

Teacher union-state relations in South Africa: Caught in a time warp?

Logan Govender

Paper prepared for Kenton at Mpekwani, 27-30 October 2005

(NB. This is work-in-progress and therefore not to be quoted without the author's permission)

1. Introduction

Throughout history, teacher union-state relations have been perceived as conflictual, in spite of efforts at cooperation. Arguably, the conflict has been associated more with teacher unionism than with teacher professionalism, as the former has often challenged state authority and power, especially over control and ownership of education policy and the labour rights of teachers. Teacher professionalism has been regarded as standing in opposition to unionism because it invokes notions of 'the good teacher' and 'the ideal of service'. Professionalism has been the preferred ideology, especially by the state, because of its propensity to produce good behaviour and curb teacher radicalism. In the era of democracy, human rights and labour peace, however, teachers' rights to collective bargaining and strike action has been recognized and institutionalised. This has resulted in teacher unionism being accepted as integral to teacher union-state relations. Nevertheless, labour unrest and policy contestation has continued unabated. This has given rise to calls for more cooperative teacher-union state relations in the interests of the public good and the improvement of education quality.

This paper examines the changing nature of teacher union-state relations in South Africa.¹ It provides an historical overview of teacher unionism and professionalism and then briefly examines the roles of the Education Labour Relations Council (ELRC) and the South African Council of Educators (SACE) as contemporary manifestations of unionism and professionalism. It is argued that the ascendancy of teacher unionism over teacher professionalism in mediating teacher-state relations in the last decade needs critical appraisal. In particular, a stronger emphasis on teacher professionalism, while recognizing the importance of unionism, is mooted if both parties are to devote the requisite time and resources to improving education quality. Several policy options are suggested as a way of facilitating more constructive teacher-state relations and teachers' contribution to policy making and, ultimately, to enhancing education quality.

2. Ideological underpinnings of teacher union-state relations

An important factor in understanding teacher union-state relations is teachers and governments' conceptions of the ideologies of professionalism and unionism. For many decades, the two ideologies were regarded as incompatible and contradictory, founded largely on the lingering tension between understandings of teachers as workers and

¹ The paper draws on the author's doctoral research on the subject: *Teachers' participation in policy making: The Case of the South African Schools' Act (1996)*, and on primary and secondary documents relating to the ELRC and SACE.

teachers as professionals. (e.g. Ginsburg et al, 1980; Hindle & Simpson, 1993 and Ozga & Lawn, 1981)

Although its meaning is highly contested, professionalism has come to be associated with issues of autonomy and control over work, ethical conduct, subject knowledge and certification, social status, high salary levels, and the question of standards for controlling entrance into a profession. Maclean (1992, cited in Sang, 2002: 61), for example, identifies several key features associated with professions:

- The provision of a specialized, unique service, essential to the society;
- The possession of intellectual capacity, skills and techniques;
- They offer specified periods of training and socialization for their members;
- They seek to have a high degree of group and individual professional autonomy;
- They have independent means of social control through enforcement of codes of ethics;
- They demand a high level of commitment in which work and leisure hours are not easily demarcated;
- They offer a lifetime calling within a career structure;
- They encourage a pursuit of research and in-service training.

Traditional unionism, on the other hand, has tended to focus mainly on labour issues, such as salaries and conditions of service and has become synonymous with militant strategies, such as strikes. (Hindle & Simpson, 1993; Ozga & Lawn, 1981 & Sang, 2002). As Sang (2002) observes, the trade union emphasis concentrates on teachers' economic needs and teacher protection. This emphasis has given rise to the perception that teacher unions are not concerned very much with the professional dimension of teachers' work. A more progressive view of teacher unionism recognizes teacher unions' concern with broader issues of economic and political contestation with the state (Hindle & Simpson, 1993; Ozga & Lawn 1981) as well as the professional development of teachers. By placing the issue of political power and contestation for control of policy making at the forefront of their agendas, teacher unions have incurred the wrath of states and crossed swords with its counterpart organizations, namely, professional associations of teachers (Govender, 1996).

The traditional view of juxtaposing these ideologies has been the subject of much criticism, particularly since the early 1980s (Ginsburg MB, Meyenn, RJ & Miller, HDR, 1980; Ozga & Lawn, 1981). This dichotomy has its origins particularly in Anglo-Saxon countries, such as the United Kingdom and the United States (Welmond, 1999). Welmond (citing Lawn, 1996) points out that the 'professionalisation' of teachers is a way for the state to exercise 'indirect rule' over the role of teachers as political actors.² In this context, teachers who engage in political activism are labeled as "unprofessional". In Kenya, teachers maintain that there are no distinctions between economic and professional issues in education, and argue that if students are to have optimal conditions for learning, then teachers must have optimal conditions for teaching (Sang, 2002).

² Also see Ozga and Lawn, 1981 for an earlier rendition of the notion of 'indirect rule'.

Similarly, although teacher union fragmentation in Uganda in the 1960s was characterized by the dichotomy between unionism and professionalism, it has been argued that there is no contradiction in combining professionalism with militancy, and that militancy can be used in defence of professionalism (Tiberondwa, 1977). Thus teacher unions may invoke their claims to professionalism or unionism as a self-defence mechanism against the state in the education arena. At the same time, the state in many countries has used these ideologies to contain radical teacher union impulses, and hence keep a firm grip on the direction and outcomes of policy struggles.

The critique of the conservative Anglo-Saxon view of teacher professionalism has been further refined and given rise to the notions of 'new realism' and 'professional unionism' (Torres et al, 2003). The notion of 'new realism' (attributed to Martin Lawn and Geoff Whitty, 1992) emphasises better services to members, regaining professional status and leadership in the educational debate and developing a long-term vision on educational reform. In like vein, Kerchner & Mitchell (1988), in their study of teacher union-state relations in the United States, have argued for an integration of labour relations (salaries/COS) and broader education policy issues, such as curriculum, teacher education policy etc. They propose the notion of *professional unionism*, which, while retaining the traditional features of unionism and professionalism, goes further and recognizes the need for teacher unions to address issues of school productivity and efficiency as well as mechanisms for performance management, discipline and dealing with incompetence.

The emphasis of this new wave of thinking, therefore, is on the complementarity of professionalism and unionism, collaboration rather than confrontation. It strikes at the core of the traditional dichotomy between unionism and professionalism. The new approach seeks to harness the strengths of both unionism and professionalism to foster greater cooperation between state education authorities and teacher unions in their efforts to address issues of education quality, efficiency, accountability, labour peace and teachers' professional growth.

This paper will evaluate South Africa's own progression in aligning itself with these new debates. It will argue that unionism has become the dominant ideology underpinning teacher-state relations, resulting in the marginalisation of teacher professionalism. It calls for a reorientation of teacher-state relations with a much stronger emphasis on teachers' professional identity without forgoing the important gains made in teachers' labour rights in the last decade.

3. Historical overview

The early history of teacher organizations in South Africa is largely a history of the development of professional associations. Teacher unionism, in the main, is a more recent phenomenon, with its roots in the labour and political history of the 1980s.³

3.1 The 1940s-1980s

³ For a more detailed treatment of the history of teacher organizations in South Africa, see Govender, 1996; Hartshone, 1992 and Hyslop, 1990.

By the 1940s, several racially based teacher organizations had been established in South Africa. Most of these, such as the Transvaal African Teachers' Association (TATA) and the white Federal Council of Teachers' Associations, were not particularly active. Although they petitioned government and sought legal recourse for their members little was achieved (Hyslop, 1986:91). The first signs of a teachers' organisation adopting unionist tactics was a public demonstration of teachers, parents and pupils organized by TATA over salary improvements in the streets of Johannesburg on 6 May 1944. In the words of Hyslop, the protest action "was one of the few examples in South African history [prior to the 1990s] of teachers organizing in a trade-union fashion, seeking to gain their objectives by mass action" (1990: 95). With the upsurge of political activism in this period, involving many teachers, notably Oliver Tambo and GM Pitje, black African teacher organizations, especially in the Transvaal and Cape Province, challenged state policies, especially the Bantu Education Act of 1952. However, with the state's intimidation of teacher leaders through dismissals and raids on officials' homes (Hartshone, 1992), the period of teacher militancy and recourse to unionist strategies soon ended. This paved the way for a long period of teacher conservatism, based on non-involvement in politics and dedication to 'professional' life as the best path for the teacher, which was only seriously challenged in the 1980s. Nevertheless, for the first time teachers' had organized in a unionist fashion, which led to organizational fragmentation, for example, by 1950, the more conservative, rural-based teachers in the Transvaal broke away from TATA to form the Transvaal African Teachers' Union (TATU) (Govender, 1996).

Separate teacher organisations representing Whites, Coloureds, Indians and Africans had established themselves by the 1960s. ATASA was formed in 1962 and comprised affiliates from the four provinces at the time, Transvaal, Natal, Orange Free State and the Cape. The Teachers' Association of South Africa (TASA), with its predominantly Indian membership, and the Union of Teachers' Association of South Africa (UTASA), whose membership was drawn from Coloured schools, also emerged in the 1960s, soon after the creation of separate education departments for these groups. White teacher organisations had organised themselves under the banner of the Teachers' Federal Council (TFC). All of these racially-based organisations espoused a traditional 'professional' approach in dealing with the education authorities, relying primarily on strategies of consultation and persuasion, while eschewing militant and 'political' action (Hyslop 1990; Govender, 1996).

In the 1980s, with the intensification of the political struggle for liberation and a thriving labour movement, several progressive teacher unions emerged. The National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA) was established in 1980, and was the first union to organize teachers nationally on a non-racial basis and to adopt unionist principles and strategies. Several more, smaller teacher unions emerged during the educational and political upheavals in South Africa from 1985-1990, such as the East London Progressive Teachers Union (ELPTU); the Western Cape Teachers Union (WECTU); the Democratic Teachers Union (DETU) and the Mamelodi Teachers Union (MATU). They all adopted a strong unionist approach in dealing with educational change and policy. From the outset,

the progressive unions had a combined political and educational agenda. They constituted themselves as non-racial and allied themselves to the vanguard organizations of the liberation struggle, notably the African National Congress (ANC), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Communist Party (SACP). This gave rise to sharp tensions between the new generation of progressive unions and the older, professional associations.

As the struggle for democracy intensified in the 1980s, a concerted effort was made to unite all teachers into a single, national teachers' body. The unity initiative, which gathered momentum with the signing of the Harare Accord on Teacher Unity in 1988 failed for various reasons. These were: disagreement on whether the new organisation should be a trade union or a professional body, a unitary or federal structure, and on the question of political alignment. What emerged instead was the formation of two national organisations that coalesced around different ideologies and strategies. The progressive teacher unions, led by NEUSA, merged into the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU) in October 1990, based on a strong unionist philosophy, which was cemented with its affiliation to COSATU. The racially based teacher organisations united in a federal alliance under the umbrella of the National Professional Teachers Organisation of South Africa (NAPTOSA) in August 1991, based on an adherence to the Anglo-Saxon tradition of professionalism. It seemed as if the teacher union movement had come full circle in South Africa. The old dichotomy between unionism and professionalism, which had plagued the teachers' movement in the 1940s and 1950s, had reared its head once again.

3.2 The 1990s

The shape of teacher unions in the 1990s was influenced decisively by new legislation. Besides recognition of workers' rights in the new constitution, teachers' rights to collective bargaining and strike action were guaranteed in the Labour Relations Act (LRA) of 1995. With the passing of the Education Labour Relations Act in 1993, a formal mechanism for collective bargaining and determination of labour policies, the Education Labour Relations Council (ELRC), had been established. This marked the institutionalization of teacher trade unionism in SA. It was also the period when the idea of a 'dialectical unity' between unionism and professionalism was mooted (Hindle & Simpson 1993). In time, even the older, 'professional' teacher organizations would come to accept and even embrace tenets of unionism. The National Education Policy Act, 1996, provided for the management of education along national and provincial lines, which compelled teacher unions to restructure to ensure a presence in the nine provinces; moreover, in terms of the Act government was required to consult with the organized teaching profession and other stakeholders in the area of policy development. Thus a new era of consultation and partnership between teacher unions and the state was promised.

4. A brief review of the ELRC and SACE

Two key structures were established as a consequence of teacher union struggles and negotiations between the government and teachers unions in recent years: the ELRC in 1993 and more recently the South African Council of Educators (SACE) in 2000. This

section offers a glimpse into the ELRC and SACE as SA's contemporary institutional embodiments of unionism and professionalism, and in the former's case, a grappling with the notion of professional unionism.

4.1 The ELRC

The ELRC is a statutory council established by the Education Labour Relations Act of 1993. The Council is composed of equal numbers of Employer and Trade Union representatives, with the former representing both provincial and national departments of education. The teacher unions serving on the Council are SADTU, NAPTOSA and the Suid-Afrikaanse Onderwysersunie (SAOU) based on proportional representation. (ELRC, 2005) Key objectives of the Council include:

- To maintain and promote labour peace in education;
- To prevent and resolve labour disputes; and
- To promote collective bargaining.

Since its inception, the ELRC has made considerable gains in advancing the labour rights of educators, notably salary parity between women and men; maternity leave for single and divorced women and equal pension and housing benefits, to list a few. However, in recent years, the ELRC appears to have extended its brief to cover a number of 'professional' issues. In 2001, it outlined a three-year vision of goals and programmes. These were:

- The challenge of finalizing an agreement on salary progression and career pathing in education
- To ensure that the development needs of educators are attended to with successful implementation of the Developmental Appraisal System
- To convene a summit on public education with a view to ensuring quality public education for all, based on partnerships
- To develop an induction programme for young and new teachers entering education
- To campaign for the improvement of the image of teachers, the teaching profession and public education
- To acknowledge the important roles of women in education and to enhance their participation in leadership positions
- To facilitate and participate in a conference on the enhancement of public education in Southern Africa

(ELRC Annual Report, 2002:4-5)

With the exception of the first item, the issues listed are usually associated with the work of a professional body; in South Africa's case, SACE. A collective bargaining council such as the ELRC plays more of a supportive role in broader professional and education policy matters. The ELRC has thus invested considerably in teacher education and development. For example, its support for the delivery of the National Professional Diploma in Education (NPDE) - about 20 000 teachers were expected to benefit by 2004.

However, as Samuel (2004) observes the focus has been motivated by a protection of the rights of under-qualified teachers. The ELRC has also supported the HSRC study on the impact of HIV/Aids on educators and commissioned a study on teachers' workload, thus establishing itself as the main champion of teachers' labour and professional rights. As Samuel (2004:2) puts it: "The ELRC took on the role as nursemaid to the post-apartheid policy making processes". Nevertheless, the strong unionist influence is unmistakable, as the negotiations between the Department of Education and teacher unions continued to foreground the basic conditions of service of teachers.

This is not to negate the connection between labour matters and professional issues, but work related to the professional development of teachers and addressing issues of education quality should be driven by more broadly-oriented policy making mechanisms, not by bodies such as the ELRC with its traditional labour relations arrangements of collective bargaining and dispute resolution. There is the danger of reducing issues relating to improving the quality of education, such as teacher development, to a forum specializing in labour-type agreements. Instead, such issues should be conducted in an environment and within institutions that foreground education quality as a primary task requiring the best minds from government, teachers, researchers and other stakeholders for mapping out constructive programmes and policies. It should not become the subject of hard bargaining and negotiation, determined by parochial or 'private' interests.

4.2 SACE

The South African Council of Educators (SACE), like the ELRC, is a statutory body in terms of the SACE Act (No.31 of 2000). Its overarching role is the regulation and enhancing of the status of the teaching profession, and to promote the development of educators and their professional conduct. SACE was originally conceived by an ELRC resolution in 1994 but was to achieve legal jurisdiction over educators only in 1999, and full statutory status in 2000. Thus, SACE in many ways was the "step-child" of the ELRC (Samuel, 2004).⁴

The Council, which is the main decision-making body consists of 30 members made up as follows:

- The Chairperson
- 18 Educators collectively nominated by the organized profession
- Five persons nominated by the Department of Education
- Two persons nominated by the national associations representing school governing bodies
- One person nominated by the Council on Higher Education
- One person nominated by the Councils of further education and training institutions
- One person nominated by national bodies representing independent or private institutions

⁴ The Council is also accommodated free of charge in the ELRC building in Centurion (SACE, 2005).

- The Chief Executive Officer of the Council

Its mandate includes: the registration of educators, to develop and maintain a code of ethics and professional standards for teachers, and to promote the professional development of educators. Being a fledgling organization it has concentrated on the first two of its obligations and only recently started to focus on professional development. In the 2004/05 reporting period, over 500 complaints of alleged unprofessional conduct were processed, of which about 150 were ethics related, 60 employment related and more than 200 referred to as “private matters”. The ethics-related disciplinary enquiries included sexual misconduct, absenteeism linked to drug and alcohol dependency, fraudulent qualifications and misappropriation of school funds. (SACE, 2005)

Although its professional development portfolio is in its infancy, SACE boasts several achievements. These have included the Ethics and Values in Education project, which produced a Code of Professional Ethics handbook for educators; the Ethical and Legal Training project; the Professional Development Portfolio Project aimed at assisting educators in developing their own portfolios – however, national roll-out of some projects have been hampered by financial constraints. According to Abrahams and Bijraj (2004) over 20 000 educators have benefited directly from SACE professional development interventions.

4.2.1 Looking ahead

The Council has identified several professional development projects as it looks beyond 2005. These include a Professional Development Advocacy, Communication and Publicity Strategy, and engaging in teacher education and development research, with a focus on the link between human rights in education and training and professional development, and reduced professionalism in teaching. It would seem, therefore, that SACE is expanding its professional development focus, although the Council appears to be hampered by financial and capacity constraints. There is also a tacit acknowledgement that more needs to be done to enhance teacher professionalism.

SACE is likely to be headed on a collision course with the ELRC in some areas of work, for example, on the professional development of teachers given the ELRC’s strong professional posture (as indicated earlier). This is certain to produce some degree of tension between SACE and the ELRC. In summary, a strong unionist and human rights discourse has underpinned the work and programmes of both the ELRC and SACE. This is understandable given the historical context of teacher unions’ struggles in South Africa.

5. Assessing claims to professional unionism

As intimated earlier, the apartheid state favoured a conservative professional form of teachers’ organization, which was challenged in the mid-80s by the newly emergent teacher trade unions. This challenge consolidated in the early 1990s, but would gradually give way to a ‘new realism’ as teacher unions began to adopt a ‘professional unionist’

approach in confronting the organizational and political challenges in the latter 1990s. In South Africa, the fragmentation of the teachers' movement into the unionist and professional camps that characterized the early 1990s, had slowly given way to a 'new realism' of cooperation and unity. The state encountered united teacher resistance especially with regard to cutbacks in education spending and rationalization policies (Vally & Tleane 2001). There has been a greater unity of purpose on curricula matters. Teacher accountability has now been placed firmly on the agenda with the agreements on a Development Appraisal System (DAS) and Performance Measurement (PM). Thus, teacher union struggles have extended beyond shop-floor concerns to embrace broader education policy matters and the contentious issues around accountability, performance and efficiency over the last decade. This suggests a tendency towards professional unionism.

Simultaneously, there has been a gradual thawing in the attitude of NAPTOSA and SAOU to trade unionism, which culminated in affiliates within these organizations joining SADTU in strike action for the first time in August 1999.⁵ Thus, teacher unions' ability to forge a closer working relationship among themselves in dealing with traditional union concerns and 'professional' matters has signaled a new realism in teacher unions' ideological and strategic practices.

Overall, though, unionism has been privileged over professionalism in post-apartheid South Africa. In broad terms, at least at the institutional level, there has been a pre-occupation with educators' labour concerns (through the ELRC) and the monitoring of educators' professional conduct (through SACE). While the ELRC seeks to extend its labour relations portfolio to include professional and broader education policy issues, it does so with its feet still firmly lodged in a unionist tradition and mindset. The pulse of the ELRC remains collective bargaining, with conflict and contestation imprinted in its rules of grievance procedures and conflict resolution. At the same time, SACE is yet to place its professional stamp on the education policy making arena, particularly around the development of educators and contributing to education quality initiatives. Thus, far from suggesting a move towards professional unionism, the current *institutional reality* is one that continues to privilege unionism, with issues relating to teachers' professional development continuing to be undermined. However, for SACE to effectively lead the onslaught on teachers' professional development, a more rigorous professionally oriented approach is required.

The nature of deliberations within the ELRC and SACE, moreover, are constrained because of their composition and their statutory character. The creation of the ELRC and SACE, although in response to teachers' claims to unionism and professionalism, may also be viewed as mechanisms of control aimed at managing teacher-state relations. State interests are strongly represented in these structures: as employer and equal partner in the ELRC and as policymaker in SACE. These are important sites of struggle that teachers should be engaged in, but should not be the only sites where teachers and their unions engage with educational issues. The composition and operational dynamics within these statutory structures, besides creating critical policy making spaces for teachers to have

⁵ Interview, Pieter Martins, CEO, SAOU, 28 January 2003 & NAPTOSA Report, '98-2000, p.12.

greater control over their lives, can also narrow the scope and space of teachers' influence in education decision- and policymaking.

6. Future scenarios and policy options

In this section, certain scenarios and policy options are proposed, with a view to expanding the policy making spaces for teacher unions and emphasizing teachers' professional development:

- i. The ELRC should be encouraged to focus on its core business, that is, continue to serve as a collective bargaining chamber for labour issues, such as salaries and conditions of service, in the pursuit and maintenance of 'labour peace' in the education sector. In other words, it should revert to its original mandate without attempting to expand into the terrain of "professionalism". However, the ELRC should continue working in close collaboration with SACE and other education structures.
- ii. There are moves afoot for the Public Services Collective Bargaining Council (PSCBC) to coordinate labour relations in the public service as a whole. This development has been under debate for some time and seems to have considerable merit. If issues of salaries and conditions of service are removed away from the key protagonists in the education labour relations arena, this could free up more space and time for the education authorities and teacher unions to work on improving education quality and addressing critical educational challenges.
- iii. Foregrounding the professional development of educators: The recently released National Framework for Teacher Education (July, 2005) takes the first positive step in this direction by recommending that SACE, as the legislated body to oversee professional development of teachers, take responsibility for coordinating the system of professional development. "In this way, SACE will become a key agent in restoring the quality of teachers in the system, and thereby raise the image and status of the teaching profession." (Samuel, 2004b:4)
- iv. Education Policy Trust Agreements (Kerchner & Mitchell, 1988) to promote greater involvement of teacher unions in policymaking: as a complement to labour contracts, these agreements are intended to allow teacher unions and education management to negotiate and reach accord on educational goals and policies. The agreements would have legal standing and could be adjudicated through a court review or procedures agreed by the parties. The agreements could be formulated between teacher unions and state structures at the national, provincial, district and school levels as determined by local conditions.

7. Conclusion

The recognition and institutionalisation of teacher trade unionism in South Africa is an important achievement, both from a human rights and educational perspectives.

However, the continued ascendancy of the ideology of unionism over teacher professionalism warrants critical reflection. There is broad consensus in South Africa, a decade after the country's first democratic elections, that the key educational challenges are around issues of quality in education, teacher education and professional development, the challenges of HIV/Aids, school safety, teenage pregnancy and suicide, and ongoing curriculum transformation, to highlight but a few.

An important ingredient in addressing these challenges is the harnessing of the voices, skills and expertise of teachers through sustained professional growth. This should include the development of policy analysis capacity and expertise of teachers, especially union officials, to enhance their contribution and effectiveness in the broader policy arena. The development of such expertise should be aligned to contemporary education policy interventions aimed at improving education quality. Teacher unionism has done its bit for teachers and will continue to do so. However, it would be a mistake to get stuck in the teacher unionism time warp for another decade; a greater focus on the 'professional' in professional unionism is needed. A good place to start is to review the appropriateness of current institutional arrangements for managing teacher union-state relations in South Africa.

References

Abrahams, G and Bijraj, R (2004) *South African Council for Educators (SACE): Ten Years of Democratic Education*. Internal Document.

Education Labour Relations Council, 18 October 2005 <http://www.elrc.org.za/Laws>

Education Labour Relations Council, 18 October 2005 <http://www.elrc.org.za/services>

Education Labour Relations Council (ELRC) (2003) *Annual Report, 2002/03*.

Ginsburg, M, Meyenn, R & Miller, H (1980) Teachers' conceptions of professionalism and trade unionism: An ideological analysis. In: P Woods (Ed), *Teacher strategies: Explorations in the sociology of the school* London: Croom Helm

Govender, L. (1996) *When the "chalks are down": A Historical, Political & Social Interpretation of Teacher Militancy in South Africa* (Pretoria: HSRC Publishers).

Hindle, D & Simpson, L (1993) Teachers don't talk in class! A Class analysis of teachers and their organization in South Africa, In: Pendlebury, S et al (Eds) *Kenton-at-Broederstroom, 1992: Conference Proceedings* Johannesburg, Education Department, University of the Witwatersrand

Hyslop, J. 1986. Teachers and trade unions. *South African Labour Bulletin*, 11 (6):90-97.

Hyslop, J (1990) Teacher resistance in African education from the 1940s to the 1980s. In: Nkomo, M (ed.). *Pedagogy of domination: Towards a democratic education in South Africa* Trenton: Africa World Press, Inc.

Kerchner, C.T. and Mitchell, D.E. (1988) *The changing idea of a teachers' union*. (Falmer Press: London).

National Professional Teachers Organisation of South Africa (NAPTOSA) *Report on the period 11 November 1994 to 28 October 1998*

Ozga, J & Lawn, M (1981) *Teachers, Professionalism and Class: A Study of Organised Teachers* London: Falmer Press

South African Council for Educators (SACE), 18 October 2005
<http://www.sace.org.za/Sace/code-ethics.jsp>.

South African Council for Educators (SACE) (2005) Annual Report, 2004/05.

Samuel, M. (2004) *Reconnecting teachers within the Democratic Project: Some reflections on the role of the Educational Labour Relations Council*. Paper presented to the ELRC: Celebrating 10 years of democracy.

Samuel, M (2004b) *Expanding SACE's role in Professional Development: New Directions*. Paper presented to the South African Council for Educators: Celebrating 10 years of democracy.

Sang, A.K. 2002 Interest groups in education: Teachers' perceptions of the effectiveness of the Kenya National Union of Teachers. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Faculty of Humanities., University of Cape Town.

Tiberondwa, A.K. (1977) Professionalism and unionism in the teaching service: The Development of Teachers' Organisations in Uganda. *UTAFITI*, Vol 2 (1): 45-56.

Torres, CA, Cho, S, Kachur, J, Loyo, A, Mollis, M, Nagao, A & Thompson, J (2000) *Political Capital, Teachers' Unions and the State: Value conflicts and collaborative strategies in educational reform in the United States, Canada, Japan, Korea, Mexico and Argentina*. Torres, CA, Director, Latin American Center, University of California, Los Angeles. 18 June 2003 <<http://www.isop.ucla.edu/lac/cat/fpriart.htm>

Vally, S & Tleane, C (2001) The Rationalisation of Teachers and the quest for social justice in education in the age of fiscal austerity. In: Motala, E & Pampallis, J *Education and Equity: The impact of State policies on South African Education* Sandown: Heinemann

Welmond, M. (1999) *Teacher Identity in Africa: The Case of the Republic of Benin*. Unpublished PhD dissertation. Stanford University: USA.