

# The participation and influence of teacher unions on education reforms in an independent Namibia

by

## **Marius Kudumo**

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of **Philosophiae Doctor (PhD)** 

in the

Department of Education Management and Policy Studies

Faculty of Education

University of Pretoria

Supervisor:

Professor Venitha Pillay

**PRETORIA** 

27 June, 2011





#### UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

#### FACULTY OF EDUCATION

#### RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

**CLEARANCE NUMBER:** 

EM08/09/03

DEGREE AND PROJECT

PhD

The participation and influence of teacher unions on education

reforms in an independent Namibia

INVESTIGATOR(S)

M. Kudumo

**DEPARTMENT** 

Department of Education Management and Policy Studies

DATE CONSIDERED

26 November 2010

**DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE** 

**APPROVED** 

Please note:

For Masters applications, ethical clearance is valid for 2 years For PhD applications, ethical clearnace is valid for 3 years.

CHAIRPERSON OF ETHICS COMMITTEE Prof L Ebersohn

Mark CS

DATE

26 November2010

CC

Prof V Pillay

Ms Jeannie Beukes

This ethical clearance certificate is issued subject to the following conditions:

- 1. A signed personal declaration of responsibility
- 2. If the research question changes significantly so as to alter the nature of the study, a new application for ethical clearance must be submitted
- It remains the students' responsibility to ensure that all the necessary forms for informed consent are kept for future queries.

Please quote the clearance number in all enquiries.



### **ABSTRACT**

This study explores the shifting roles of teacher unions in pre-and post-independence Namibia, against the backdrop of a changing political context. My aim was to understand the roles of teacher unions both before and after independence in Namibia, and to explain how they changed in the different political contexts. To do so, I examined the teacher union roles in three distinct phases, namely pre-independence, immediately post-independence, taking in the period from 1990 to 1999, and the last decade, from 2000 up until today.

In approaching the research questions, I worked on the assumption that understanding and explaining the roles of teacher unions in pre- and post-independence Namibia could best be achieved by interacting with participants who were or had been involved in education and the teacher unions in Namibia. I argued that their experiences would be important in constructing knowledge on the unions, particularly regarding their roles before and after independence.

I chose a narrative design for the study, because it allowed me to interact with the participants to gain deeper meanings from their individual perspectives. Narrative design was appropriate to this research, because it also allowed me to trace the way events in education mirrored those in the national political arena, and to explain why particular tendencies emerged. I used the information collected during the interviews and document analysis as the data for the study.

Four themes emerged regarding the roles of teacher unions in the contexts of pre- and post-independence Namibia, around which I conceptualized the study. These were the shifting historic roles of these unions in Namibia, the institutional frameworks and modalities for union participation, the contextual factors relating to the roles of the unions, and the changed roles of the unions in contemporary Namibia.

The findings of the study suggested, firstly, that teacher unions play different roles in different political contexts, and that these roles are shaped by contextual factors. Secondly, the research established that the unions in the post-independence contexts



did not necessarily have a vision of a labour-driven process of radical strategic change, as postulated by the theory of strategic unionism. Instead, the findings suggest

that teacher unions in contemporary Namibia are influenced and shaped by the broader political and social factors of a new hierarchical political culture, by political and economic middle-class aspirations, and by undefined party-government-teacher union relationships. I conclude the study by suggesting an expansion of the concept of strategic unionism to include the nuances of political and economic contexts and aspirations.

**Key words:** teacher union, teacher union participation, shifting roles, teacher union influence, education reforms, pre-independence Namibia, post-independence Namibia, institutional frameworks and modalities, changed political context, contextual factors.



#### **DECLARATION**

I declare that this thesis is my own original work, except where otherwise acknowledged. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Pretoria. I further declare that this thesis has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at any other university.

Marius Kudumo

37/66/3011 Date

iii



## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, my late father, and my mother, for all their teachings about life, and for instilling the values and principles of self-discipline and self-reliance in me during my formative years.



## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to express my sincere thanks and appreciation to the many people who contributed in different ways to the completion of this thesis. My appreciation goes to:

- 1. Professor Venitha Pillay, my supervisor, for her guidance, support and encouragement throughout the journey, from the conceptualization of the research proposal to the finalization of the thesis.
- 2. All the participants in the study for their willingness to contribute, and for the information provided.
- 3. Canon Collins Trust for the scholarship which assisted tremendously during my studies.
- 4. Mrs. Clarisse Venter at the University of Pretoria library for her assistance in accessing information.
- 5. John Kench for editing the thesis.
- 6. Finally, to my wife Belinda, our children and other members of the family, for their moral support and encouragement throughout the process of the study.



# ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

| AATO    | All Africa Teachers' Organization                                |
|---------|--|
| ACHSR   | Advisory Committee for Human Sciences Research                   |
| ACN     | Action Christian National  |
| ADEA    | Association for the Development of Education in Africa           |
| AG      | Administrator-General  |
| AIDS    | Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome                              |
| COSATU  | Congress of South African Trade Unions                           |
| CTF     | Canadian Teachers' Federation                                    |
| ETSIP   | Education and Training Sector Improvement Programme              |
| HIGCSE  | Higher International General Certificate of Secondary Education  |
| HIV     | Human Immunodeficiency Virus                                     |
| IGCSE   | International General Certificate of Secondary Education         |
| ILO     | International Labour Organization                                |
| LaRRI   | Labour Resource and Research Institute                           |
| NACTU   | National Council of Trade Unions                                 |
| NGO     | Non-Governmental Organization                                    |
| NAMOV   | Namibia Onderwysersvereiniging                                   |
| NANSO   | Namibia National Students' Organization                          |
| NANTU   | Namibia National Teachers' Union                                 |
| NAPTOSA | National Professional Teachers' Organization of South Africa     |
| NIED    | National Institute for Educational Development                   |
| NUNW    | National Union of Namibian Workers                               |
| OTA     | Owambo Teachers' Association                                     |
| SADTU   | South African Democratic Teachers' Union                         |
| SWA     | South West Africa  |
| SWAPO   | South West Africa People's Organization                          |
| TELSIP  | Teachers' English Language Skills Improvement Programme          |
| TUN     | Teachers' Union of Namibia                                       |
| UNAM    | University of Namibia  |
| UNESCO  | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization |
| USAID   | United States Agency for International Development               |



# **Table of contents**

| ABSTRA        | CT  | i    |
|---------------|---|------|
| DECLAR        | ATION   | iii  |
| <b>DEDICA</b> | ΓΙΟΝ  | iv   |
| ACKNOW        | VLEDGEMENTS   | v    |
| ABBREV        | IATIONS AND ACRONYMS  | vi   |
| Table of c    | ontents   | viii |
| List of tab   | oles  | X    |
| Chapter 1     |   | 1    |
| Introduction  | on and background to the study  | 1    |
| 1.1           | Introduction  | 1    |
| 1.2           | Research purpose  | 2    |
| 1.3           | Research questions  | 2    |
| 1.4           | Background and rationale for the study                                  | 3    |
| 1.5           | Organization of the thesis  | 6    |
| Chanter 2     |   | 8    |
|               | iterature says about teacher unions                                     |      |
| 2.1           | Introduction  |      |
| 2.2           | The roles and functions of trade unions                                 |      |
| 2.3           | Teacher unions and education reforms                                    |      |
| 2.4           | Trade unions in post-revolutionary contexts                             |      |
| 2.5           | Brief overview of education in pre-independence Namibia and the context |      |
|               | of post-independence education reforms                                  |      |
| 2.6           | Brief overview of teacher unions in Namibia                             |      |
| 2.7           | Key role-players during the education reforms in Namibia post-          |      |
|               | independence  | . 40 |
| 2.8           | Conclusion  | . 42 |
| Chapter 3     |   | . 44 |
| Who to ch     | oose and how? The Methodology   | . 44 |
| 3.1           | Introduction  | . 44 |
| 3.2           | Research design and approach  | . 44 |
| 3.3           | Finding the key participants for the study                              | . 46 |
| 3.4           | Sample and sampling frame   |      |
| 3.5           | Data collection tools   |      |
| 3.5.1         | Semi-structured interviews  |      |
| 3.5.2         | Focus group and telephone interviews                                    | . 53 |
| 3.5.3         | Follow-up interview   |      |
| 3.5.4         | Document analysis   |      |
| 3.6           | Core questions  |      |
| 3.7           | Conducting the interviews   |      |
| 3.8           | Data analysis   |      |
| 3.9           | Validity and ethical considerations                                     |      |
| 3.10          | Challenges encountered during the research                              | . 63 |

| 3.11       | Limitations of the study   | 64    |
|------------|--|-------|
| 3.12       | Conceptual framework   | 65    |
| Chapte     | r <b>4</b>   | 68    |
| _          | roles of teacher unions in Namibia   |       |
| 4.1        | Introduction   |       |
| 4.2        | Pre-independence roles of teacher unions in Namibia                        |       |
| 4.3        | Roles of teacher unions in Namibia on the eve of independence, 1988 to     |       |
|            | 1989   | 73    |
| 4.4        | Post-independence roles of teacher unions in Namibia, 1990 to 1999         | 78    |
| 4.4.1      | Education vision of teacher unions for a post-independence Namibia         |       |
| 4.4.2      | Advocacy roles of teacher unions in post-independence Namibia              | 83    |
| 4.5        | Roles of teacher unions during the education reforms, 1990 to 1999         | 88    |
| 4.5.1      | Teacher unions and professional development of their members               | 90    |
| 4.5.2      | Representation and participation roles in the institutional frameworks and |       |
|            | modalities of the education reforms  |       |
| 4.5.2.1    | Explanation of teacher union representation and participation              | 93    |
| 4.5.2.2    | Representation and participation   |       |
| 4.6        | Current roles of teacher unions in Namibia, 2000 to date                   |       |
| 4.7        | Assessing the influence of teacher unions on the education reforms         |       |
| 4.8        | Conclusion   | . 116 |
| Chapte     | r 5  | . 118 |
| Institutio | onal frameworks and modalities for teacher union participation             | . 118 |
| 5.1        | Introduction   |       |
| 5.2        | Institutional frameworks and modalities pre-independence                   | . 118 |
| 5.3        | Institutional frameworks and modalities post-independence                  | . 120 |
| 5.4        | Legislative institutional frameworks                                       | . 129 |
| 5.4.1      | The Namibian Constitution  | . 129 |
| 5.4.2      | The Labour Act   | . 130 |
| 5.4.3      | The Recognition Agreement between the Government of the Republic of        |       |
|            | Namibia and NANTU  |       |
| 5.4.4      | The Education Act  | . 132 |
| 5.4.5      | Partnership policy between the Government of the Republic of Namibia       |       |
|            | and civic organizations  | . 133 |
| 5.5        | Assessing the efficiency of the participation and institutional frameworks |       |
|            | and modalities   |       |
| 5.6        | Why inclusive and participatory approach to education?                     |       |
| 5.6.1      | The unity and nation-building imperatives                                  |       |
| 5.6.2      | The experience and expertise imperatives                                   |       |
| 5.6.3      | The imperatives of the politics of negotiated settlement and consensus     |       |
| 5.6.4      | The imperatives of the image of the national liberator                     |       |
| 5.7        | Conclusion   | . 144 |
| Chapter    | r 6  | . 146 |
| Context    | ual factors and the roles of teacher unions in Namibia                     |       |
| 6.1        | Introduction   |       |
| 6.2        | Pre-independence political factors   |       |
| 6.3        | Pre-independence education factors   |       |
| 6.4        | Post-independence factors  |       |
| 6.4.1      | Influence of independence and democratization on teacher unions            |       |
| 6.4.2      | Party-government-teacher union relationships                               | . 154 |



| 6.4.3    | Appointments of union leaders and leadership vacuum in teacher unions.      | 160 |
|----------|---|-----|
| 6.4.4    | New political culture and elite class formation                             | 165 |
| 6.5      | Conclusion  | 169 |
| Chapte   | er 7  | 172 |
|          | o we explain the changed roles of teacher unions in post-independence       |     |
|          | Namibia?  | 172 |
| 7.1      | Introduction  | 172 |
| 7.2      | Contestations of middle-class interests and national liberation on the role | es  |
|          | of teacher unions   |     |
| 7.3      | Contextual factors and the roles of teacher unions                          |     |
| 7.4      | Professionalism and the role of teacher unions                              |     |
| 7.5      | Expanding the conceptual framework of strategic unionism                    |     |
| 7.6      | Other areas of interest   | 181 |
| 7.7      | Conclusion  | 183 |
| BIBLI    | OGRAPHY   | 184 |
| ANNE     | XURE 1:   | 192 |
|          | clearance certificate   |     |
| ANNE     | XURE 2  | 193 |
| Letter   | of protocol   | 193 |
| ANNE     | XURE 3:   | 196 |
| Intervie | ew questions  | 196 |
| ANNE     | XURE 4  | 197 |
|          | le of the transcripts   |     |
| ANNE     | XURE 5  | 203 |
|          | of permission   |     |
| ANNE     | XURE 6  | 206 |
|          | from the editor   |     |



# List of tables

| Table 1: Summary of data collection tools | 52 |
|---|----|
| Table 2: Interview schedule               | 59 |