency to be reluctant to expose any weakness for fear of being criticized, it seems. When you ask whether they are having a problem relating to their work, they would tend to say 'no' even when they know they do. The same happens when you ask a question a certain way...you have to constantly remind yourself to phrase your questions so as not to get double meanings (Lincoln).

In substantiating these findings, Brislin et al (1986:16) maintain that frustration, stemming from nuances in language use in communication is inevitable, especially across culture as people are socialized, in their own culture, to understand and utilise culturally specific meanings that have been attached to words and vocal utterances. In accordance, Riches (in Bush & West-Burnham 1994:251) argues that individuals interpret messages in terms of their own background, needs and purposes and in relationship to the particular context or situation, and warns that words and symbols may mean different things to different people or jargon can be confusing – leading to frustrations and barriers in communication. In support, Gudykunst et al (1996:42) maintain that frustration in communication across cultures may be related to

uncertainty avoidance associated with individuals' cultures and note that individuals of cultures high in uncertainty avoidance show lower tolerance for uncertainty/ambiguity which expresses itself in a greater need for truth and less tolerance for people with deviant behaviours, compared with individuals of cultures low in uncertainty avoidance.

These findings suggest that indigenous and expatriate teachers often communicate meanings differently in their relationships, even though they may use familiar linguistic symbols. These differences seem to have caused misunderstanding and misinterpretation of messages communicated, which in turn frustrated and impacted negatively on the development of their working relationships.

3.3.1.2 Disciplining of students

The way the teachers discipline students also emerged as an area of cultural difference that impacted on how working relationships develop between them. Student discipline refers to a trained condition of order and obedience – strict control (Barnhart & Thorndile in Dzivhani 2000:7) or a practice of imposing strict rules of behaviour on other people (Treffry et al in Dzivhani 2000:7-8). Various methods have been used in schools to discipline students and to get them to behave in accordance with established norms (Rice in Dzivhani 2000). Indigenous and expatriate teachers appear to agree on the importance of maintaining good discipline among students, and the need to apply punitive measures for acts of students' indiscipline. However, they seem to disagree on the methods to use when doing so. While indigenous teachers see the application of corporal punishment as the best way to instill discipline in students, some expatriate teachers pointed out that discipline does not have to be maintained by violent means. They spoke of disciplining students in ways other than through the use of corporal punishment. One indigenous teacher commented:

... the one thing I've realized is that the expatriate teachers they don't normally use corporal punishment on students; but us, we do. It has always been there; it's cultural. What to do when you come across students who are so difficult (Mpho).

In contrast expatriate teachers were more willing to discipline students without the use of corporal punishment, as one expatriate teacher explained:

... I've never worked in a system like that before [Botswana school system] where you were allowed to basically threaten and beat students ... I don't like it ... therefore I've managed so far without doing that; I've got to find other ways and I've worked in other institutions that have other ways of dealing with troubled and difficult students and classes, etc. etc. There have been days when you don't really succeed but they are just ways and you don't have to stick by that really ... I don't really want to sort of resort to quite violent ways of controlling students (John).

Another expatriate teacher echoed similar sentiment:

... I can't just go around hitting students; it's not in my philosophy; yet this seems what locals want us to do. The school head says beat and if you don't beat students, it's like you don't fit in. And even the students it seems they have gotten use to being hit and if you don't hit them, it's like you are not serious (Lincoln).

Mary who has been a long-standing expatriate teacher at the school also commented:

...I do find it depressing the way students are spoken to by senior members of staff a lot of the time, or just the general use of corporal punishment that a lot of local people walk around carrying sticks... this sort of thing I'm not used to... you are not in your country so you can't just hit students... if they have to be hit, let the locals hit them [students] (Mary).

These comments show that the indigenous teachers interviewed were in favour of corporal punishment of students whereas their expatriate colleagues were not. Similar differences were also observed during observation of the teachers. Kapaale (1994:1-20) and Kangangwani (1994:1-4), although they did not distinguish teachers in terms of indigenous and expatriates,

report equivalent findings of the use of corporal punishment in secondary schools in Botswana. In confirming this finding, Slee (1995:274) maintains that patriarchal and cultural values are played out in the social relations of the classroom and these same values frequently inform teachers how they ought to react to the disciplining of students in schools. Lundell (in Kangangwani 1994:14) further notes that the teachers' cultural orientation and past experiences influence their methods of punishing students in school.

But perhaps the most crucial development in the context of how students are punished by the teachers interviewed is mirrored in comments made by some indigenous teachers, who said their expatriate counterparts perceive their use of corporal punishment as an abuse of students. To these indigenous teachers, corporal punishment is cultural, and not an abuse of students. It is a disciplinary measure sanctioned by their laws – a situation they feel expatriate teachers should understand. This point was well captured in one of the teacher's reflections:

... it's cultural, in our culture corporal punishment has always been there – I mean, we grew up in families being disciplined with corporal punishment and you find that expatriate teachers, they feel it's a kind of abuse ... so I think even the Education Act, it should be made clear to all of us such that as an expatriate teacher you don't see me beating a student as some kind of abuse; rather you see it as correcting something, correcting something that was wrong (Maso).

Another indigenous teacher noted:

... as locals we feel that it's not like we are saying we are using corporal punishment due to the fact that it's actually written on paper [in Education Act] but you know culturally, it's been used as a way of correcting behaviour and I feel that there is nothing wrong with it (Keneilwe).

Some indigenous teachers also appear to use corporal punishment on students not because they believe in it but because of strong societal influence in support of corporal punishment as a cultural norm:

... I don't necessarily believe in it. I went to an English Medium School where corporal punishment was never used... if you did wrong you were punished maybe by being given "lines" to write say 100 times... but as you grow, as you grow up in this society, even if you were brought up to believe that corporal punishment was wrong, when you grow up and see other people doing this and you have difficult students, you tend to use the stick on them even though deep down in your heart it's not like you really want to use a stick but because of the behaviour (Mpho).

The influence of culture in the use of corporal punishment is apparent in these comments from indigenous teachers. This is unlike the situation among expatriates who seem to be more influenced by 'self-rule ideologies' and a culture which says no to corporal punishment. These differences in the teachers' practices and views regarding the use or non-use of corporal punishment to discipline students appear to have inflamed interactions in their working relationships. For example some indigenous teachers said, "...expatriates non-use of corporal punishment have caused students to turn away from them in preference for expatriates who don't discipline them by means of corporal punishment." One indigenous teacher lamented:

... and you find that sometimes students, they even turn away from you as locals because they really feel that you are abusing them and they would rather have preferences to the expatriate teachers because they don't use corporal punishment on them and I think its totally wrong to give students the impression that you're a better somebody than us (Mpho).

This sort of situation irritates the indigenous teachers, who also felt expatriates should understand, compromise and adapt to their culture rather than regard corporal punishment as abuse, as one indigenous teacher explained:

... it's irritating! Apart from irritating, it [students turning away] creates that barrier between students and local teachers...because now students feel this one is very abusive; [but] that one is not abusive; and this is not how students

should feel...that's not the picture that we are trying to give to our students (Keneilwe).

Another indigenous teacher explained:

...I think it shouldn't be about the emphasis on corporal punishment as being a form of abuse as expatriates think...expatriate teachers should also try to understand our culture and try to adapt to our culture...and accept that that is the way we were brought up. It's all about acceptance and not necessarily acceptance but compromising – understanding that this is the way that these people were brought up and you just have to compromise and accept it (Mpho).

It would appear that the expatriate teachers' disapproval of corporal punishment to discipline students has affected the nature of their working relationships with their indigenous colleagues. This seems to have caused indigenous teachers to view expatriates as different – not fitting in – as illegitimate (Chalfant & Labeff 1988:27) members in the system. It is worsened by the fact that to the indigenous teachers, corporal punishment is part of their customs, practices and cultural norms. When working with colleagues who do not carry it out, indigenous teachers are seen by students as abusive and bad people within their own country – a situation they resent and for which they censure expatriate teachers. This situation impinged negatively on the development of their working relations at the school.

Kangangwani (1994:1-4) and Kapaale (1994:19) studied the incidence of corporal punishment in Botswana and found that it is widely practised among indigenous teachers. They point out that its practise in the school system is tied to the cultural set up of traditional society. Lundell (in Kangangwani 1994:14) argues that children who are brought up in a punitive culture quickly adopt the same aversive behaviour to which they have been exposed. He further points out that it is not unusual that educators rely on traditional punishment systems they experienced as students and learned to use as teachers. This is applicable to the way indigenous and expatriate teachers approach discipline at the school.

Based on her study of immigrant teachers in Canadian schools, Bascia (1996:161) maintains

that race, cultural differences and other social variables are related to the way immigrant and native Canadian teachers discipline minority immigrant students. To illustrate, she notes that whereas native teachers employed drastic punitive measures, immigrants were less radical and often circumvented school rules and released students from punitive situations they felt were imposed unfairly. These findings corroborate those uncovered in this study and correspond with findings in cross-cultural research that cultural practices are closely related to how students are disciplined in schools (Kapaale 1994:1-4).

Chalfant and Labeff (1988:29-30) suggest however that expatriates' criticism of their indigenous colleagues' use of corporal punishment as well as indigenous teachers' perception, "...that expatriates should understand, compromise and adapt to their culture rather than see corporal punishment as an abuse", which fueled negative relations among them, is indicative of *ethnocentrism*. They cautioned that increased contact with people of other cultures creates the possibilities of such difficulties and differences in working and other forms of relationships. Robinson (1996:8) further notes that the encounters can result in much confusion and frustrations since across culture, individuals may not share common understanding of a similar situation.

3.3.1.3 Time consciousness

Perhaps one of the most frustrating differences revealed in relation to the development of working relationships between indigenous and expatriate teachers working at the school has to do with time. Both groups of teachers referred to time consciousness. Expatriate teachers appeared more time conscious in their work and put great emphasis on keeping schedules, meeting deadlines and being prompt for meetings and lessons than some of their indigenous colleagues. One expatriate teacher noted:

...we don't really make good use of our time at the school as a group; I'm very worried about how we use up our time...too much of it is wasted, especially in meetings. There is less attention at timetables and deadlines...we would have them but not follow them; not exactly what I'm used to. Frustrating (Lincoln).

Another expatriate teacher who is concerned about planning and the general use of time in meetings echoed a similar sentiment:

...I'm not notified all the time about things that go on or we don't sort of produce agendas in advance....sometimes we are having a meeting and there doesn't seem to be a clear reason why we are having it; or the meeting is scheduled for a certain time, you rush to be punctual only to find it starting half an hour later, and that's ok for them. These sorts of things I resent. It eats up your time (John).

In addition, some of the expatriate teachers mentioned how their indigenous colleagues perceive them when they show urgency towards time. One explained:

...time keeping it's a concern; they [indigenous teachers] don't have it. They feel I am so fast. If I'm to be in class, they feel I'm always running...but it's how I am really; I'm generally quick paced. I hate to waste time (Mary).

Expatriate teachers' concerns for time and its general use and management in the context of their work contrast sharply with that of their indigenous colleagues, who felt there is no need to be so strict and overly concerned about time, especially in relation to certain duties such as attending meetings and going to lessons. One indigenous teacher noted:

...expatriates, they are too strict when it comes to time; take for instance late coming, if you are late that's it; they don't listen....but most of us as Batswana – maybe it's cultural – we are not so very time conscious when it comes to duty things...there are certain things that you don't really feel there is a necessity to say you are late and you are trying to explain and somebody says this is the rule and you have to stick by the rules. I don't expect that kind of strictness...this is very hurting and depressing...very depressing (Mpho).

Such attitudes irk expatriates who spoke of instances where they often observed their local colleagues creating breaks even during periods, where no school break was scheduled. One

expatriate teacher made this rather blunt remark in her reflections:

...locals feel I'm so fast. They move slowly to the classrooms; they create breaks even in spaces where there is no break like between lessons. I don't operate like that and that sometimes causes problems between us during work, especially if I have to wait on the person for the keys (Mary).

In addition to the empirical findings, several official documents also revealed concerns raised in relation to time and punctuality by the school administration. In some cases, teachers were simply encouraged to attend lessons on time, while other letters cautioning teachers about punctuality were written. Also arising from the observation, the researcher observed that indigenous teachers were more frequent in arriving late for meetings.

In corroborating these findings, Chalfant and Labeff (1988:29) and Zimmerman (1985:41-43) maintain that concern for time among people differs, especially across cultures and argue that differences in concerns about time often lead to barriers in efforts to do business and work effectively together. Chalfant and Labeff (1988:29-30) further maintain that it is not uncommon for people of one culture to criticise the practices and behaviours of individuals in another and that increased encounters with people of other cultures augmented the chances of such occurrences.

Brislin et al (1986:16) on the other hand postulate that people are socialized, in their own culture, to accept as "proper and good" a relatively narrow range of behaviours. Those behaviours not labeled as good are perceived as less desirable and in some cases, as absolutely wrong. Others who engaged in those less desirable behaviours are seen as backward, ignorant or ill mannered. They further argue that when individuals interact with people from other cultures, those proper behaviours may not be forthcoming from others. As a result confrontation of past learning with present experiences fuels responses such as a dislike of culturally different others, negative labels and the refusal to interact with the others.

These comments parallel comments made by some expatriates about their indigenous colleagues with whom they work. One expatriate teacher who has become 'fed-up' with the

indigenous colleagues who do not share her concept of punctuality and urgency about time noted:

...the local teachers, they have potential to do good work, be productive, some of them are quite skilled [individuals] but they have certain constraints which hindered them, in my experience of working with them. The constraints are that there is laziness in terms of their work, irresponsibility, lack of confidence and at the back of their mind, they are not committed...I'm not sure of all the reasons why but just observe how they move to classes and other things like...they are like students if they are not followed or threatened then they are always late (Mary).

She continued:

... I think this is based on a perception that this is their country; they are entitled to certain things, for example, free or subsidized education, then they find that they are sharing what they have to get free for themselves with other people like us foreigners... this impacts on work relationships because there is an attitude that comes out from them to say this is mine; this is my territory; this is my right – what are you doing here... your very presence is a nuisance to them (Mary).

Indigenous teachers are also aware of how they have been characterized. One noted:

...the one thing that I have realized is that with the...community, they have attached the stigma of laziness too much to the locals...especially if you are late (Mpho).

Chalfant and Labeff (1988:163) however contend that a preoccupation with being on time for activities, as found among some expatriates, is part of an Anglo-European middle-class, majority culture. They found that if individuals of another cultural group do not have a similar

concept of punctuality, members of that group might be characterized as irresponsible, lazy and unambitious. This substantiates the findings uncovered among the teachers.

It seems it is these kinds of tension, generated by differences in the teachers' concerns for time and its management in their work that has fueled a breakdown in working relationships among the teachers and impact on how these relationships develop at the school.

3.3.1.4 Perceived differences in work ethics and professionalism

Concerns about work ethics and professionalism also resonated throughout the interviews as a powerful sub-theme in relation to the development of working relationships among the teachers. Both the indigenous and expatriate teachers raised these concerns. Issues of work ethics seem to vary with the teachers' cultural background. For some indigenous teachers, responsibilities in extended families cannot be ignored and are more important than certain tasks that form part of their professional duties. As a result, they would rather abort these tasks in order to attend to personal or family related issues. Such practice "shocked" expatriates who find them uncomfortable to deal with. One indigenous teacher commented on the importance of the family connections:

...you find that as locals, family is important. Sometimes you may find that an afternoon that was scheduled for a meeting or some activity – maybe your uncle is sick, you know how we are as Africans – your extended families they are your family members, and if maybe you are called home that your uncle is sick you feel that you have got to be there and they [expatriates] just feel some of these things they should not come into your ...should not be obstacles to your professional duties (Mpho).

Indigenous teachers felt their expatriate counterparts do not understand their concerns for families nor their culture thus they, as one noted, "...do not get a sense of what is important to us in or outside the context of our work." But expatriate teachers find such practices unprofessional and showed disapproval. Such a situation results in differences in interactions among the teachers, as one expatriate mentioned:

...sometimes they leave to see families...the problem is that when they go, you have to cover for them...we don't go anywhere so there is no chance of them returning...doing it for us (John).

Indigenous teachers further referred repeatedly to their working relationships with expatriates at the school as intensely uncomfortable and irritating, mainly because expatriates have a tendency to give verbal agreement to perform certain duties, but often do not follow-up with actions. One indigenous teacher pointed out:

...and the other thing that I have realized is that even when they have supported an issue such as extra-curricular activities or something like that, when you get to the issue they will say "oh we have to do this!", but when you get there you don't find them...they just appear as if it's something they are going to do but in actual fact they don't mean it (Maso).

Such conduct on the part of some expatriate teachers irritates and annoys their indigenous colleagues who regard those behaviours as unprofessional work ethics.

In addition, some indigenous teachers rehashed experiences of expatriate teachers' inclination to conceal information that should be shared and their tendency to deviate from working as a team on duties that they should perform together. This, they claimed irks them and caused a "drift" in their working relationships. Mpho spoke emotionally about the situation in her reflections:

...sometimes maybe you are a team and maybe as a committee you are expected to do some projects around the school; you may find that sometimes they [expatriates] really deviate from working as a team and they tend to want to carry out the duties all by themselves (Mpho).

Indigenous teachers felt some expatriates deviate from working as a team because "...they want to get all the praise and in the end make it appear locals do not want to contribute to their

duties.” To indigenous teachers this is “...totally wrong and unprofessional.” As a result of their experiences, the indigenous teachers encountered tension and dilemmas in their working relationships with expatriates, who seem to find nothing wrong or unusual about their habits.

Hoyle (1986:142) however refers to the practice of concealing information among some expatriates as micropolitical. This is the first sign of micropolitics among the teachers. Hoyle maintains that information is power in working relationships in organizations. In schools some teachers will have more access than others to certain kinds of information. Those who have or make it their business to have access to information are in the stronger micropolitical position (Hoyle 1986:142-142).

Although generated by different causes, expatriates also spoke about encounters of unprofessionalism which impinged on their working relationships with indigenous teachers. Expatriate teachers value time and hard work and show strong commitment to their professional duties. To them use of time, working hard and a sense of commitment to their professional duties reflect professionalism, and the kind of work ethics to which they have become acculturated. They felt however that this proclivity towards hard work and an awareness of time in their work is not evident among local teachers. They find it difficult to work with indigenous teachers who do not share such concepts. This generates frustration among the teachers and further created hostility in their working relationships, especially in situations where they have to work together, for an extended period of time as to the indigenous teachers, their approach to work and their use of time reflect their norms and ways of doing things. One indigenous teacher commented on the situation eloquently:

...expatriate teachers are very hardworking and I think the main thing that probably causes a drift between us locals and expatriates is because of the way the expatriates handle their professional work...it shows a lot of determination on their part than us locals...we don't really put in a lot of effort when it comes to our professional work...as Batswana, we are not very eager [determine] people; we are not very eager by nature (Mpho).

She further noted:

...and it's not just about the work or being so professional...as Batswana we are not very forward [bold] people; we are not very eager about being so professional because we are comfortable with the fact that we have permanent employment and we understand the socialization of our students better, unlike expatriates who have contracts which they have to work hard to get renewed (Mpho).

Some of the indigenous teachers felt that expatriates work hard because they want their contracts renewed. Some expatriates resent this claim. Because of this they avoided working directly with indigenous colleagues, because to them their inclination to work harder is cultural.

...but my priorities and sense of the correct thing to do in the face of so much work and students' demands, seem to be different from local people most of the times...that has to do with where I come from – the kind of attitude I was brought up with in terms of work in my first school and in general...Britain is a country with work ethics and whether you like it or not it gets a hold of you ...it remains part you, wherever you go, whether you like it or not...I'm not advocating sort of working myself to death – I probably do, certainly on the academic side, I still do as much as possible...I do my work and I work hard because otherwise in the job, you would get bored and I don't want to get bored (John).

The absence of a shared determination, on the part of some indigenous teachers to work hard and to show commitment to their work irks some expatriates. To them this, "...communicates a feeling of unprofessionalism." Rose described one of her encounters:

...they [local teachers] move slowly to the classroom; they create breaks even in spaces where there is no break – like between lessons. I don't operate like that and that sometimes cause problems and impacts on our working relationships...the problem comes in when you work with people who don't like

to work too much as locals seem to, [as] sometimes they feel you show them up
(Rose).

Rose and the other expatriates characterized these habits as laziness, lack of commitment, irresponsibility and unprofessionalism, rooted in a culture of poor work ethics on the part of some indigenous teachers. This situation soured working relationships among them. John explained:

...there isn't any strong culture of determination and commitment to work among the locals, that's what I find and I don't think our school is unique in this regard and it's difficult to work with people who are like that...I can't do it
(John)

These comments revealed that the teachers view certain aspects of each other's professional conduct as unprofessional and poor in terms of work ethics. Trevino and Nelson (1999:12) postulate that work ethics govern work-related principles, norms and standards of conduct. According to Corey, Corey and Callanan (1998:3-4) work ethics and professionalism share some relationship but it is possible to isolate them, as for instance, it is possible to act unprofessionally and not act unethically. Fry (1989:9-22) researched ethical and professional behaviour among nurses and argues that, in general, disparity in work ethics and incidences of unprofessional encounters can stultify professional interactions in professional organizations. The findings of this research may substantiate the above-mentioned findings.

On the other hand, Hapgood and Fennes (1997:29) and Tadd (1998:1-4) have argued that work ethics and concerns about professionalism are dependent on culture. In accordance, Tadd (1998:1) maintains that because they are relative to a particular culture, concerns about them in relationships involving people from different societies cannot be judged by the standards of other cultures or societies. Rather, judgment should only be made against the society's own standards. In cross-cultural work interaction, Tadd (1998:1-4) links conflicting behaviours and complaints about work ethics and unprofessionalism to *culture shock*, which is characterized by feelings of disorientation, abnormal behaviours and environmental differences (Hapgood & Fennes 1997:29-30), and which, according to Craig (in Hapgood & Fennes 1997:30) can cause

feelings of frustration, isolation, irritations and other abnormal behavioural changes, as indigenous and expatriate teachers both typified their encounters. Craig argues that these experiences can engender serious differences in relationships. Since indigenous and expatriate teachers are from different cultures and since neither group considered their practices abnormal, Tadd's point of view offers some corroboration of the findings.

3.3.1.5 Cultural conceptions of teaching

Indigenous and expatriate teachers also spoke about their ways of teaching and how they sometimes differ with each other on teaching 'grounds' so to speak. It appears their differences are tied to their different cultural conceptions of teaching and their perceived teaching roles and responsibilities. For example, some described their activities and approach to their professional duties at the school as the contemporary expressions of what it meant to be a teacher in the systems in which they grew up and first taught and which, in the case of expatriates, "...they brought with them", so to speak, into their school. The approaches of these teachers, in some instances, unfortunately run counter to each other. These differences appear to have caused conflicts in the ensuing working relationships, which develop among some teachers. One expatriate teacher commented:

...I find there are certain things I'm not really in favour with when it comes on to teaching...for example, I don't really give students notes - that is how I teach. I don't think it's really teaching when you sit there and read from these piles of information to students; that's not note taking, essentially that's copying. Yet that is essentially what some locals seem to want us to do...for me you simply discuss and students should make their own notes. Locals feel if students leave a lesson or classroom without notes from the teacher, those students would have not been taught as to them to teach is to give notes...I don't see it that way and that actually cause some problems (John).

In addition, the way expatriates handle students in class also differed and seemed related to how they get along professionally. Students entering John's classroom for lessons, for example, would know that there are certain allowances regarding the use of corporal

punishment. He does not believe in it. As was the case with some other expatriates, students knew that they would be punished for misbehaviour but not necessarily with corporal punishment. They would also know that their lessons would not be a regurgitation of the textbooks. This is their way of teaching, as John explained:

...I like to use other materials in my lessons rather than following the same textbook all the time; it can be monotonous to students and they get bored...I feel it's part of my job to understand what's happening with students at home, whether they are doing their home work and so forth, that's how I am; I see this as part of what I should do as a teacher...it's particularly difficult here sometimes (John).

Consequently, a consideration of students' personal circumstances and self-determination permeated John's actions in his teaching. Some indigenous teachers who, as John put it "...seem to subscribe more to a philosophy of control obedience and imposing of control" do not share these views, and this leads to "drift" in their relationships.

Rose also expressed concerns about her approach to teaching at the school and how she often has to compromise in some respect, as a strategy to gain acceptance and introduce some change. She commented:

...I have realized for myself that I am a bit of a loner when it comes to the way I teach...I have seen that the way I teach is so different [although] I would not like to say its worse or better (Rose).

John is not unique in his approach as an expatriate teacher. What seems unique is the extent to which expatriates are willing to compromise and adjust their conceptions to accommodate those of others. Rose felt she struggled at times because she often had to make adjustments to her ways of teaching and adapt to her indigenous colleagues' ways of teaching in some instances. Otherwise, as she mentioned, "locals would perceive me as different – as someone who operates differently" which she said seemed to threaten indigenous teachers who, "...feared I come to change them and to tell them how to carry out their affairs in the

classroom”— a situation Rose felt indigenous teachers would resent. Rose further explained her dilemma:

...they don't want to be told what to do...if you want to make a change for the better you got to start the way they do things and get to accept their way. When you get to accept their way of doing things then you can make little contributions or suggestions in the right tone, moment, manner, then hope people might catch on (Rose).

The tendency on the part of indigenous teachers to exclude expatriates also impinged on how their relationships develop at the school. Because they differ with indigenous teachers in certain areas of their teaching, expatriate teachers spoke about a particular exclusion from some aspects of the type of professional and social encounters that would help them, along with indigenous teachers, to learn from each other. These encounters would have developed or modified their individual teaching skills in the context of the school and provided a more general sense of belonging (Burke 1990; Gibb-Clark 1990). To survive it seems that some expatriate teachers compromise in their ways of teaching as a strategy to foster better working relationships with indigenous teachers. Failing to compromise a little seems to cause conflict.

Several qualitative researchers have considered how immigrant teachers' cultural and other characteristics influenced their teaching, both in the classroom and in the broader school and community (Casey 1993; Finley 1984; Henry 1992). Such studies have focused on small numbers of teachers of particular ethnic groups and on an exploration of the ideological bases for their individual approaches to teaching. Finley (1984:223-243) suggests that teachers' cultural characteristics influence the daily and long-term nature of their work, conceptions of teaching and collegial dynamics in schools. In support of this conclusion, Bascia (1996:155-156) argues in her research on minority immigrant teachers in Canada that, among others, culture frames teachers' ideologies of teaching and plays a role in the way they approach their task of teaching. Finley further contends that teachers do not simply shed their conceptions of teaching to pick up new ones on entering a new culture. In cases of conflicting ideologies, differences in interactions and collaborative efforts inevitably emerge (Bascia 1996:151-161).

These findings corroborate those that emerged in this study and have challenged assumptions among some educators about uniformity of teacher culture in teaching.

3.3.2 Ambiguity and uncertainty

Both the indigenous and expatriate teachers referred to ambiguities and uncertainties to describe the conditions in which they had to develop their working relationships, especially during their initial periods of contact and collaboration. These ambiguities and uncertainties were related to communication, to the teachers' perceived capability of each other in their particular subject area and their suitability for the specific role. One expatriate teacher related her initial experiences in collaboration with indigenous teachers in her department:

...first I was given two groups of form 4 students to teach; no form 5...during every lesson, my subject head would walk into my class, I suppose, checking how I was doing, how I approach my work, whether I was capable of teaching the students and understand the syllabus requirements...I realised the situation only at the end of form 5 when students did their exams and results came out. My results were good and in a conversation the head, without realising it, commented about how much he knows about their locally trained members but not so much about expatriates (Rose).

Not knowing much about the other person's training or educational histories made indigenous and expatriate teachers call the professional capabilities of each other into question. This finding is in line with other studies (Foster in Mitchell & Weiler 1992; Weiler 1993) which showed that minority immigrant teachers find it difficult to establish credibility among native colleagues and are discouraged in their attempt to assume broader administrative roles.

The ambiguities and uncertainties also concerned the cultural background of the teachers and how each might react to the other when working together on professional duties, especially in cases of disagreements. This generates a certain level of fear in one group for the other, as one indigenous teacher pointed out:

...you can't divorce culture from the whole thing...people are cultured and culture shapes the way in which you do certain things...and when you get to a certain area the first thing that immediately crosses your mind is that I'm meeting a different person who shares a different culture...questions about how they do things start in your mind like maybe in their culture they do things this way...and that fear actually is the one that act as a bridge between us locals and expatriates (Maso).

Another indigenous teacher echoed similar sentiments:

...the fact that we come from different culture, different ethnic groups, is a main thing that I see creates problems between us [indigenous and expatriates], the fact that we sometimes look at each other in very sceptical ways; we become suspect and uncomfortable with each; we don't know what contribute to this and that; we don't know how each other does certain things (Binnie).

Fear, generated by ambiguity and uncertainty in respect of the cultural background of the teachers, and how each teacher may react to the other, impacts negatively on the teachers' relationships.

The feelings of fear that have been expressed by the teachers in response to encounters which appear ambiguous and uncertain are consistent with ambiguity and uncertainty in the literature. Researchers (Hofstede & Bond 1984; Gudykunst et al 1996) have noted that ambiguity and uncertainty in defining a situation can contribute to fear. In accordance, Hofstede (1991:116) asserts that ambiguity and uncertainty and the reaction to it vary with culture. Bobad and Wallbott (in Gudykunst et al 1996:43) suggest that fear is a major by-product of interaction with others across cultures and conclude in their research that greater fear is associated with people who are unfamiliar than with people who are familiar. Many scholars suggested that fear emanating from experiences of ambiguity and uncertainty in relationships can lead to avoidance practices (Hofstede & Bond 1984) and as with indigenous and expatriate teachers, a breakdown in working relationships (Hofstede in Gudykunst et al 1996:43).

The ambiguities and uncertainties further concerned whether indigenous and expatriate teachers could trust each other and whether their verbal agreement about the performance of certain tasks would result in the agreed upon actions or not. These ambiguities and uncertainties are expressed in one indigenous teacher's reflections:

...many times the expatriates would support an issue like extra-curricula activities and say yah! lets do it...when it comes to the issue they are not there; this causes an impact on relationships because it casts some doubts...when people do that you always have certain feelings towards them; you are never certain whether they will actually do it or not (Maso).

These concerns about trust arising from ambiguity and uncertainty in working relationships are also consistent with the literature (Smylie & Brownlee-Conyer 1992).

Ambiguities and uncertainties were attributed to several conditions. The first was, as one indigenous teacher indicated, "a lack of knowledge of each other", particularly in respect of cultural background and way of life. Maso pointed out how knowledge of the other can help in the context of their working relationships:

...you can work on a situation where these people will react in this manner on issues like this one; if at least you know something about them, you know you can refer to the little information you have...if in a situation you may say ok it's not the right way to go and address them in this manner; I think if we do they are going to react this way, that's how it can help (Maso)

A second condition concerned staff turn-over, caused either by periodic transfer of teachers from the school to another (or vice versa) or by new teachers (indigenous or expatriates) coming in to replace others who either had decided to leave the service or whose contracts had not been renewed, in the case of expatriates. The transfer and/or replacement of in-service teachers means that established relationships would have had to discontinue and new ones established between new teachers and those remaining in the service. Such a situation sustains ambiguities and uncertainties, especially during the initial stages, and where indigenous and

expatriate teachers lack knowledge of each other, or have no prior history of working together. One expatriate teacher puts it aptly:

...I've been in the system over four years and I find that even if I am transferred, I am able to work better with locals whom I've worked with before than others who I may just be knowing...with those I'm getting to know, you're always on edge because you don't know how you are being perceived by them; I suppose the feelings would be mutual in this respect (Mary).

Both indigenous and expatriate teachers referred directly and indirectly to ways they used to reduce ambiguity and uncertainty in their relationships. Some indigenous teachers referred to close monitoring of expatriates' work and requiring them to report on progress. One explained:

...we have different training and we are not familiar with their training...sometimes to know how they work, we have to supervise them to see how they perform and as department head, they have to report, not necessarily formally, on how they feel they are doing (Maso).

Some indigenous teachers also spoke about avoidance of expatriates and socializing more frequently with other indigenous colleagues. On the expatriates' part, most of them spoke about compromising to maintain a smooth atmosphere. Beale (in Blasé & Anderson 1995:8) notes that teacher ostracism has been used in teacher-teacher relationships to elicit compliance from unconventional teachers, which may be the reason indigenous teachers engaged in avoidance practices with expatriate colleagues.

It appears both indigenous and expatriate teachers undertake strategies to shape their working relationships in their own image and to satisfy their self-interest. This practice is consistent with the literature. Chalfant and Labeff (1988:45) for example argue that when norms are confusing or nonexistent, people face uncertainty and become miserable.

3.3.3 Professional and interpersonal obligations

Of equal significance, indigenous and expatriate teachers also talked about a variety of obligations that they held towards each other in their collaborative efforts at the school. These obligations centered on both the interpersonal and the task-related dimensions of their relationships. Both indigenous and expatriate teachers expected each other to communicate freely and clearly about problems and concerns associated with their work and interactions in their working relationships, especially during the initial phases of development. Each expected the other to be honest, to change negative attitudes towards one another and respect and appreciate each other's approach in the performance of their professional duties. Indigenous teachers expected expatriates to live up to their agreements. Furthermore, they expected respect, support and loyalty from their expatriate colleagues and for them to show more interest in their social problems and not to try to change them. As one indigenous teacher noted:

...expatriate teachers should try to understand and adapt to our culture...it's all about acceptance but not necessarily acceptance but compromise (Mpho).

They also expect expatriates to give guidance regarding professional duties, as echoed by one indigenous teacher:

...they should try to show us...encourage us to understand the good side of [correct way to do] whatever it is that you are expected to do; to help, to guide because Batswana, we are not very eager people by nature...as an expatriate, you may see this can help in ABC and in that way [it can] bring people closer together (Mpho).

Indigenous teachers also expected expatriates to be less strict on time and refrain from characterizing them as lazy. They want to be given a chance to show their capabilities and not be judged prematurely on hearsay:

...I don't expect that kind of strictness from somebody who calls him/herself a supervisor...you don't really feel there is any necessity to say you are

late...[also] I don't think there is a lot that they expect from us because they already label us as a lazy society...[but] it's always best to see a person for yourself rather than just to conclude a person on a non-factual basis (Mpho).

On the expatriate teachers' part, several indicated that they expect their indigenous counterparts to put more effort into their work, show commitment and give clearer procedures about meetings and about duties to be performed. They also expected reciprocal sharing of pedagogical information and ideas and less emphasis on the use of corporal punishment or physical means to control students. One expatriate noted:

...I don't get much back; I try to share as much information and ideas as possible...I would like some reciprocation sometimes [but] generally that don't happen...my experience is normally me approaching like asking how they are doing in work, or it might be somebody else approaching me who want something done, which I don't mind, but I like sometimes people offer me something in return...I also don't think they have to beat students so much (John).

In corroborating this finding, Lortie (in Blasé & Anderson 1995:7), whose studies on the work-life of teachers have shed light on the micropolitical dynamics of teacher-teacher relationships, has suggested that norms relating to friendliness, support (i.e. responding to requests for assistance) and sharing (e.g. ideas, work supplies) are important for positive working relationships among teachers.

Additionally, some expatriates indicated that indigenous teachers were obligated to be more time conscious. They also expected less negative generalizations and comments from senior members of staff to be directed at students and teachers. The expatriates felt that more encouragement is needed. One lamented:

...too much of what is said to students and staff is negative...that's not a very pleasant environment to work in ...that helps aggravate the nature of the working relationships (John).

Similarly, several expatriates expressed an obligation for the school management to be more sensitive to their working relationships with their indigenous colleagues and facilitate greater opportunities for socialization among staff.

These comments reflect obligations held by the teachers in their working relationships. The obligations seem related to perceptions, expectations and interests that they bring to these relationships. Hargreaves (1972:95) is of the opinion that obligations are inevitable in role relationships and argues that much of the behaviour that occurs in these relationships is governed by expectations and norms, not necessarily specific to the role(s). In this context and in accordance with the findings, Donaldson and Sanderson (1996:9) and Hoyle (1986:123) suggest that for obvious reasons individuals enter relationships with their own agenda. They further argue that such relationships are affected by each individual's self-interest, understanding of the other person and their reason for being there. Perhaps hostility experienced by indigenous and expatriate teachers in their working relationships, is connected to conflicting perceptions, expectations and interests that they have brought to their relationships.

3.3.4 Strategic support and interactions

Both indigenous and expatriate teachers spoke about a variety of strategies, including supportive strategies that they used to shape their working relationships purposefully. The strategies that they used appear related to certain interests, expectations and obligations brought to the relationship. They also appear related to the perceptions that they held of each other as well as their initial level of trust and concern about professional capabilities.

Virtually all the expatriate teachers described strategies that they have used to give form and direction to their relationships with indigenous teachers. Some of these strategies seem to depend on the professional roles, responsibilities and position of the indigenous teacher. One of the most prevalent strategies that expatriates used concerns a strong support for the school administration [principal and deputy], instead of their indigenous colleagues, on issues that the teachers debated with the school administration. These strategies included voting almost

exclusively in the direction pitched by the school management and discouraging some indigenous teachers from opposing the school administration on certain issues (extension of prep-time, extra-curricular activities) during meetings. (The administration was comprised of locals). One indigenous teacher commented on the situation:

...what I have experienced is that in cases where you would be working with so many expatriate teachers and where you have to vote for something, I realized that they always seem to be in support of the school administration, such that we locals always feel that when it comes to an issue that has to be debated, then they are definitely going to agree with the administration and us locals are definitely going to lose (Maso).

The support of the school administration by expatriates annoyed indigenous teachers and caused hostility in their working relationships, especially in cases where the issue being debated is sensitive to the local teachers (e.g. working conditions, salaries).

But the expatriates insisted that their support was imperative, as one said to, "...protect our jobs", even though the practice caused annoyance to their indigenous counterparts. Most expatriate teachers seem to think that by supporting the school administration, they stand a better chance of having their contracts renewed since, in many cases, renewal is influenced by the endorsement of the school principal. An indigenous teacher who was aware of the situation said:

...there is no way in which they [expatriates] can challenge the school management or disagree with certain things, but as a local you know you have to stand and can oppose administration, if there is something that is not right (Maso).

Similarly, it also seems that the school administration trades support with expatriate teachers. One indigenous teacher observed:

...they like to feel they are operating in a smooth environment...as locals we

may oppose certain issues so they would rather work with the expatriates who don't oppose things...they recommend to renew their contract because they have their support because if an expatriate should go, maybe the post would be filled by a local and the ratio of locals to expatriates maybe balance and they might not feel so supported (Maso).

The actions of the expatriate teachers and that of the school administration suggest they have each engaged in implicit and unofficial bargaining activities to shape their relationships and further their self-interests. This finding is consistent with the literature on micropolitics in schools (Blasé & Anderson 1995; Hoyle 1986). Blasé (in Blasé & Anderson 1995:11) postulates that micropolitics concerns the use of formal and informal power by individuals or groups to achieve their own goals/interests. In accordance, Hoyle (1986:126) maintains micropolitics consists of the strategies (illegitimate, self-interested manipulations) by which individuals/groups seek to use their resources of influence to further their interests.

Sykes (in Hoyle 1986:127) argues that self-interest and implicit bargaining are central to micropolitical activities. Expatriates' support of the school administration (*vis-à-vis* voting and co-opting otherwise opposers of school administration) in return for the administration's endorsement of their contract renewal attempts, and ultimately protection of their jobs - epitomizes the self-interest, implicit bargaining and exchange concept that characterises micropolitics (Hoyle 1986:130-131). In substantiating the finding, Hoyle (1986:136) maintains that, although the stakes of protecting one's work satisfaction may not appear high, relative deprivation (contract lost) when experienced motivates micropolitical activity to redress circumstances which lead to such feelings. Conformity, support, lax application of rules, cooptation are all micropolitical strategies that an individuals might employ to do this.

However, Brislin et al's (1986:16) argument contrasts with that of Hoyle. Brislin et al (1986:16) are of the opinion that the differences in the actions of the teachers may not be micropolitical but may represent differences in culture, as in some cultures subordinates support their leaders and sustain their efforts, as disagreement would be seen as taboo. Expatriates' support of the school administration may reflect this rather than micropolitics since the indigenous and expatriate teachers share different cultures (Brislin et al 1986:16).

A second strategy that expatriates have adapted concerns silence, which seems also to include careful choice of interactions and refraining from taking certain overt actions. Some expatriate teachers feel that by so doing they were being tactful in the ways in which they operated at the school. Lincoln, for example, who values his work and chance to have some interactions with indigenous teachers “because I feel from talking you can learn a lot from them”, was resentful of the often negative attitudes projected by some indigenous teachers towards work and expatriates. But rather than reacting to such manifestations, he compromised because he was also aware of the importance of school climate and co-operation with colleagues with whom he worked. He said:

...I do not show my angry feelings to anyone I don't like...I am tactful...I am tactful in my working relations...their behaviour and attitudes I don't like but I don't show; it's not proper, so as much as possible you try to manage tactfully – any situation: classroom, staff room, anywhere (Lincoln).

Tactful to Lincoln meant, “you don’t lose your temper; you don’t get angry; avoid strong language”, as a way of coping with what would otherwise be an unpleasant situation.

Similarly, some expatriate teachers avoided talking or being too critical of what indigenous teachers do. They also refrained from taking certain overt actions. Although the frequent witness of many incidents of corporal punishment of students by her indigenous colleagues, Rose, like most expatriate teachers, refrained from intervening. Instead she disassociated herself from the situation, even though she believes such means of punishing students is wrong. She said she would never directly challenge a colleague’s treatment of students:

...because I don't want to be in a position of conflict of interest or be seen to be opposing something that the school administration favours, you know (Rose).

Another expatriate teacher noted:

...they are often uncooperative in doing certain work like stapling of papers. I

prefer not to tell them [locals] about their uncooperation or report them for not performing their duties, to avoid problems with them; can't be bothered. I ignore the situation and do everything (Lincoln).

Expatriate teachers maintained that such a strategy was necessary to project an image of unity or harmony in the school because to them, "...that is what the school administration expects from you" and by being seen to be involved in otherwise, the "...administration will not respect nor appreciate you because they don't want to receive too many complaints."

These findings complement earlier findings (section 3.3.4) that made reference to micropolitical activities between expatriates and the school administration and which placed expatriates' working relationships with indigenous colleagues at risk. However, researchers have suggested that such non-interventionist practices of expatriate teachers may be typical of professional norms within the larger European and North American teacher population, from which incidentally the majority of expatriate teachers come (Campbell in Bascia 1996:162). In accordance, results from several studies of teacher work-life (Becker in Blasé & Anderson 1995:7-9; Cusick in Blasé & Anderson 1995:7-9) have emphasized the significance of non-interference norms for quality relationships among teachers. Becker (in Blasé & Anderson 1995:7-9) also highlights the salience of faculty loyalty and solidarity norms (*vis-à-vis* handling discipline). These references from the literature corroborate the findings among indigenous and expatriate teachers and further suggest that, although these teachers predominantly share different cultural backgrounds and norms, in terms of their work, there might be norms that are common among them (e.g. non-interference) which also sustain their relationships. Perhaps indigenous and expatriate teachers believe, as researchers (Bascia 1996:161) have suggested, that teachers put themselves at risk (social, political) when they attempt to transcend professional norms of autonomy to confront pedagogical issues with colleagues.

In addition, expatriate teachers also employ strategies to deliberately shape the interpersonal side of their relationships with indigenous teachers, and to get them to work harder and be more committed. Some expatriate teachers talked about complimenting indigenous teachers personally on their work and encouraging them. Several expatriate teachers pointed out that

some indigenous teachers lacked confidence, especially in their classroom affairs. One expatriate noted:

...you often have to reciprocate with some of them a lot because they sometimes seem to lack confidence in their ability; they are not sure that they can do well by themselves, especially the beginners from the colleges...so sometimes I go to their lessons to try and encourage because I think there is a sort of fear associated with what people do in the classroom and that they might be castigated one way or the other for their performance (John).

But according to John, "...such support is not frequent because there hasn't been much time for those sorts of activities." Additionally, some expatriate teachers employed strategies that aimed to advance their ideas and point of views related to the task of teaching. Most expatriates sought to advance their ideas and points of views indirectly. Some spoke of " ...dropping an idea about certain changes here and there in the right tone, right moment, right manner like seeds in the minds of indigenous teachers and hope that they would catch on."

Similarly, indigenous teachers also referred to strategies that they used to shape their relationships with expatriates. Several local teachers talked about avoidance as a key strategy that they used, both in advancing their ideas and in reducing the risks of conflict. One indigenous teacher noted:

...when I realize that I'm not getting anywhere with them I just stop...when they supervise you, they always say we are coming late... they already labeled us a lazy society so they know that you won't do it or that you can't do it...even if you try to explain, so I don't bother (Rose).

Indigenous teachers also described strategies that they used to avoid conflict with their expatriate colleagues. These strategies included working with other indigenous colleagues who, "...they already understand and familiar with and who would be able to relate to their social problems and can empathize and support them." One indigenous teacher noted:

...there are certain social issues that you might relate to expatriates but they might not understand fully...it's not so much a question of understanding but of interest...but with other local people, you are working with them, you can actually talk about [that] because you say 'monna' I've lost a friend, I have this and that, then they would understand the situation – they go with you or something like that...so it's better working together (Maso).

As a strategy some indigenous teachers spoke about sharing their culture with expatriates, in cases where expatriates showed interest. One indigenous teacher observed:

...but at times some expatriates would actually push themselves into the people [locals], actually trying to know more about the culture of the people, that's when we would try to explain and even know more about this person...but when the person is actually not doing it, it's like you are trying to push the person into the whole thing and it becomes a problem (Maso).

These clearly suggest that both the indigenous and expatriate teachers employed strategies to shape their working relationships in their own image as these relationships develop.

3.3.5 Indigenous and expatriate teacher ratio

For some teachers, particularly the indigenous locals, their ratio to the expatriates played a significant role in shaping their working relationships with expatriates at the school. Indigenous teachers said that the expatriate teachers in the school out-numbered them. In consequence, they do not have much power to challenge the school administration on certain issues, especially in cases where the issue must be voted on, because the expatriates in their larger number support the school administration. This weakens their position as locals. One indigenous teacher explained:

You would be working with so many expatriate teachers; in cases where you have to vote for something they always support the school administration...when it comes to an issue that has to be debated, because they

are more than us, we know we are going to lose...and that has soured working relationships with expatriates, not necessarily that you would be quarrelling with them but having the feeling that when you have so many of these people from outside the country it's a problem...it makes the work even more uncomfortable (Maso).

The Revised National Policy on Education (Botswana 1994:17), in which it is stated that 56 per cent of the teachers in secondary schools are expatriates, corroborates the claims made by indigenous teachers that expatriates are greater in number at the school.

From this comment, it appears that the greater number of expatriate teachers in the school causes frustration among some indigenous teachers. It has also generated “feelings of lost” among the indigenous teachers who feel they are out-numbered when it comes to certain issues in which voting is required. Indigenous teachers use this as a source of resentment concerning their expatriate colleagues with whom they work. One indigenous teacher commented, “...you see I am working with these other persons, these other persons not helping me to challenge – to fight the system which causes me to not getting enough to cater for what I want, that is the problem.” This situation influences the nature of their working relationships negatively.

3.4 CONCLUSION

The chapter describes the sampling and outlines the research results, literature control and cross-validation. The sample used in the study consisted of eight indigenous and expatriate teachers who volunteered to participate in the study. The results from the sampling have been discussed and cross-validated in the light of current literature. Cultural differences, which are related to a number of dimensions – language and communication, time awareness, disciplining of students, conceptions of teaching and work ethics and professionalism – along with ambiguity and uncertainty, professional and interpersonal obligations, strategic support and interactions and teacher ratios– all emerged as related to the development of indigenous and expatriate teachers’ working relationships at the school. The next chapter will delineate the final conclusions, limitations and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter signals the final part of this research report. In the first three chapters, key aspects relating to the overview and rationale of the research, the design and methodology and the research results have been discussed. The results were discussed in the light of current literature and focused on answering the main research question posted in chapter two, namely: which factors are related to the development of working relationships between indigenous and expatriate teachers? In this final chapter, conclusions are drawn and recommendations, based on the research results outlined in chapter three, are made. In the same context, limitations of the study are highlighted.

4.2 CONCLUSIONS

The research thus identified and described factors related to the development of working relationships between indigenous and expatriate teachers. It also illustrated how these factors contribute to the development of these relationships. The following conclusions can be drawn from the results.

4.2.1 Cultural factors

Both culture and micropolitics play a part in how working relationships developed between the teachers. First, the findings suggest that cultural differences, which manifested in a variety of forms, have significant implications for the development of working relationships between indigenous and expatriate teachers, especially in the initial stages of development of the relationships. Language and communication, time consciousness, the way the teachers handle disciplining of students, differences in work ethics and professionalism, and in their conceptions of teaching are all specific aspects of

culture in which differences were most forthright and about which most concerns were voiced.

The manner in which these cultural factors impacted on working relationships between the teachers depends on the particular aspects of their individual culture that were being experienced as different. In terms of language and communication, the teachers' preferred modes of communication were remarkably different. This fact has significant implications for human resource management at the school or institutional level. Indigenous teachers preferred a verbal mode of communication when communicating or being communicated to, unlike expatriates who preferred written communication. In language usage, their accent when speaking English and cultural nuances in their use of certain linguistic symbols and in communicating meanings, differed and have created barriers to and a breakdown in communication. These are consistent with the literature on communication (Deutscher in Crossley & Tsayang 1994; Gudykunst et al 1996).

In terms of time, the teachers do not share a similar awareness or consciousness of it. Whereas expatriates in the study were strict on time and were keen to meet deadlines, to keep schedules and be punctual for lessons and other duties, their indigenous colleagues were less particular, and showed less concern for time in reference to these and other duty related activities. The attitudes of the teachers toward time, where incongruent, resulted in angry, hurt, depressed feelings and resentment towards each other, especially regarding activities on which they have to collaborate. Concern for time, keeping schedules and meeting deadlines are seen as features of an Anglo-European culture (Chalfant & Labeff 1988). Since the majority of expatriates come from regions in and around Europe, their keenness on punctuality was no surprise.

In terms of disciplining of students, indigenous and expatriate teachers differed on how to punish learners for wrong doings. Indigenous teachers predominantly punished students using corporal punishment. Their use of corporal punishment seems to have wider societal and cultural connections. Expatriates, especially those from outside Africa, rejected corporal punishment as a means of disciplining students for wrong doings and

instead disciplined students by other means. Students, in response, turned away from their indigenous teachers who inflicted corporal punishment them, to expatriates who do not. The students' decision coupled with a perception that expatriates regard their use of corporal punishment as abuse, irritated indigenous teachers who expected expatriates to compromise and adapt to their culture. These differences create hostility in their working relationships.

In terms of work ethics and professionalism, both indigenous and expatriate teachers criticized each other regarding poor work ethics and lack of professionalism. Each group appeared to define work ethics and professionalism from their own cultural background and frame of reference. Neither group regards their actions or conduct as unprofessional. Where perceived disparity in work ethics and professionalism surfaced, hostility, shock, discomfort and irritation are experienced in their working relationships.

In terms of teaching, indigenous and expatriate teachers described their activities and approach to their professional duties at the school as the contemporary expressions of what it meant to be a teacher in the systems in which they had grown up and taught. On occasion the teachers collaborate but in their collaboration, differences in their approach are encountered. Perhaps it is this difference that caused them to deviate from working as teams as echoed by some teachers. Compromise is employed as a strategy to cushion and offset differences and gain acceptance. Where compromise failed, conflict, feelings of exclusion and hostility permeated their encounters and working relationships, which impinged negatively on these relationships.

4.2.2 Micropolitical factors

The findings suggest micropolitics also impacted on how relationships developed. Hoyle (1986:171) suggests all organizations are characterized by micropolitics. The findings suggest the school where the research was conducted is no exception. The findings reflect the strategic, interactive aspects of the micropolitical perspective. Members of the school administration (the school head and deputy) and expatriate teachers engaged in

micropolitical activity. These activities were geared towards furthering their self-interests, some of which were personal and some professional. For example, expatriate teachers do not attempt to oppose the school administration; rather they support and co-opt others to support them as a way to win over the school administration and motivate them to support their contract renewal claims in return. As a result, administration supports expatriates because they do not oppose their policies and decisions. Their micropolitical actions indirectly strained work relations between indigenous and expatriate teachers and suggest several propositions about the development of their working relationships at the school.

4.2.3 Factors related to ignorance

The findings suggest that ambiguities and uncertainties associated with the teachers' cultural background, educational histories and professional capability have crucial implications for the development of working relationships between indigenous and expatriates who assume teaching position at the school. Ambiguities and uncertainties were attributed to lack of knowledge of each other and the teacher transfer and recruitment system. Ambiguities and uncertainties caused the teachers to be fearful of each other, and generated concerns about their trust for one another; this in turn impinged negatively on their relationships, when unattended. Ambiguity and uncertainty seemed greatest during the initial stages of formation of their relationships. Consistent with theory and research on ambiguity and uncertainty in professional organizations (DiMaggio & Powell 1983; Gudykunst et al 1996; Thompson 1967), indigenous and expatriate teachers in this study sought to shape their working relationships by means of their own self-determined strategies (avoidance, compromising, monitoring) to reduce ambiguity and uncertainty connected to the development of their working relationships.

4.2.4 Factors related to teachers' obligations

Both indigenous and expatriate teachers bring obligations to their working relationships. The obligations are closely related to their perceptions, expectations and individual

interests, some of which are revealed in micropolitical activities. The directions in which indigenous and expatriate teachers allowed their relationships to develop seems linked to the obligations that they held. In other words, the findings suggest that indigenous and expatriate teachers may act to shape their working relationships in their own image, where necessary. It seems that in cases where those images differ, the teachers try to adjust, and relationships may result in work related and interpersonal tension (e.g. irritation, resentment, negative attitudes, name calling).

4.2.5 Strategic factors

The findings suggest that indigenous and expatriate teachers evoke strategies that influence the development of their working relationships. Those strategies are directed at shaping both the interpersonal as well as the work-related aspects of their relationships. For example, expatriate teachers complimented and encouraged their indigenous colleagues to get them to work harder and show greater commitment to work. In contrast, indigenous teachers work with fellow indigenous colleagues, and share information about their culture with expatriates as a strategy to avoid conflict with expatriates with whom they work. All these reflect self-interest strategies epitomized by micropolitics.

Finally, the findings suggest that if barriers of time, unfamiliarity, communication, ambiguity and uncertainty are broken down, teacher-working relationships can be improved. This is not to suggest that these working relationships will necessarily become productive in terms of task accomplishment. Nor does this suggest that indigenous and expatriate teachers will discard the interests and obligations that they bring to the relationships. Rather, what it suggests is that the quicker these situations can be resolved, the greater the chance of the teachers turning to other interests, hopefully work-related.

4.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

The research results in the following recommendations:

- **Practices**

Various aspects of cultural differences dominated much of the research findings and conclusions. Helping teachers identify their own points of view and see why others might differ can lay the basis for respectful teamwork and working relationships. In consequence, management and school community groups should put programmes in place, perhaps in the form of social guilds or annual workshops, to facilitate cultural exchange and to allow indigenous and expatriate teachers to promulgate and debate opposing views on their practices, especially in terms of teaching, with the aim of finding common ground, mitigating ambiguity and uncertainty or the fear associated with it and facilitating better understanding of actions and decisions.

- **Communication**

Good communication is the key to any organization's health and effectiveness. To facilitate better communication between indigenous and expatriate teachers, management should prescribe a particular style of communication that should be adopted by everyone in the school. Alternatively, management may facilitate negotiations regarding a particular mode of communication among the different groups of teachers so that they may compromise and establish a standard way of communicating for all. By establishing a common way to communicate, management would have set a standard that could form a point of reference for everyone at the school. With continued use, such a standard could become part of the teachers' way of life, thereby mitigating conflicts.

- **Time**

The myriad of tasks that teachers have to accomplish in their day-to-day professional affairs is reason enough for them to show regard for and be excellent managers of time. Management should adopt a policy of zero tolerance to time wasting at the school and further devise an incentive scheme to encourage teachers, particularly indigenous teachers, to adhere to or show more regard for time.

- **Handling of students' disciplining**

The use or non-use of corporal punishment as a disciplinary measure has always been controversial. To address on-going controversy at the school, management should suspend the current haphazard style of 'any teacher administering corporal punishment' and instead, develop a standard code of practice for disciplining students (school policy), and in that establish a centralised system, *vis-à-vis* a disciplinary committee, that is responsible for handling student discipline. A dean should be appointed to coordinate this committee and responsible for discipline. The dean, in conjunction with his/her committee members and based on the school policy, should then advise on the use or non-use of corporal punishment. This approach can effectively mitigate the hostility about the use or non-use of corporal punishment between indigenous and expatriate teachers.

- **School management**

Greater management sensitivity in the management of its human resources is required, especially in relation to its own conduct. This means impartial administration and decision-making on the part of the school head and deputy.

- **Teacher ratio**

Further research is recommended to ascertain a more accurate picture of the situation before any solid or concrete advice can be suggested.

To improve working relations, indigenous and expatriate teachers should be encouraged and motivated by all stakeholders to change attitudes towards each other and show greater flexibility and compromise where necessary for the sake of good organisational health and atmosphere. Equally, school management should organize workshops at the beginning of the school year, as part of a wider group building programme, to address

issues pertaining to work relationships, supervision, communication, et cetera that surfaced as potential sources of difference in relations between the teachers.

4.4 LIMITATIONS

Potential limitations are often numerous in even the most carefully planned research study (De Vos & Fouche in De Vos et al 1998:101). This study is no exception. The major limitations of this investigation are as follows:

- Purposive sampling, based on the researchers' own judgment, was used. The researcher may have overlooked or inadvertently excluded more potentially information-rich participants than those included.
- The aim of the research was not to generalize. The research was a case study of one school. In consequence, its findings and recommendations may not be readily applicable to all other school settings and thus cannot be generalized.

4.5 SUMMARY

The research categorized and described factors related to the development of working relationships between indigenous and expatriate teachers. It also illustrated how these factors contribute to the development of these relationships. The research focused on teachers in one secondary school in Botswana.

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APPENDIX A

LETTER OF CONSENT

Consent to act as respondent in theResearch Project

I hereby authorize *Byron Brown*, student at the University of South Africa, to involve me in the following study: *'The development of working relationships between indigenous and expatriate teachers'*. This study is designed to explore factors related to the development of working relationships between indigenous and expatriate teachers and how these factors function in the development of these relationships.

I understand that I have been asked to participate because I am a teacher at the school and I command valuable information that can inform the investigation adequately. I understand that if I am a participant, I will be asked questions in an interview that will probably not take longer than sixty minutes. Mr. Brown will come to my school to interview me only once and if necessary do a follow up to make clarification. I understand that there will be one question to start the interview and subsequent questions will only emerge as we go along. The interview will be tape-recorded and my permission is granted. This procedure has been explained to me by _____.

I understand that the study described above will not incur undue pressure for me but some of the probing questions may seek personal information. But beyond that, no risk to my health will result from my participation. I understand that I have the right to refuse to participate or to withdraw from this research at any time without prejudice or penalty. I have been informed that my identity will not be disclosed without my separate consent, except as specifically required by law. I understand that the name of my school will not be identified in any way.

I understand that I will not receive any cash benefits from being involved in this study but I will have access to the findings. If the study design or use of data is to be changed, I will be so informed and my consent re-obtained. I understand that *Byron Brown* can be reached at 71720667, and will answer any questions I may have concerning the study.

Participant's signature

Date

Witness

Date

To: The Principal
XXX School

From: Byron Brown

Topic: Request to utilize XXX School as a research site for master’s dissertation project.

I am a graduate student enrolled at the University of South Africa. I am required to conduct a research study as part of the programme. I hereby request permission to utilize your facility and enlist the cooperation of your teachers during the data collection process for this project. My study deals with ‘*The development of work relationships between indigenous and expatriate teachers.*’

Interviews, document analysis and observations will be utilized to collect data. Each interview is anticipated to take sixty minutes, with mutually convenient dates arranged.

It is understood that no teacher will be coerced into participation and the participating teacher may withdraw from the study at any time. Teachers’ responses will be totally anonymous and the school will not be identified in any way. Copies of the final project will be available to the school upon request.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Yours truly,

B. Brown

=====

Consent of school to participate.

Authorized Signature

Date

APPENDIX B

SAMPLE INTERVIEW

Key: I- Interviewer R- Respondent

I: Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research project. As you know, I'm interested in understanding your experience (what it has been like) working with expatriate teachers, considering that there are a number of expatriate teachers in your working environment at the moment; and also how long you have been working here. So tell me about this experience.

R: Ok, am ... as a teacher ... I have been working for four years now, ahh... at my current school, I have been working for one and a half year now and am... basically in my experience as a teacher... I have been ahh... working with ahh ... with expatriate... they are very hard-working people; they are very hard-working; they are very determined in their job and I think the main thing that ahh... probably causes a drift between us locals and expatriates is because of the way the expatriates handle their professional work: it's more... it shows a lot of determination on their part than the locals and I think the main reason is because... ahh ...you know... I don't know... I cannot really say why, why there is that difference but the one thing that I've realized is that us as locals- we don't really put in a lot of effort when it comes to our professional work and the other thing is that...ahh as ...aah locals, you know- the fact that probably most of our students are locals as well, we tend to feel that we understand the social aspects of them than the expatriates and that's probably why the expatriates are more determined in their work than we locals are.

I: Uhuh

And, aah... basically relating with them its aah... I think it all depends on the area of which they (expatriates) come from; what I've realized is that aah...mainly expatriates from around Africa it's quite easy to get along with them and ahh...especially the males but with the females, I don't know... they tend to be ... they tend to seclude themselves, you know, they are not ahh...they are not very much into associating with us as locals.

I: Does that affect working relationships with them?

R: Yah... in some ways; but the one thing which I've realized is that aah...when we want to form some Clubs and so on they always come in but in terms of just sitting together for a cup of tea or something like that, they don't ...they are not so much into such things.

I: What may be the cause of that, you think?

R: I really don't know...(smiling); I really don't know... maybe its because of, you know, communication- the fact that most of the times we are speaking in Setswana and you know how it is like when you are around some people and they are speaking a language that you don't understand. So I think probably they feel more comfortable as a group there alone, using English as a medium of communication as against sitting around people who are speaking the language that they don't understand. Am ... but the one thing that I have realized is that with the Indian community, I think they attached the stigma of laziness too much to the locals, such that you find that if, for instance, you assigned an Indian person maybe to supervise you, you find that maybe they just push you; they push you so much that am...you know you tend to even neglect your duties: like for instance, talking about late coming- talking about am...you know-- what can I say...the main thing is supervision, when they are assigned to supervise you – they are too strict, you know. They don't look at other reasons like maybe you were delayed because of traffic while coming to school or maybe you were held up because maybe a student stopped you while you were on your way to class, you know, such kind of things; and I feel that as teachers- the fact that our jobs demands that we work with people- then I don't expect that kind of strictness from somebody who calls themselves a supervisor.

I: So strict: how does it make you feel?

R: It's... it's really very hurtful that you know you...

I: Do you react to it?

R: Most of us we do; most of us we do, you know... and I think again the cultural background—as Batswana (people of Botswana) we are not... we are not so very time conscious when it comes to duty things, but there are certain things that you know cannot... that you just cannot... you know... you ... you don't really feel there is a necessity to say you are late and you are trying to explain why you're late and somebody just says this is the rule and you have to stick by the rules, you know...and that it's very hurting and it's very depressing- yes very depressing.

I: Late for what?

R: Like lessons, coming to school or some meetings like clubs, committee...

I: You mentioned a drift between you as local and expatriates with whom you have to work...(interrupted)

R: Am... I think the main thing that we need to address is that am... as institution, as school, there is need for, you know, for, for like a workshop every beginning of academic year- every beginning of academic year such that you know, certain issues are addressed and if there is need for you to contribute to that you can do so—such that when you start working on aah... when you start carrying out your duties- you are carrying out your duties on a platform that you also understand.

I: Certain issues such as what should be addressed?

R: Issues such as supervision, issues such as am...communication- I think communication is very, very essential; issues such as working relationships; issues such as students- how to handle our students. The one thing that I've realized is that the expatriate teachers they don't normally use corporal punishment on students; but in our culture corporal punishment has always been there- I mean, we grow up in families being disciplined with corporal punishment and you find that expatriates they really feel it's a kind of abuse and you find that sometimes students they even turn away from you as locals because they really feel that you are abusing them and they would rather have preference to the expatriates because they don't use corporal punishment on them and I think it's totally wrong to give students the impression that you're better somebody than us locals.

I: Is it deliberate...(interrupted)

R: I don't think it's deliberate, I think it's cultural, you... in some societies corporal punishment is taken to be abuse, you know, so I think even the Education Act, it should be made clear to all of us such that as an expatriate you don't see me beating a student as some kind of abuse; you see it as correcting something, correcting something that was wrong (the Education Act supports corporal punishment under).

I: Do expatriate...(interrupted)

R: I think that's how they view it; I think that's how they view it.

I: How does that make you feel and does it affects working together?

R: It's very irritating! Apart from irritating, it creates that barrier between students and local teachers you see because now students feel this one is very abusive, this one is not abusive, and that is not how students should feel you know; that's not the view...the picture that we are trying to give to our students.

I: And about affecting working together?

R: It does, it does; most definitely. Am...you know as locals we feel that its not like we are saying we are using corporal punishment all to the fact that it's actually written on paper, but you know as I have said before culturally, it's been use as a way of correcting behaviour and I feel that am...there is nothing wrong with am...maybe sharing ideas as to how discipline could be maintained in a school; if maybe like - let's say in my case, I went to an English medium school where corporal punishment was never used and if you did wrong you were punished maybe by being given lines to say: I will never do this again, maybe to write that 100 times. But as you grow, as you grow up in this society, you see, even if you were brought up to believe that corporal punishment was wrong, when you grow up and you see other people doing this and sometimes you come across students who are so difficult, you tend to use the stick on them whereas deep down in

your heart it's not like you really want to use a stick but because of the behaviour portrayed by the student and ...aah...I think generally it shouldn't be about the emphasis on corporal punishment as being a form of abuse aah...expatriate teachers should also try to understand our culture, you know and try to adopt to our culture, you know, and accept that that is the way that we were brought up. It's all about acceptance and not necessarily acceptance but compromising: understanding that this is the way that these people were brought up and you just have to compromise and, you know, accept it.

I: Anything else you think?

R: Having said that, expatriate teachers, as I have said before, are very hard-working people but the only problem that I have with expatriates is that they tend to be, you know, to be one...it's not only about dedication to the duties; it's not about impressing somebody who is up there such that even if maybe you are a committee... (interrupted by interviewer)

I: Who might that somebody be?

R: Maybe the school head...and aah...sometimes maybe you are a team and maybe, you know, as a committee you are expected to do some projects around the school, you find that sometimes they... you know...they really deviate from working as a team and they tend to want to carry out the duties all by themselves such that in the end all the praises given to them, and you appearing to not contributing to your duties and I feel that is totally wrong, especially if you are assigned to work together as a team; you must do the work as a team and not do it as an individual such that you say somebody did not do it, you know, when you were keeping everything to yourself.

I: You mentioned the importance of communication.

R: Yes; I think the most important thing is that I personally don't believe in communicating in black and white: ie writing a person a note. I believe in somebody calling me and telling me something—addressing the issue verbally. And I ... I think...aah...but for some reason...expatriates they have a tendency of communicating through papers. I don't know whether it's the fact that maybe they are...I actually don't know the reason they should do that but I personally believe that the best way to communicate is to call a person and address the issue verbally rather than to put it down on paper because sometimes you know, putting things down on paper, sometimes I may misinterpret what you have written down and it can cause... it can cause more conflict.

I: So you are unhappy with that?

R: This needs to be seriously addressed. People should be free to talk to one another, you know, don't ...if you can call maybe your...another expatriate counterpart, why can't you call me, you know, I don't think...and it only exist- this sort of communication-between the locals and expatriates but among themselves it's not an issue; it's not an issue. I mean, they can just call each other and discuss whatever it is they want to discuss,

but when it comes to the issue of addressing it with a local person then it becomes something else.

I: Why is it like that?

R: I truly don't understand; I truly don't know.

I: You don't have any supposition: like maybe this or that?

R: I don't know...maybe it's because they feel that when things are put down on paper it's more professional than addressing issues verbally, because most of the times they will say that I've written you- I've written you this and I feel that you should have read this- such that sometimes when you ... when maybe a conflict arises you may find that there are several of these written notes on your files. But I feel better when issues are best addressed if you sit down and discuss; you would be able to understand exactly how I feel about the thing rather than, you know, writing them orders or giving them what you feel on paper.

I: Why do you think your expatriate colleagues like to communicate like that?

R: I think, I think ... a a a, well the problem is ... ahh they ... the main thing is they don't, I think they don't want to take another person's side of the story. The issue is that you are ... and that was it, you know. You were late and even if you had a reason for being late maybe by five minutes or two minutes, they feel that you are late and we just have to let you know that you are late regardless of maybe your reasons for coming late and I feel that that is just not right because in the end you may never know what happened to the piece of paper – you don't know whether it's going to be used against you or whether it's going to maybe be filed and you know, it can have actually a lot of negatives; it can have a lot of negatives in your career.

I: When you say used against you, what do you mean?

R: Sometimes using it against you like maybe ... ahh you know when ... ahh maybe you come late again and they just automatically take out the note they had written you – they take it up to the school head and that's when maybe you have a chance to explain things now verbally. But had you addressed the issue prior to that note then, you know, it would have solved a lot of stress like having to go up to the school head because now you have given the school head the impression that you are probably somebody who is not ahh ... who is not, you know, take orders or who doesn't want to comply with their rules and regulations.

I: Earlier on you mentioned expatriates take tasks onto themselves that are supposed to be shared and trying to impress: how does that make you feel as individual who's supposed to work with them?

R: I feel that mainly the person who they are trying to impress is their immediate supervisor for example their HOD, subject head or school head and ahh ... it's all about wanting to ... wanting to give that picture that you are not willing to come forward and contribute or help in whatever it is that you are expected to do. Now some of these things are extra curricular activities and you find that as locals you find that maybe ... ahh ... an afternoon that was scheduled for a meeting may be your uncle is sick – you know how we are as Africans: your extended families they are your family members and if maybe you are called home that your uncle is sick you feel that you have got to be there and they just feel some of these things they should not ... ahh ... they should not come into your, into your, you know, they should not be obstacles to your professional duties. But then as I have already said, culture – culture is a very dynamic thing and for you to understand it you have to you know try and understand a person and how they live ... if expatriates try to understand this I can say we can work much better.

I: Hhum?

The one thing that I honestly want to write home about expatriates is that they are really hard working people with a lot of determination and I think that as locals ... I mean Batswana we are not very forward, we are not very eager about being so professional, you know ... I don't know, maybe it's because we are comfortable with the fact that we have been employed and you know that's it. But here we are talking about expatriates - you know we are talking about people who are working on contract basis they have to do it to the best of their abilities if they want their contracts renewed or whatever. But as locals we know we are employed fulltime and that's it. And I think, I think that the determination that the expatriates have, if they could actually, you know, expose it so much to the locals then we would build a very strong community for Africa or for Botswana to be specific.

I: You say if they could expose it, what exactly do you mean?

R: Expose it in the sense that ... ahh when it comes to committees and may be certain duties that you are assigned to do, you know, try to really show us the ... how can I say this ... to encourage us to understand the good side of whatever it is that you are expected to do – to help, to guide – because as I said Batswana we are very ... we are not very eager people; we are not very eager by nature; we are not very eager by nature, most probably because you know you are home, you are comfortable with the fact that you are home such that certain things we just tend to ignore them not because of any other reason but probably because you don't see the necessity of doing that you know, but as an expatriate in the country you see this can help in ABCD and in that way you know, bring in people close to together it would really help.

I: Does this mean you have expectations of expatriates with whom you work?

R: Yah! I do but ... and ahh ... to be frank I think aaa I think aaa but even the ... what can I say ... attitudes of the expatriates towards us locals you know, it's so tense

that you find it's very difficult to try, to try and work together as a team and I don't know ... probably also because of uhm uhm ... because of the different subject areas that we work in; you see certain expatriates in a certain department is more comfortable with his team, his colleagues who are probably teaching the same subject rather than any other person from another department.

I: You mention attitude tense

R: I don't know; I really don't know. I don't know why the attitude but I've realized that it is very prevailing you know: you find that if you are in science, you find that the people you work closely with or the people that you relate more to are the people within science; you can't even go to another person say expatriate in another department and say help me; like for instance you come to guidance and you find that we are teachers from different department. If somebody is coming from science he would rather like to see somebody in the guidance team who is also a member of science instead of any other guidance teacher who is from a different department. And I think that that also contributes to you know the bridge between the ... to the gap between the expatriates and us locals. There is need for them to try and understand each person as an individual.

I: You talk about expectations earlier; do you think that expatriate teachers with whom you work have expectations of you?

R: I don't think it's a question of expectations. I think it's a question of trying to change people, you know, such that they are... you know, they work to satisfy the rules in the book...am, I don't think there is a lot that they expect from us because as I have said, they already labeled us as a lazy society so I think that...you find that it's not about what they expect from you; they know that you won't do it or that you can't do it and I... maybe I just have to stand and say why don't you try. It's always best to see a person for yourself rather than just to conclude a person on non-factual basis, i.e. based on what you hear about them from other people. That's all.

APPENDIX C**PROTOCOL TO CODER**

Dear Professor:

Kindly follow the following steps and assist me in analyzing the data of the transcribed interviews. The method of analysis is the constant comparative method of content analysis

- Read 'carefully' through all the transcripts to get a sense of the whole. 'Carefully' means to read and reread the transcripts to gain familiarity. The aim is to use the data to 'think with'. Identify 'units' of information that can serve as the basis for defining categories. A unit of information can be a sentence or a paragraph that has the following two characteristics: (a) is the smallest piece of information of something that can stand by itself, (b) is focused on the understanding which the researcher needs to have.
- Code the units identified and place them into categories. The aim at this stage is to bring together into provisional categories those units that are apparently related to the same content in order to devise rules that can describe category properties. These properties should be used to justify the inclusion of each unit assigned.
- Underline units of meanings that are related to the identified category and constantly compare the categories.
- Stop coding when categorization is saturated and write memos on your ideas. These memos should be capable of defining each category.
- Compare units within the same category with the properties of that category. Use your judgments to check whether a new unit exhibits the category property that has been identified and note possible relationships.
- Outline the categories found.

Thanks in advance.

Yours truly,

Byron Brown.