

ANTUSA

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Contents

Editorial Comment	3
Historical Background of ANTUSA	4
Women’s Participation in Teacher Trade Unionism	11
Professionalising Teaching in the SADC Region through the establishment of Teaching Profession Councils	15
Union Survival in The 21 st Century: A Case Study Of Botswana	19
Trade Union Challenges and Responses	20

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ANTUSA Executive Committee Leaders



ANTUSA Affiliates, Secretary Generals



Editorial Comment

The **ANTUSA Educator** magazine is an initiative by ANTUSA affiliates in order to take ANTUSA beyond games. Pursuant of section 15.3.5 of ANTUSA Constitution an ANTUSA research unit workshop was held in Zimbabwe on 6 December 2017 which laid the modalities of co-ordination of affiliates research units, conducting research and publishing findings. There was a general consensus that the greatest way teachers could enhance cross pollination of ideas in the region among teachers and influence regional policies was through research and publication. Indeed it is out of this realisation that the pen (publication) is mightier than the sword that this first volume of the **ANTUSA Educator** has been published. It also resonate with 2018 ANTUSA theme, viz, **Laying the ground for ANTUSA beyond games**.



The objectives of the magazine are to:

- Carry **ANTUSA** beyond games through research and publication
- Broaden horizon and enrich skills of affiliates through research
- Encourage professional freedom through publication
- Provide leadership and managerial skills
- Protect our turf by setting up standards
- Reclaim status of educators in Southern Africa through researched publications
- Enhance capacity of unions through research
- Raise members' awareness on cutting-edge issues affecting education in the 21st century
- Guide policy formulation and setting of bench-marks that can enhance quality education in Southern Africa

This edition provide a historical background of ANTUSA; explores the state of collective bargaining in Southern Africa; unravels women participation in teacher trade unionism; unpacks the quandary facing Teaching Professional Councils in the region; and using Botswana as a case study examines Union Survival methods in the fast moving world of the 21st century, more so in light of the threat posed by capital and rogue states to any form of organised labour. These are crucial issues which trade unionists worthy their salt cannot ignore. The research unit team will continue to solicit for topical issues that need to be researched on and call for submission of researched papers from members. In future all submitted papers will be peer reviewed and edited by a group of peers and editors submitted by ANTUSA affiliate unions.

As such, the **ANTUSA Educator** also provides some form of training in research. It is our long term plan to produce an ANTUSA Professional Journal, and also publish textbooks that would be used in schools in Southern Africa. By and large, research and publication by teachers would broaden their horizon, sharpen their skills and acumen, and enhance the quality of education, let alone development of the region. It is our fervent hope that members will find the **ANTUSA Educator**, professionally valuable, intellectually stimulating, and educationally worthwhile.

Dr Takavafira M. Zhou

Chief Editor

Ptuz President

Historical Background of ANTUSA

Genesis

As much as article 4 of the 1997 SADC Protocol on education acknowledged the autonomy of every SADC country, it encouraged corporation and mutual assistance in education and training as well as formulation of coherent, comparable, harmonised and eventually standardised policies with regard to issues affecting education and training. In 2000 African countries signed the Dakar Declaration on Education for All. The increasingly common challenges confronting teachers and education in the SADC region were noted by teachers. The need for like-minded Teacher Unions to co-operate and work intimately together became imperative.

It was out of the realisation of the regional and continental integration, good neighbourliness and the effects of globalization on Education and Teaching, that teachers in Southern Africa were prodded into action early in the 21st century. The period 2002-2006 witnessed cross-cutting visits and cross pollination of ideas by teacher union leaders in the region. There was general consensus that apart from national struggles and lobbying, issues of professional status, empowerment and freedom of teachers, let alone quality public education, could be achieved from a broad regional co-operation of the teachers of Southern Africa.

Formation

A major step towards regional co-operation was achieved through the **Kabwe Declaration** when the leadership of the then Botswana Secondary School Teachers Union, now Botswana Sectors of Educators Trade Union (BOSETU), Basic Education Teachers Union of Zambia (BETUZ), Lesotho Teachers Trade Union (LTTU), Professional Educators' Union (PEU) of South Africa, Progressive Teachers' Union of Zimbabwe (PTUZ) and Teachers Union of Namibia (TUN), signed a **Memorandum of Understanding** at the BETUZ Annual Conference held at Kabwe, Zambia, on 29 December 2007.

Prominent among the leaders were the then President of PEU, Jacob Koti Dikobo, PEU General Secretary, Constance Mbowane and PEU chairperson for finance, Gladys Silephe; the then President and General Secretary of BETUZ, Victor Mwanza and Cosmas Mukhuka, respectively; President and Secretary General of Ptuz, Dr Takavafira Masarira Zhou and Raymond Majongwe, respectively; the then President, Vice President and National Organising Secretary of BOSETU, Eri Dithau, Baraedi Royal Lekabe and Tobokani Rari, respectively; the Secretary General and the then national member of TUN Mahongora Kavihuha and Jackson U Kazetjikuria, respectively, and the late LTTU President, Teboho Tsukulu and Secretary General, Vuyani Tyhali.

Non-Alignment principle and implications

At the Kabwe **Conference** there was general consensus to transform the **MOU** into a Regional Association of Trade Unions, viz, Association of Non-Aligned Teacher Unions of Southern Africa (**ANTUSA**). The principle of non-alignment was informed by the view that capital and labour are strange bad fellows and therefore unions couldn't/cannot be found romancing with government as an employer.

At any rate the ultimate result of romance is pregnancy. It follows therefore that ANTUSA affiliates are not (and will not be) appendages of any political party in their respective countries. However, affiliates may play a crucial role in removing a rogue regime in their respective countries after which they should maintain their fair labour practice watch dog role. In the ensuing elections at Kabwe PEU got the presidency of ANTUSA, BETUZ the vice presidency, BOSETU the secretariat, TUN the vice secretariat, and PTUZ the treasury.

Scope of Agreement

From the infancy ANTUSA affiliates agreed to work together in the following areas:

- a) Organising where possible, joint leadership workshops and capacity building programmes.
- b) Sporting and Cultural activities
- c) Attending each other's Conferences/Congresses and other activities
- d) Sharing information on a regular basis
- e) Offering solidarity and support to sister unions facing internal and/or external challenges
- f) Any other activity agreed upon by the parties

Successes

ANTUSA affiliates have managed to:

- a) Attend each other's Conferences/Congresses
- b) Attend each other's workshops
- c) Cultivate the cross pollination of ideas in the region
- d) Offer solidarity and support to sister unions on national, regional and global fronts. Cases in point include the condemnation of ill-treatment of teachers in Zimbabwe and Lesotho; condemnation of Botswana's declaration of teaching as essential service, lobbying for PEU's membership acceptance by Education International (EI) by ANTUSA affiliates etc.
- e) Drafting, perfecting and signing of ANTUSA Constitution in order to ensure interoperability of ANTUSA activities
- f) Broadening of ANTUSA membership with the joining of the Union of Private Secondary Education Employees (UPSEE) of Mauritius.
- g) Leadership renewal and ANTUSA continuity: As much as new leaders have taken over in ANTUSA affiliates, such as the current PEU President and ANTUSA President, Molese Kutumela, PEU GS, Ben Machipi; previous BOSETU Presidents, Shandukani Hlabano and Kwenasebele Modukanele, and current President, Winston Radikolo; current TUN President, Toini Nauyoma; current BETUZ GS, Jeffrey Simutala and new leadership in LTTU, the direction and path have remained the same.

The greatest ANTUSA feat has been conducting annual Sporting and Cultural activities:

- The first ANTUSA games and cultural activities were hosted by **BOSETU** in Francis Town, Botswana in 2008.
- **PEU** hosted the ANTUSA Sports, Education and Cultural festival in Polokwane, South Africa in 2009.
- **PTUZ** hosted the ANTUSA festival in Harare, Zimbabwe in 2010.
- **BETUZ** hosted ANTUSA sporting and cultural activities in Lusaka, Zambia in 2011.
- **TUN** hosted the Sports, Educational and Cultural festival in Windhoek, Namibia in 2012.
- **BOSETU** were hosts again in 2013.
- 2014 saw **LTTU** coming of age and hosting ANTUSA festival in Maseru, Lesotho.
- **PEU** took the ANTUSA festival to Durban, South Africa in 2015.
- **PTUZ** took ANTUSA festival to the tourist resort town of Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe in 2016.
- **BETUZ** was equal to the task hosting the ANTUSA festival in the tourist resort town of Livingstone, Zambia in 2017.
- **TUN** is keeping the graph high by taking the ANTUSA Sporting, Educational and Cultural festival to Swakopmund, Namibia in 2018.

Challenges

Indeed in spite of the successes noted above there are some nagging challenges.

- Leaders and members of ANTUSA affiliates at times do not share the same broad framework of reference of regional teacher trade unions association.
- Registration of ANTUSA Constitution in the Secretariat hosting country (Botswana) has not yet been done
- Formal approach of SADC offices or secretariat by the ANTUSA family has not been done.
- Formal notification of the existence of ANTUSA family has not been done to EI Africa and EI
- Participation in regional, continental and global EI events has been low as ANTUSA affiliates are barricaded by conservative teacher unions.
- ANTUSA family has not embarked on rigorous resource mobilisation in order to do several undertakings agreed to
- Publicity of ANTUSA activities has not been rigorous

Way Forward

Now that the foundations of ANTUSA are solid and UPSEE from Mauritius has also joined the grouping, it is imperative to steer the regional grouping beyond games and cultural activities by:

- Operationalising the ANTUSA Constitution
- Enhancing the functionality of ANTUSA Committees, viz, Finance, Research and Publication, Gender, Information and Publicity, Sports and Cultural, Education and Policy etc.
- Becoming a power house in research and publication in magazines and referred journals
- Embarking on exchange programmes be it of teachers, office personnel, administrators so that we benefit from cross pollination of ideas.
- Engaging SADC Secretariat on status of teachers, education and training
- Lobbying for an integrated regional curriculum and training more so taking into cognisance the artificial borders of our region and regional interdependence and movement of people in search of employment opportunities.
- Broadening ANTUSA horizon and expertise by recruiting other teacher unions into our grouping
- Taking a stand as ANTUSA on regional, continental and global EI activities
- Offering amplified solidarity and support to colleagues facing internal and/or external challenges

ANTUSA has become an educational force to reckon with in the region. Its permanence is guaranteed. Those who wish us away are in for a rude awakening. Indeed it takes the silence of many teachers for evil to triumph in the education system. ANTUSA will not be silenced. It will remain vigilant and resilient, exuding courage and determination to fight fearlessly for the interests of teachers and the children and young people in our care. Collectively we will continue to remind the governments in the region that they remain the biggest threats to the development of the region by failing to usher in a credible integrative education system and training, and underpaying teachers. While under the banner of ANTUSA teachers are dedicated to serve their respective nations and region, they would make it categorically clear that they are not slaves but workers who deserve better treatment in order to play their crucial roles as engines of national and regional development. ANTUSA will not stand silent as the teaching profession is targeted for vandalism by any government in the region. The region can be taken forward by those who understand the aspirations of young people, and those who speak the language of teachers and common people.
The State of Collective Bargaining in Southern Africa

Conceptual Framework

Collective Bargaining is a process of negotiation between workers (represented by their trade unions) and employers for the improvement of wages and conditions of service. It is a two way process characterised by conflict of interest between employers who aim to make profit and workers who clamour for fair labour practice. The dynamics of collective bargaining is demand and concession; its main objective above all being agreement. Unlike consultation, Collective Bargaining assumes willingness on each side not only to listen and consider the representation of the one part, but to also do away with the fixed position the other party may have had in order to reach a one common agreement.

International Best Practice

The International Labour Organization (ILO) describes Collective Bargaining as all negotiations which take place between an employer, a group of employers or one or more employers' organisations, on the one hand, and one or more workers' organisations, on the other. The main objectives of Collective Bargaining are to determine working conditions and terms of employment, regulate relations between employers and workers, and regulate relations between employers and workers' organizations. ILO's Right to Organize and Collective Bargaining Convention (No. 98) of 1949 is the oldest instrument with the latest being the Promotion of Collective Bargaining Convention (No. 154) of 1981. These instruments provide internationally shared views and principles on Collective Bargaining. The ILO's Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize Convention of 1948 (No.87) protects Collective Bargaining through the creation of international labour standards that discourage countries from violating workers' rights to associate and collectively bargain. Item 2 (a) of the ILO's Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at work defines 'freedom of association and the effective recognition of the right to collectively bargain' as an essential right of workers. The general idea is that these instruments should influence national legislation on collective bargaining. In that respect, Collective Bargaining can be viewed as the most desirable method of conflict resolution in any country, promoting work place democracy and protecting employers and workers' interests and rights.

Regional Perspective in ANTUSA affiliate countries

SADC countries have ratified ILO Conventions 87 on freedom of association and 98 on Collective Bargaining. National Constitutions and Labour regulations accede to some form of bargaining though not necessarily in the international best practice. As such, as much as trade unions in SADC have made several strides on pay and working conditions, collective bargaining has remained opaque, lengthy and therefore ineffective, and riddled by governments' acidity, aridity, rigidity, bureaucracy and divisiveness. South Africa, Botswana and Zambia have central and sector Bargaining Councils. Zimbabwe has a collective bargaining council, whereas Namibia has a partisan exclusive bargaining system. Lesotho's system lacks clarity the private sector in Mauritius lacks a clear cut defined framework for collective bargaining. Above all a considerable number of countries in SADC like Zimbabwe, Namibia and Lesotho have not ratified ILO Convention 151 on Collective Bargaining among civil/public servants, and even those that have ratified it like Botswana and Zambia have either not domesticated it fully or violate it at gratis.

South Africa

South Africa epitomise the best regional practice of binding Collective Bargaining in SADC and is constitutionally buttressed. Section 23 (5) of the Constitution states that every trade union, employers' organisation and employer, have the right to engage in collective bargaining. This, and other provisions, have led to the enactment of the Labour Relations Act (LRA) and entrenched the rights of all workers and the collective bargaining process. The LRA gives effect to the freedom to bargain collectively by providing the institutional infrastructure for voluntary collective bargaining at sector level and for the binding nature of collective agreements. It gives effect to the right to use collective economic power in the provisions relating to strikes, lockouts, replacement labour and picketing. It also imposes a positive right and structure to bargain collectively in the public sector. The Public Service Co-ordinating Bargaining Council (PSCBC): covers the entire public service as defined in Section 1 (1) of the Public Service Act, 1994. The PSCBC deals mainly with disputes that affect two or more sectors, and disputes about the interpretation/application of PSCBC Resolutions. If a Sector Bargaining Council has the authority to deal with an issue in dispute; then the PSCBC may not consider that dispute.

The Education Labour Relations Council (ELRC) is a bargaining council that serves the public education sector nationally and provincially. It is there to promote the maintenance of labour peace in the public education sector, through dispute resolution and prevention services as well as through the facilitation of negotiations between trade unions and the state as the Employer. The Parties to Council are the Employer Party and Trade Unions. Representing the State as Employer is the collective made up of the provincial departments of education and coordinated by the Department of Basic Education. Representing Trade Unions are SADTU and CTU-ATU (Combined Trade Union-Autonomous Trade Unions), viz, National Professional Teachers Organisation of South Africa (NAPTOSA), Suid-Afrikaanse Onderwysers unie (SAOU), National Teachers Union (NATU), Professional Educators Union (PEU), Public Servants Association (PSA) and Health and Other Service Personnel Trade Union of Southern Africa (HOSPERSA)

Botswana

From independence in 1966 to 1997 collective bargaining was in the terminal ward because unionisation in the public service was not allowed, and the Salary Review Commissions dealt with the conditions of service and communicated to employees through the Minister of Finance in parliament. The government ratified ILO Convention 87 in 1997 and after campaigns from employees, domesticated ILO Conventions 87 and 98 in 2007. This government incorporation of ILO Conventions gave birth to trade unions in Botswana. With further pressure from unions, the government domesticated ILO Convention 151. Sections 32 and 34 of Trade Dispute Act granted trade unions some organizational rights for purpose of bargaining at workplace. It was, however, the enactment of the 2008 Public Service Act (PSA) which inaugurated Collective Bargaining in the public sector.

PSA established a Bargaining Council for the public service known as the Public Service Bargaining Council (PSBC) with express functions to:

- Negotiate, conclude and enforce collective bargaining agreements between the employer and recognised public service trade unions.
- Prevent and resolve labour disputes.

Yet sound as this may appear, capital and labour have continued as strange bed fellows, more so with strained relations after the historic public sector strike over salary increment differences. By 2016, it was evident that the government had managed to divide the judiciary, to an extent that the state President fought legal battles with High Court judges who were seen as independent. This was interpreted in many quarters as an attempt to tame the 'wayward'. The continuous state mutilation of the bargaining rights and the promotion of yellow unions to destabilize the whole process led to the BOFEPUSU family of trade unions, which was the only admitted union party to the PSBC, to quit the Council in protest. The state has also devised a strategy of awarding the salary increment to a section of the public service, thereby causing divisions. This led to the collapse and death of the Bargaining Council. Thus, Botswana has no Bargaining Council at the moment, but each recognised trade union engages the employer through its own recognition agreement.

Due to this unfortunate state of affairs, the Botswana government was reported to the ILO by the trade unions for violating the workers' rights. The 106th ILO Committee found some discrepancies and made some recommendations that the government did not adhere to and fix trade relations in the country. Arguably, government's violation of nascent labour rights has been dubbed 'the murdering of an infant.'

Namibia

Namibia follows an Exclusive Bargaining approach outlined in the Namibian Labour Commission's Labour Act 11 of 2007. This retrogressive legislation stipulates that a registered trade union that represents the majority of the employees in an appropriate bargaining unit is entitled to recognition as the exclusive bargaining agent of the employees in that bargaining unit for the purpose of negotiating a collective agreement on any matter of mutual interest. Above all, an employer or employers' organisation must not recognise a trade union as an exclusive bargaining agent in terms of this Act unless the trade union is registered in terms of this Act and represents the majority of the employees in the bargaining unit, or an arbitrator, in terms of subsection (9), declares the trade union to be so recognised. In principle therefore it entails that only partisan unions such as Namibia National Teachers' Union (NANTU) can be given exclusive bargaining rights at the expense of non aligned organisations like Teachers Union of Namibia (TUN).

As per the Public Service Act of Namibia, NANTU and NAPWU are recognised as the exclusive bargaining agents for teachers and public servants, respectively. However, this does not prevent public servants from joining any other union if they so wish. The recognition agreement for NANTU or NAPWU remains in force for an unlimited time, unless;

- It is cancelled by mutual agreement between the parties.
- It is replaced by a new agreement mutually agreed to by the parties.
- The percentage of employees represented by the Union falls below 50% plus 1 for a continuous period of 6 months in any calendar year.
- An order is issued by the Labour Court in terms of which the recognition of the Union as the exclusive bargaining agent is withdrawn.

A union that has been recognised as an exclusive bargaining agent may negotiate the following on behalf of workers, whether one is a member of that union or not; basic pay, service benefits such as housing, leave, medical aid and pension, and retrenchment procedures. Collective bargaining is therefore fraught with irregularities and violations of international best practices in Namibia.

Zimbabwe

Although the Zimbabwean government has ratified ILO Conventions 87 and 98 Collective Bargaining is in intensive care. Above all Zimbabwe has not ratified ILO Convention 151. Collective bargaining within the public service in Zimbabwe has been derisively referred to as collective begging. There is no clear cut procedure on collective bargaining between civil servants and the employer represented by the Civil Service Commission. The Labour Act Chapter 28: 01 which is at the centre of industrial relations (and guides collective bargaining in the private sector) does not adequately cover the public service as it even prohibits civil servants from initiating any form of labour redress as outlined in the Labour Act Chapter 28:014 Section 104 (3) (a) (i). Section 201(1) of the Public Service Act, Chapter 16:04 of 1995 states that the Civil Service Commission shall be engaged in regular consultations and not collective bargaining with the Apex Council, a body of recognized associations and unions representing civil servants. As for salary negotiations, an obsolete, archaic and rusty Statutory Instrument 141 of 1997 provides for the creation of the National Joint Negotiation Council (NJNC) an arm responsible for salary negotiations. The NJNC comprises nine representatives from the PSC and another nine from the Apex Council. In terms of Section 3 (2) (b) of the Public Service Act, the Apex Council must appoint nine members to represent Service Act and gives the treasury, through the Minister responsible for finance, the powers to veto any decisions made in the NJNC. Therefore, the decisions arrived at in the NJNC are not collectively binding.

Currently, collective bargaining in the Public Service is non-existent or always poised to fail. The legislation governing negotiations between public sector workers and their employer, the Public Service Commission only serves to window dress the spirit of collective bargaining. It does not provide for shop floor bipartite and tripartite engagement. There is an asymmetrical distribution of power between the employer and employees, with all power concentrated in the employer. These offensive provisions make collective bargaining impossible in the public sector. Civil servants' calls for government to increase salaries as enunciated by the Apex Council have yielded very little. The Apex Council has become a tissue of misrepresentation, if not a moribund arm in which civil servants' representatives engage in collective begging instead of binding collective bargaining. The 2013 Constitution which under section 65(5)(a) grants collective bargaining takes this away for civil servants under sections 199-2003 and provides for mere consultation with the Civil Service Commission (formerly Public Service Commission). Worse still the new government established after the November 2017 coup, has put civil servants under the Office of President and Cabinet thereby creating a legal lacuna even over collective begging.

Conclusion

By and large collective bargaining is fraught with irregularities in SADC region with government as employers of public servants in many cases suffocating the progress and life of Bargaining Councils or suppressing the establishment of credible bargaining councils and deliberately dividing workers. It is however imperative to establish robust and credible Bargaining Councils to engage in tripartite (government, industry and labour), bipartite central and sectoral bargaining. As much as governments specialise in dividing workers, it is imperative for teacher unions in SADC to foster unity for the benefit of members. When conducted in good spirit collective bargaining is a process of social dialogue that benefits both the employer and employees through conflict resolution, industrial harmony, and increased productivity.

Women's Participation in Teacher Trade Unionism

Introduction

The participation of women at the upper echelons of trade union leadership, leaves much to be desired. While unions have taken proactive steps to promote diversity in leadership, there is still a gap. In most unions they serve as treasurers just because they are perceived as honest and therefore unlikely to embezzle funds. The prevailing pattern of gender segregation means that women often do not develop the skills and capacity in the workplace that they can take forward with confidence into trade unionism. Currently, women participation and holding key positions happen by default which makes it imperative for gender specialists to find a way to ensure this happens by design. In accordance with the recommendations of the ILO Declaration of Philadelphia, 1944, which states that "all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material and well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity."

ANTUSA gender paradigm

ANTUSA recognises the need for equal and full participation of men and women in trade union activities. Most ANTUSA affiliates are committed to facilitate gender balance in their operations with recent past examples of women occupying positions of influence such as President (PEU), Vice President (BOSETU), General Secretary (PEU), Deputy General Secretary (BETUZ). Currently both TUN and LTTU have female Presidents, while PTUZ has a female Vice President and 50/50 gender representation in Management committee. LTTU General Secretary is also a woman. ANTUSA is committed to the attainment of EI vision of gender equality and with the recent acceptance of PEU in EI ANTUSA looks forward at enhancing women participation in the Southern African Women in Education Network (SAWEN). To this end, ANTUSA leadership has constitutionally provided for the creation of a gender committee to spearhead the crafting of gender policy and ensure the commitment of national union leaders and union members to gender equality.

Women's role in Trade Unions

In order for women to enhance the trade union struggle in general and that of women in particular, they must join trade unions in their thousands. The issues that women seek to struggle for through trade unions include:

- Better wages and other conditions
- Protection from discrimination and victimisation
- Gaining knowledge about their rights
- Demanding provision for maternity conditions
- Demanding better health and safety conditions
- Demanding equal opportunities in all respects
- Elimination of sexual harassment etc.

Challenges

Women in trade unions experienced their own set of challenges. These challenges are man-made, attitude based, gendered reasoning, societal, stereotyping and above all patriarchal based. These challenges are manifold and can be addressed much as the world is changing, they also change, just like technology. The following are some of the factors influencing challenges and obstacles faced by women in trade unionism.

- Gender division of labour at home (the burden of work at home and at offices).
- Stereotypes of gender roles (women are tea makers, secretary etc.)
- Male dominated culture of trade unions (men are leaders and decision makers).
- Gender division of work in unions and workplaces (glass ceilings and glass escalator).
- Male resistance in the unions and at home (where are you going, who is going to prepare dinner, those positions are for men not for women).
- Internalized Oppression (apparently women tend to elect men into leadership positions, but not other women because of the PHD (PULL HER DOWN) syndrome).

NB : Non-recognition of women as equals in trade unions leads to women being violated against. Violence against women is violation of human rights , labour rights and discrimination with an intention to hurt because the woman will ultimately lose self-confidence, experience psychological trauma ,be absent from work, , being fired and may even commit suicide.

All these challenges emanate from historical backgrounds. Trade unions are at times perceived as patriarchal society with unequal power relations between men and women. Women are underrepresented in leadership positions in union's leadership. The most influential or highest positions are almost invariably filled by men, while the majority of women can be found in administrative positions. However, progress has undoubtedly been made in recent years to address challenges faced by women in trade unionism, but labour market statistics suggested that there is still a long way to go to achieve equality between women and men

Addressing the Marginalisation challenge

Trade unions have the enormous potential in terms of women empowerment. They are the powerful tools, where women can gather and share their experience from the workplaces. In the neoliberal economy the trade unions are perceived more as an obstacle to economic growth. Nowadays the unions' activists are susceptible to violence because of their activism for workers' rights, but the struggle has been carried out for decades and women have been an integral element of it.

Despite the male domination in some leadership positions, women are able to reclaim their space in trade unions. There is a common goal of both male and female workers that is 'respect of workers' rights'. Based on this common value trade unions have to represent the interests of all workers, and women are part of the working class. The fact that for ages, the work of women at home was not valued does not mean that their economic work should not be valued. The collective actions are one of the solutions that may challenge the oppressive system. Trade unions offer space, tools and resources for those actions. The time of trade unions is not over. In the globalized, urban world, communication is easier. This provides a great opportunity for building strong networks of resistance as well as to exchange knowledge, experiences and expertise. It is within this setting that women may finally achieve their demand and right for equal treatment, respect and opportunity.

To create opportunities for women in trade unionism a paradigm shift is required; aggressive measures to attain this are needed which demand soft hearts and tough minds of leaders and women themselves. One of the most critical areas which need too much exposure and advocacy is understanding of gender and defining the concept of gender as well as comprehending gender roles from past , present and future. Indeed, gender roles are dynamic and change with time.

Trade unions need to create opportunities for women in trade unionism through the aggressive campaign of gender equality, fighting the imbalance of power relations in leadership and understanding the gender needs. Each union needs to have gender policies, gender/women desks, gender campaigns and gender mainstreaming to create opportunities for both male and female in trade union movements.

How to Facilitate the Empowerment of Women in Trade Union Movement

- Trade unions of Southern Africa need to remodel their organisations by using a gender lens and start empowering its women as human capital to bring change and deal with issues of power relations and gender parity
- Union leadership should be reflective of the gender demographics approaches to it
- Trade unions must take care of individuals
- Southern African trade unions must have various intervention plans to build on humanistic approach
- Gender issues, health and wellness must be given a slot in every agenda of the trade union
- Issues of gender representatively and women and youth wings must be constituted items
- Each union must have a gender coordinator, gender champion being a man/woman committee in all union structures
- There should be a strong focus on gender-based-violence and harassment in trade unions
- There should be provisions to prevent gender-based violence.
- There should be measures to address the impact of gender-based violence in trade unions
- There should be specific provisions for appropriate and sensitive treatment of complaints of violence and harassment, including the protection of the victims from reprisals or penalties

Steps towards creating Opportunities for Women in Trade Unionism

Opportunities for women in trade union movements can be enhanced through women empowerment programmes and activities promoting gender equality in union structures, building women leaderships at all levels and including women in decision making bodies as well as developing and promoting women leadership positions through the use of quotas.

However change is not easy and therefore some form of resistance will be expected. Gender is about power relation, and that attracts energies that may be negative if not well managed or positive if well managed. Stereotypes also delay the need for change. For change to happen there is need for transition and for that:

- People will experience shock
- Sign of denial evident
- Signs of incompetency and frustration
- People have to accept and let go= give away power
- Test for effect of change
- Search for meaning
- Integration and experience new behaviour contrary to the 1st one must ensue.

It is imperative to understand that change is a collective effort that can only be possible if people dedicate themselves to it. Southern African trade union movement need to apply some of the following steps by engaging and creating enabling environment for women in trade unionism.

- Increase Urgency – reduces complacency, fear and anger that delays change
- Build teams, pull together the right people to the group that will drive the change
- Get the vision right that will direct the effort
- Communicate the vision for a 'BUY – IN ', that would create a clear heart-felt messages about direction of the change
- Empower Action by removing barriers that would disturb the vision and strategies
- Create short-term wins by keeping pace on creating visible and valued wins
- Never letting UP but making it Stick. Assisting people to register progress in driving the vision. Dealing with any sign of slugging urgency (fear)

Conclusion

All in all, although women under ANTUSA affiliates have made some marked strides in trade union participation, more needs to done in terms of women inclusion and recognition in trade union organizations and structures. As much as there is need for a paradigm shift in both men and women, there is no doubt that women must move with their men from the bedroom to the boardroom where decisions are made. Working women of Southern Africa must seize every opportunity and make it great. At any rate, women have strength in their numbers and this can only be realised when they support each other rather than exude the acidic PhD syndrome. Teacher unions must also move from words to actions in order to achieve gender equality, equity and social justice. The growth of teacher trade unions in Southern Africa in particular, and continentally and globally in general, can only be guaranteed in the 21st century with full participation of women in decision making and activities of unions.

Professionalising Teaching in the SADC Region through the establishment of Teaching Profession Councils

The Teaching Profession Council (TPC) Scrutinised

Introduction

In the interest to professionalise the teaching service, many countries have moved towards the adoption of the Teaching Profession Councils (TPCs). A considerable number of countries in SADC region such as Botswana, Malawi, Mauritius, Namibia, Swaziland and Zimbabwe do not have Teaching Profession Councils. Examples of the countries that have functional and semi functional TPCs include South Africa, Zambia and Lesotho. The establishment of the TPCs is informed by the fact that the teaching, like any other profession, requires specialised training in methodology, instruction, management and ethics. As such, it will be the mandate of the TPC to raise the status of teaching/ teachers through various ways bent on defending the teaching profession against the influence and abuse by the governments.

TPC defined

A TPC can be defined basically as an independent, statutory body which exercises its powers and performs the functions which will see teachers achieve a high degree of professional autonomy and self-regulation while enhancing the status and morale of the teaching profession and the quality of education to be received in schools. The establishment of such a professional body will help in promoting teaching as a profession and raising the profile of teaching in local community, country and the region.

Why TPC?

The general view shared by many authorities in the teaching fraternity is that it is now high time that teaching should claim an unambiguous recognition as a profession. Teaching has come to be viewed as a professional activity, teachers as professional people and teacher education as a form of continuing professional development through initial education, induction and in-service training. This view of a 'profession' presents a teacher as a skilled practitioner in the science and art of teaching to accomplish teaching's goals; as problem-solving and decision clinician, as a curriculum maker, researcher, evaluator and reflective practitioner and as 'significant other person' who exercises considerable moral influence that reaches afar. Therefore, the TPC offers the following benefits to both the teachers and the teaching fraternity:

Snap Survey of TPC Benefits

- It gives a stronger and bigger voice for teachers in key educational issues, free of the sectorial sniping.
- It provides an independent and influential voice for teachers and makes it clear to the wider public that teachers are professionals with a great deal of skills and expertise. In other words, it enhances the public image and status of the profession and promotes teaching as a career.
- It provides important and influential forum for presenting the views of the profession on all aspects of the teaching career from initial recruitment to in-career training.
- It enhances the teacher's individual status and identity by becoming part and parcel of a professional and statutory body that looks into educational issues.
- It promotes research and engagement in professional debates and policy discussions on wider issues related to provision of education in the country. It even sponsors the researches in areas of teacher concern.
- It offers advice on teacher supply and demand and on pupil-teacher ratios and engages with appropriate international agencies on behalf of the teaching force.
- It protects the standards of entry to the career, promote better induction processes with the assistance of teacher colleges or institutions and foster best practice in the on-going and unending professional development.

Functions/ Roles of TPC

The TPC, in any given situation, performs the following major functions and it is the mandate of the TPC to perform these roles in an independent and free environment, free from the influence of the government or the politicians:

- Teacher registration and deregistration through determining the qualifications, training and fitness to teach. Registration by the TPC is the pre-requisite for employment as a qualified teacher and the Council should keep register of the teachers in the country.
- Certification and accreditation of colleges of education.
- Developing of the Code of Ethics and the Professional Conduct for the teachers, and the development of the subsequent legal documents that guide operations.
- Approval and disapproval of teacher education programs.
- Carrying out of disciplinary authority in areas of professional misconduct and professional incompetence (this is so because these are critical indicators of professional self-regulation).
- Promoting teaching as a profession through research and publications that deal with educational issues.
- Acting as the sole authority for recognition of regional qualifications.
- Establishing procedures and criteria for the probation, induction and full recognition of new entrants to the teaching profession.
- Playing an advisory role to the line ministry on educational issues, including teacher supply, demand and working conditions based on statistics and research findings.
- Establishing and promoting professional development of teachers.

The Relationship between Teacher Representative Unions and the TPC

It is not true that the establishment of the TPC will signal the end of teacher unions or render them useless. In actual fact, the teacher unions will be needed more than before the establishment of the TPC. Although the two have a common denominator and play complementary roles in some issues, the following differences in roles or duties have to be noted:

- The TPC is responsible for and concerned with the qualitative and professional matters within its jurisdiction whilst negotiations on conditions of service, salaries and pensions will continue to be the major concern of the teacher unions. Therefore, teacher unions will be primarily concerned with the protection of the economic-labour interests of their members.
- Teacher unions will continue to have the prerogative to represent their members in all areas, especially on those issues to do with discipline.
- The work of the TPC compliments the on-going efforts by teacher unions in promoting the professional interests of their members.

Composition of the TPC

The TPC should be composed of the majority of registered teachers since the teaching profession will have a major say in the Council. Other parties with legitimate interest in the affairs and operations of the TPC should also be represented. These include the teachers' representative unions, educational institutions involved in teacher education at both primary and post-primary levels, parents and the minister responsible for education. The selection of representatives should be balanced, free and fair. However, it should be categorically clear that the minister responsible for education should not override the Council's decisions or influence both how it should operate or its composition. The overall membership of the Council should ensure viability, efficiency, effectiveness and expeditious conduct of business. The composition should also be gender sensitive in order to cater for the interest of both the males and females.

Teaching Professions Council in Zimbabwe

Following the recommendations made in 1999 by the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training that there should be established a Teaching Professions Council, the government of Zimbabwe attempted to establish a defective TPC whose operations were mostly influenced by the Minister. The government tried to fast track the establishment of this TPC by influencing other teacher organisations and stakeholders into signing on the document which was meant to operationalize the TPC. However, PTUZ refused to append a signature on the document citing the irregularities and defections of the government spearheaded TPC. This stalled the whole process and there is still no TPC in Zimbabwe. In December 2017, the PTUZ went ahead to advise the newly appointed Minister of Primary and Secondary Education, Prof, P. Mavima, that the TPC be suspended until there is agreement on a working framework for the Council.

It has to be noted, however, that all teacher representative organisations and stakeholders are in agreement that there is need for a TPC in Zimbabwe to look into issues regarding the teaching profession in Zimbabwe. The only problem is on how this TPC is supposed to operate and its composition. The current proposal does not guarantee independence, autonomy and self-regulation and makes the TPC an appendage of line ministry with the Minister having excess powers in the appointment and selection process of chair and councillors.

Teaching Council of Zambia (TCZ)

The Teaching Council of Zambia is a statutory body established in accordance with the Teaching Profession Act no. 5 of 2013. Following the enactment of this act, a 14 member Council was appointed and inaugurated on 27th June 2014. The three teacher unions represented on the Council are Basic Education Teachers Union of Zambia (BETUZ), Secondary Schools Teachers Union of Zambia (SESTUZ) and the Zambia National Union of Teachers (ZNUT) where the first ever council chairperson Mr Christopher Yalukanda came from. In December 2014, the Secretariat was appointed by seconding some ministry of education staff to operationalise the Council Secretariat and it started its operations on 9th February, 2015. The teaching Council of Zambia in its quest to fulfil its mandate has so far finished teacher registration and it's currently beginning the issuance of practicing licenses for all registered teachers in Zambia. A lot of work is being done and the teaching fraternity in Zambia is hopeful that the teaching Council of Zambia will help in improving the status of teachers in Zambia.

Teaching Professional Council in Botswana

The teaching professional council in Botswana is not yet operationalized due to the delayed legal process which have not been finalised. Botswana Teaching Professional Council Bill is therefore a step in the right direction which will lead to the establishment of a long awaited Regulatory Authority for Teachers. In 1994 RNPE government paper approved by the National Assembly on Educational Reforms, popularly known as The Kedikilwe report, recommended the establishment of a professional body for teachers. To date such a professional body has not yet been established.

Given the current state of affairs prevailing in some of schools Botswana, ethical conduct of some of our teachers, inadequate quality assurance in educational administration and declining headship standards in some schools, there is need for a regulatory legal framework that would enhance adherence to educational standards and professionalism. Once the council is established, all teachers covered by the Act will be compelled to make applications and register with the council. No teacher shall be permitted to teach or be employed unless they have been registered. The council will register and issue either a provisional or full certificate of registration depending on whether the teacher satisfies the requirements or not. A teacher who is registered provisionally can be struck off the roll if she/he does not satisfy the requirements within a specified period.

South African Council for Educators (Teaching Council)

South African Council for educators is the oldest professional body for teachers in the SADC region and it was launched in 1995 and officially recognised by the ministry of education in 1997. SACE was established with a very clear vision of promoting professionalism amongst all educators in South Africa by ensuring that services are easily accessible, continuously empowering through development, commitment to the profession and adherence to the ethos of education as enshrined in the South African Constitution. SACE Council is made up of 30 members as follows:

- 18 members from the organised teaching profession (all the national unions – SADTU, NATU, NAPTOSA, PEU, SAOU)
- 1 member from independent schools
- 5 members representing the Ministry of Basic Education
- 2 members from the national governing bodies associations (Federation of School Association of South Africa - FEDSAS and National Association of School Governing Bodies - NASGB).

Conclusion

All in all, the teaching professional bodies are very critical for the growth of the teaching profession in the SADC region and it's therefore important that clear guidelines for the establishment and operations of such institutions must be followed and adhered to. The professional bodies must operate as independent as possible for them to foster professionalism and meticulous ethical standards.

Union Survival in The 21st Century: A Case Study Of Botswana

Introduction

Conventional trade unionism principle is to advance interests of workers and defend any gains made. The adoption of neo liberal policies in the late 20th century led to workers' retrenchment thereby weakening trade union density and dependence on subscriptions. The only way in which capital could be outwitted was to adopt some elements of commercial models to augment union coffers which mostly came from subscriptions. It became imperative from the beginning of the 21st to afford trade union leaders better lodging facilities to improve organisational efficiency, and also match capital entrepreneurs who teamed up with the employer to weaken labour. Previously trade union leaders came to meetings with racked and shabby clothes, impromptu minutes hence the adoption of capital inclined habits. Trade unions also intensified daily operations by hiring permanent employees to help address member's issues. Critical trade union posts, such as Presidency and General Secretariat were also recommended for secondment, based on organisational rights conferred to trade unions. Salaries for activists seconded to trade union offices were pegged to the level of corporate executives to thwart chances of selling members to capital or the State. It was also done for retention purposes. Paying trade union activists respectable salaries translated to improving their standard of living. To an ordinary eye, a better standard of living could probably be confused with corruption and deceitful deals, yet this is tailor-made to make them smarter to improve workers' standard of living.

Current Status of Unions in Botswana

Labour movement in Botswana dates back to time before the country became independent. There are currently over 50 labour unions which can be classified into two broad categories: the public and private sector. Most private sector unions are small and in-house unions which mainly offer traditional services such as collective bargaining and representation. Public labour organisations are largely those in public service, local government and education sectors. These include: Manual Workers Union, Botswana Teachers Union (BTU), Botswana Sectors of Educators Trade Union (BOSETU), Botswana Land Board and Local Government Health Workers Union (BLLAHWU), Trainers and Allied Workers Union (TAWU) and Botswana Public Employees Union (BOPEU). In pursuant of collective labour rights guaranteed by national and global regulations unions in Botswana, except TAWU, teamed up to form Botswana Federation of Public Service Unions (BOFEPUSU). BOPEU disaffiliated from BOFEPUSU in 2015. The tranquillity that for many years characterised Botswana's labour relations greatly changed following the 2011 marathon public strike.

Trade Union Challenges and Responses.

Globalisation

As much as globalization has brought technological revolution, economic liberalization and political change, it has also brought about social and economic injustice on the workers. Liberalisation and privatisation which followed closely the process of globalisation have gradually reduced the role of public sector which was the main source of trade unions.

Privatization has now been adopted as a viable alternative and vehicle for economic growth and development by most countries in the world and the sub-Saharan Africa in particular. The Government of Botswana has adopted the Privatisation Policy of 2000 as part of the strategy to improve the efficiency of the public sector. However, this system also been accompanied by increased insecure types of employment, in particular, casualisation of labour. Casual workers have no clear legal recognition to form or join organisation of their own which can advocate for better working conditions. Therefore, the worst jobs are often forced onto them since they cannot protest against such jobs. Casualisation of employment, part-time work and temporary jobs, has led to decline in trade union membership and influence. This in turn has weakened volume of trade union members, financial strength and bargaining power of trade unions. Trade unions must take the lead in the campaign against casualisation of labour and the restoration of decency and dignity to work in all its forms and categories.

Membership

The overall membership and trade union density has also declined Botswana. Some trade unions continue to lose members to casualisation of labour and multiplicity of Trade Unions. For example there are about five unions in Botswana all representing educators/teachers. The existence of many unions each trying to compete with each other on membership, not only weaken the trade union movement but also cause inter-union rivalry and disunity among the workers. Since the unions offer the same services including loans, many public service employees engage in dual membership in order to access benefits, more especially the loans at low interest rates. This issue also causes members to have no commitment to political unionism, but only gravitate to fringe benefits like Laptops, Cellphones, Merchandise e.t.c.

Government-Trade Unions relations

After the public service strike of 2011, the ruling party used its majority in parliament to amend the Trade Disputes Act (2004) and categorised teaching and veterinary services, among others, as essential services. This is despite the fact that Botswana has ratified International Labour Organisation (ILO) Conventions No. 87 and 98, whose definition of essential services, unions insist, does not apply to these particular professions. Since 2011 Botswana has become one of the countries at risk of violations of trade union rights.

Alliances of Trade Unions and Political Actors

In a democracy, political influence of trade unionism cannot be avoided. Therefore the other type of trade unionism currently prevalent in the 21st century is political trade unionism. Political unionism involves unions allying with a political party aiming at state power, in the belief that this will provide working class access to, and benefits from, state power and policy making. The 2014 South Africa elections saw twelve senior COSATU figures rewarded with senior state appointments. In Africa trade unions opted to ally with political parties for leverage or decided to stand aloof from political parties. Indeed, politics has always had a love-hate relationship. It is noteworthy that ANTUSA constitution stresses the concept of non-alignment. This does not mean that unions may not assist in the demise of a rogue regime, but that once the regime has fallen the unions must revert to their independence rather than becoming an appendage of any political party

Not surprisingly, trade unions in Botswana have begun to lure political parties to effect regime change. Umbrella for Democratic Change, had a solid backing of Botswana largest and influential trade union federation, Botswana Federation of Parastatals, Private and Public Union (**BOFEPUSU**), which has vowed not to vote the ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) for failing to increase public employees' salaries, dishonouring the Public Service Bargaining Council (PSBC) and the Head of State public utterances on their selfish and self-centeredness outlook. It has since emerged that the only way in which opposition can dislodge the BDP from power is through a united opposition

The falling away of Social Movement Trade Unionism

Currently most workers, trade unions and academia have resorted to civil movements, as they have little faith on trade unions to effect change. In South Africa the flamboyant trade union icon cde Zwelinzima Vavi has formed South African Democratic Trade Union Federation, as a front of social movement groupings. There is acute non-existence of trade union types that are geared towards emancipation of the larger society. Pillay (2013) postulates that Marxist trade unions counterpoise a trade union consciousness to a broader working class or socialist consciousness, where the entire class interest dovetails into the unemployed and dependents of workers. It serves a combination of struggles both in spheres of production and social reproduction; that is, work based issues, coupled with community

Ruthless capital prompted most trade unions adopt Economic Trade Unionism or Business Trade Unionism. Economic trade unionism, also known as collective bargaining unionism or business unionism, borders its activities in the workplace and is market focused. The sole interest is the improvement of working conditions of trade union members. Economic unionism is highly institutionalized, but at times militant, because members are looking at their economic gains which mainly are instant benefits. Hostile members are prevalent here; the leadership is always feeling the pressure of the rank and file because they viciously demand better economic rewards. Some trade union pundits solidify the description of trade union economism by alluding that it seeks to avoid a larger issues altogether by focusing on immediate bread-and-butter issues of wages. These trade union types cannot address issues outside work because of self-centeredness approach.

Trade unions run behind commercial deals in an endeavour to uplift their members from economic doldrums. By so doing, the scope of trade union focuses on improving members' economic wellbeing. Consequently, members live with the truth that trade unions exist to provide economic benefits to them. Members are also detached from national issues and feel ashamed, disgusted, and remote to engage on national matters.

Unions tend to operate as commercial entities, rather than member-driven organisations. Often they are financially dependent on income generated by deals on discounted retail goods and services. Sometimes they partner with business entities for racketeering. The motive is to augment union finances in the endeavour to assist members meet their needs. At present, the Botswana Mining Workers Union and Botswana Manual Workers Union have respectively a Thrift and Loan Scheme for its members and reached agreements on certain conditions with money lenders for their members to borrow when under financial constraints.

A number of trade unions globally have micro-lending schemes. In the long run proceeds accrued from the business wing could sponsor members during trade union activities, such as conferences and members' bursaries. The establishment of trade union Trust Fund is one great development which could see members benefiting from dividends accrued from business entities. It would be a bigoted move for trade unions to masquerade as workers vanguard, while in reality they are pilfering members' funds. Corporate enterprises perceive trade unions as better business cronies because of swelling membership. Companies like insurance, financial institutions, automobile sales, electronics, legal services and consultancies heavily rely on massive capital from trade unions. During negotiations the assumption is that trade union negotiators obtain kickbacks as rewards to lure members into committing long term deals. Trade union leaders could as well be enticed with high paying jobs in these companies to further nail members into the deals. Equally, members could also fabricate stories of corruption, normally fronting as state agents to make trade unions lose focus.

Regrettably, these business engagements are sometimes done to the detrimental of ordinary members, paying through their nostrils, as services are normally exorbitant. Trade unions have also set up business wings in an endeavour to help members obtain services at subsidized prices, or affording them easier payment models. Initially business wings were meant to afford members secure services cheaply and cushion them against economic hardships brought about by ruthless markets that have since sapped the purchasing power. Eventually, trade unions enterprises escalate service prices, almost at par with market prices having a common denominator of profiteering at the expense of the consumer. In some instances States are uncomfortable with trade unions getting into business, as labour movements could withdraw their members from the services in the market, or weaken some business enterprises.

This business engagement normally makes trade union leadership blindly concentrate on maximising profits for their entities, and put less effort on workers' plight. Leadership sometimes shift from political positions to get aristocratic positions in the business sector of the trade union, and develop deceitful practices at the expense of ordinary members. The business entities of trade unions remain largely concealed. However for most trade unions they are more democratic and governed by Board of Governors (BoGs). BoGs for these business enterprises are usually autonomous from the leadership.

Leadership

Democracy is closely linked to transparency. This includes transparency in finances and decisions, all the way to presenting demands and positions on all levels of trade union activities. Most unions however scarcely allow for this kind of financial transparency and this result in mistrust by members and consequently loss of those members. To avoid this, trade union members should be informed immediately about all of their union's most important events and plans so that they can feel ownership of the union.

One of the weaknesses in labour movement in Botswana is that most of them do not have good data base. It is difficult to find readily membership data such as gender, age, education level profiles and so on. There is insufficient research to support policy advocacy and lobbying. It has also been observed that trade unions are not keen to use technology. In the global village driven by ICT, the labour movement ought to cultivate ground-breaking and transformed cutting-edge skills.

It is about time unions invest in education, training and research. There is therefore a definite need for trade unions to have fulltime research officers. With the technology of the 21st century, unions should not be stuck in paper work but rather paperless initiatives. All union information should be available on the union website.

Conclusion and recommendations

The shift to the 21st Century brought changes to labour movement. Through education, technology and an understanding of the world around us, unions can survive in the 21st century. The challenge for union leaders is to build a union movement that can respond effectively to the threats and opportunities that it faces in the 21st century. They should become more flexible, more inventive, and more modern in how they organise and serve their members. Trade union leaders must realize that many people have a negative image of unions. Be it the people they are representing, the employer or the government. It is impossible for unions to please everyone. In the words of Joe Mulhall, **Workers reject Unions because they do not see themselves reflected in the operation of these Institutions. There is a common cry of “what does the Union do for me” or “they take our money but they do nothing for us”. Employers reject Unions because they interfere in “management’s right to manage” and in their view Unions negatively affect the bottom line of the business.**

Trade unions leaders must therefore work hard to counteract these negative public views if they are to survive the 21st century. They have to ask themselves whether delivery of quality services to their members is an issue in their unions. They can do this by seeking feedback from their members. Union leaders should be seen as highly ethical, knowledgeable, inquisitive, well-informed, dynamic, dedicated, having the will to include the vulnerable groups; and ensure that democratic practices prevail within their trade unions. A permanent dynamo of life is change and in Charles Darwin's dictum, **it is not the strongest nor the most intelligent who will survive but those who can best manage change.**



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