Post-apartheid teacher education reform in Namibia

The struggle between common sense and good sense

LARS DAHLSTRÖM
Post-apartheid teacher education reform in Namibia
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Lars Dahlström

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Abstract

This thesis is about teacher education reform. It is a narrative of attempted change in the area of teacher education in post-apartheid Namibia. The inquiry is based on critical and participatory perspectives. The analytical tools include concepts such as hegemony and counter-hegemony, common sense and good sense.

The historical and contextual analyses attend to the broad global layers of influence on a newly born African nation state, the prevailing common sense of financial and technical assistance agencies, and the modern school as it has landed in Namibia and elsewhere in Africa. It gives an overview of the historical deposits into the common sense about schooling and education in Namibia, including the visions and practices of the liberation movement before independence. The teacher education reform is also placed within the international context of preferential views on teacher education.

The struggle over the preferential right of interpretation is described and analysed on three major levels: the policy level of an imperative reform framework, the level of the contested programme imprints, and on institutional level where attempts were made to create reform agency.

Teacher education reform was part of the post-apartheid policy that signalled an egalitarian society for all. The reform was neither a defeat nor a victory. The combined effects of historical and parallel engravings affected the reform process and created a transposed reform out of the intellectual war of position over the preferential right of interpretation. The transposed reform had traits of both the hegemonic imprints and the counter-hegemonic reform policy, and operated within a constraining and ahistorical political context. Future revival of the reform policy includes a critical literacy of pedagogy and a pedagogy of hope.

Key words: Teacher education reform, struggle, hegemony, counter-hegemony, common sense, good sense, transposed reform, post-apartheid, Namibia.
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The struggle between common sense and good sense
Lars Dahlström
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To Gunilla and Olle

No More Lonely Days
Acknowledgements

I have often maintained that it has been a privilege to work with teacher education development in southern Africa. As a practitioner I have had this privilege for twenty years and as a researcher for an additional two years. There are a number of institutions and people who have made this possible.

My work with teacher education development in southern Africa has all along been financed by the Swedish international development cooperation agency (Sida). The head of the educational division in the beginning of the 1980s, Lennart Volgemuth, encouraged me to make my first trip to the Namibian refugee camp in Angola. Sten and Berit Rylander followed my educational endeavours at close range from an early stage in Botswana, through the years in Angola, and after independence in Namibia. I am thankful for their and Sida’s sustained support.

There are a number of Namibian educators who have encouraged me in my work, especially in difficult times, through their dedication to education. They inspired me to write this thesis as an example of a story that needs to be told. In particular I want to acknowledge the encouragement from Nahas Angula who has supported my efforts ever since the day I entered his office in exile in Luanda, 1983. I also want to thank the staff at the colleges of education and NIED who became my fellow-workers in the teacher education reform. Whatever is accomplished in teacher education in Namibia is the outcome of their work. I also want to acknowledge the ‘fallen heroes’ who never got the chance to enjoy the accomplishments long enough in a free Namibia. They are Leopold Nengenge, Mathilde Angula, Esther Hangula, Christophine Haufiku, Martha David, Alex Mushe, and Eddie Sikongo. Lastly, I want to acknowledge my good friend and colleague Dutte Shinyemba and her
family who always supported me and even made me a member of their family.

The educators and administrative staff who worked with me during the pilot project in Angola, who developed the Integrated Teacher Training Programme (ITTP) together with me, and the many who worked for the Teacher Education Reform Project (TERP) meant much for my work in many different ways. They are also part of the conditions that made this thesis possible.

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For a long period I commuted between Sweden and southern Africa. After that I took on the work to write this thesis. This means that I have for long been absent both physically and mentally from my home. The wonder of support that I have received from my wife Gunilla and son Olle cannot be underestimated. This thesis cannot make up for the lonely days that my physical and intellectual travels created. Yet it stands as a token of my appreciation.

On a last note, these acknowledgements confirm that you never travel alone!

Umeå in April, 2002

Lars Dahlström
Abbreviations

ANC  African National Congress
BETD Basic Education Teacher Diploma
CCE Caprivi College of Education
CCG Curriculum Co-ordination Group
CI Critical Inquiry
CIDA Canadian International Development Agency
CPI Critical Practitioner Inquiry
CSE Critical Self-Assessment
DANIDA Danish International Development Assistance
DfID Department of International Development
DRF Desert Research Foundation
DTA Democratic Turnhalle Alliance
ECP Education Certificate Primary
ECS English Communication Skills
EDU Education Development Unit
ELTDP English Language Teacher Development Project
EMIS Education Management Information System
ERA Educational Reform Adviser
ETP Education Theory and Practice
FAPLA People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola
FMS Finnish Missionary Society
FSU Florida State University
GDR German Democratic Republic
IGCSE International General Certificate of Secondary Education
IMF International Monetary Fund
INSTANT In-service Training and Assistance for Namibian Teachers
ITTP Integrated Teacher Training Programme
MBEC Ministry of Basic Education and Culture
MEC Ministry of Education and Culture
MHEVTST Ministry of Higher Education, Vocational Training, Science and Technology
Map of Namibia
(education regions)

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<td>Okahandja</td>
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1 Based on a map produced by EMIS, Ministry of Basic Education and Culture (2001) Windhoek.
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An untold story

This thesis is about teacher education. It is a narrative of attempted change in times of a national reform in a newly born African state. It attempts to explain and create an understanding of the forces that influence educational change based on the implicit notion that these forces have to a large extent their basis outside the reform itself, both in time and place. The thesis is divided into four major parts that represent the phases of the intellectual journey.

The first part is called The Way as it points out the travel direction. Here the troublesome move from being a participatory practitioner to a critical inquirer is addressed. The trouble is related to the fact that this move is made after eighteen years of concerned practice that has created engravings in the author’s thinking and ways of acting that also affect the new position as a critical inquirer. The analytic tools are introduced, including the central concepts of hegemony and counter-hegemony, common sense and good sense.

The second part of the thesis is called The Landscape. It introduces the reader to the different parts of the traversing landscape that together build the conditions for reform. It addresses the broad global layers of influence on an African nation state, the prevailing common sense of financial and technical assistance agencies, and the modern school that landed on the African soil. It looks at the specific historical residues from previous educational eras before a detour is made in a different direction. This detour goes through an alternative landscape where attempts are made to connect education and political liberation, outside and inside Namibia. After this detour the journey returns to the main track and places the reform policy in an international perspective, before the positions of the reform participants are addressed.
The third part is called The Struggle. Here we enter the reform arena, the goal for our journey, and look at the struggle over teacher education reform. This struggle is carried out at three different levels: At policy level where an imperative reform framework is developed; At programme level where we visit three contested areas; and at institutional level where we visit areas that were instituted to create agency in support of the reform.

The fourth part is called The View. This part represents the retrospective view after the journey. It is through this retrospective view that an understanding is constructed of teacher education reform in Namibia as it has been represented and observed along the road and summed up as a transposed reform in a layered society. Before we descend from this viewpoint some holistic views on the whole journey and its conditions as well as some travelling suggestions for the future are offered that can expand the understanding of teacher education reform even further.
PART ONE: THE WAY
Chapter One

Point of departure

This thesis is about an ancient colonial system and the attempts to introduce something different. It is also about political struggle, conflicting ambitions, and the possibilities of teacher education reform. It is like life itself, full of surprises and challenges, no plain sailing and far from perfect.

It starts and ends in Africa. It tells a story about a different educational reform that was a break with the prevailing trends in development co-operation and teacher education. It all started in a war-torn part of Africa in the early 1980s.

Once upon a time

It was September 1983. I was a Swedish educator from Umeå University funded by the Swedish International Development Co-operation Agency (Sida).

It is early in the morning and still dark. The vehicle comes to pick me up to take me to the assembly point. I have been waiting almost a week in the capital for this moment because of the recent attack along the road. The rebels took a group of nuns as hostage. We were advised to wait until the road could be cleared by the military. I spent the extra days in the capital to prepare myself for the first visit to a refugee camp for Namibians, organised by the liberation movement South West Africa People’s Organisation, SWAPO.

The assembly point is SWAPO’s transit settlement just outside Luanda, the capital of Angola, and the lifeline to the refugee camp 300 km south-east from the city. We still have to wait for some hours before the military convoy starts to move. I am both excited and worried about this first encounter with the war situation in Angola and soon realise that it will become a tough journey. At this moment, I do not know that I will continue to
travel along this road for many years until Namibia’s political independence in 1990.

The day in the convoy is tense. The convoy commander drives up and down the convoy to see to that the twenty vehicles keep the proper distance between each other. Half of them are heavy lorries with food and other goods for the camp, others are carrying civilians and all of them are loaded with armed soldiers from the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) to protect the civilians. The potholes on the road and the security situation mean that we moved very slowly. It takes us more than twelve hours to drive 300 kilometres. We arrive late in the evening at the refugee camp, the Namibia Health and Education Centre, Kwanza-Sul, which is known as Kwanza.¹

The following day I met the Namibians who were in charge of the school at Kwanza. Some of them became my colleagues for eighteen years. These years were situated in a time of dramatic change. One was the fall of the Soviet Union, a strong ally to SWAPO as a liberation movement. Another important factor was the advancement of the USA as the number one world super power without parallel. A related factor was the entrance of the USA as a partner to the new Namibian government on educational matters. Another factor strongly related to the above was the general advancement of capitalism as the sole world order that the radical Egyptian scholar Samir Amin has characterised as an era of new forms of polarisation and global disorder.² These changes had a definite impact on the development of Namibia and teacher education reform. However, the most important change was that the first free elections took place in Namibia at the end of 1989. The previous liberation movement SWAPO became the largest political party and headed the first democratically elected government. Independence was proclaimed on the 21st of March 1990. This thesis reports my work from 1983 up until 2000.

¹ Dahlström, L. Personal experience, 1983.
Aims and limitations

My work was positioned in a situation where major educational changes were expected both by people directly involved and outsiders. Some of the expected changes did happen. Others did not. My work was placed at a meeting point between people from different social backgrounds, holding different social positions, and harbouring different social ambitions. It was also placed within the differences between intellectual will and lived experience.

The meeting point that gave rise to my inquiry was what officially has been called the national teacher education reform in Namibia. The Basic Education Teacher Diploma (BETD) programme and related developments were at the core of this reform. This thesis focuses particularly on the most intensive period of the national teacher education reform, 1993 - 1998, when I lived and worked in Namibia as the project co-ordinator of the Sida-financed Teacher Education Reform Project (TERP).

My involvement with teacher education for Namibians goes back to my first visit to Kwanza. It passed through three phases. First, the work that followed that visit, carried out by me and my colleagues during the period 1983 - 1992. It laid the ground for my future involvement. Secondly, the national teacher education reform, 1993 - 1998, that is the main focus of my inquiry. Thirdly, the period 1999 - 2000, when I continued to work on a part-time basis in Namibia travelling from my base in Sweden, reflecting more systematically on the reform process.

I will describe and look back on this reform process and the forces affecting it with critical and analytical eyes. By using the reform concept I have adopted the official conception. I have also acknowledged that the reform was an expression of an intentional intervention, initiated and sanctioned by the new political and educational leadership in Namibia. As such the teacher education reform was a top down process.
I am using the racial classification of people as whites or blacks, when I consider it to be needed for the understanding that I am aiming at. I apologise if some readers feel offended by this classification. However, my own view is that it is almost impossible to understand anything in a post-colonial African society if we pretend that this classification does not persist as a social signifier in the post-colonial society.

I focus on broad **structural forces** that affected the teacher education reform. These included historically formed forces that affected the formation of a post-apartheid nation state, the influential western educational beliefs and practices, and the global and local constructions of formal schooling. I also aim at identifying how these forces were played out amongst groups of actors and how, in the process, understandings about teacher education interacted with them. My inquiry addresses the following main questions:

- **What structural forces** influenced the teacher education reform in Namibia?
- **What consequences of reform could be identified on structural levels?**

The **structural levels** are related to the policy framework and the official steering documents for teacher education, programmatic imprints, and the institutions involved in the reform, i.e. the colleges of education and the National Institute for Educational Development (NIED). My inquiry is placed within the field of development co-operation organised by national and international donor agencies. I am aware of the controversies connected with international aid. Due to convenience I have chosen to use established concepts, like development co-operation and aid, to describe the activities organised by funding and technical assistance agencies.\(^3\) By

that I have taken the risk to fall pray of my own critical perspective. But it is a risk I have taken to facilitate communication.

Both teacher training and teacher education have been used to describe the preparations of teachers during the course of my work. I have chosen to use the concept teacher education, as it also became the concept used in Namibia. Teacher education has been chosen as it also reflects the view that the preparation of teachers is more than a technical affair.

My report is not a victory narrative, nor is it an evaluation that focuses on inputs and outputs. Rather, my focus is on a reform process that many have praised, some have scolded, and that has left very few indifferent.

Sources for my inquiry

The primary source for my inquiry is my lived experiences as someone responsible for the largest support project for teacher education reform in Namibia after independence. These experiences are first and foremost engraved as personal experience, but have also been documented in different ways, ranging from field reports to refereed research articles. I have also used a cluster of secondary texts in my inquiry. These are documents that are Namibian, representing Namibian interests, and produced by other individuals and institutions. These range from working documents to official publications.

I also carried out retrospective interviews with a small number of representative persons at different levels. These interviews were carried out in March 2001. The interviews reviewed some of my preliminary findings to test their validity and to ask the respondents for their

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4 During the period 1993 - 1998 TERP utilised more than SEK 50 Million (corresponding to approximately 5 Million US$) for fees, reimbursable and operational costs in Namibia. TERP Project Budget Data.

5 Appendix 1 gives an overview over the type of data and documents used in my inquiry.
conclusions about the reforms. Six interviews were carried out as semi-structured interviews around selected themes from my preliminary findings. An additional interview was carried out in December 2001 with a high-ranking politician, who personalised the vision with the teacher education reform in Namibia. All interviews were recorded and transcribed.6

I also carried out classroom observations at two of the colleges in March 2001. I wanted to gain a first hand impression of the teacher education reform efforts after I left the reform arena. During these observations I used a format similar to that used in 1993 and 1994 as part of the data collection for the BETD National Evaluation.7 The observations were to obtain information in two key subject areas in the BETD, Education Theory and Practice (ETP) and Mathematics Education, and to be able to relate my findings to the observed current status at classroom level. Classroom observations were carried out in each subject area at two colleges. Two female and two male teacher educators were observed. In feasible cases a post-observation discussion was also held with the teacher educator who had been observed.8 Each observation was documented as a narrative description.

A participatory perspective

Both the object of my narrative, teacher education reform, and the narrative itself have participatory characteristics. From this follows that the traits of my inquiry are affected by my own participation and professional preferences even when I try to objectify my own involvement. The following is an attempt to address this complexity.

6 See Appendix 2.
7 This observation format was developed and tested by Dahlström, Frykholm and Åsemar in 1994 and revised before they were used in the data collection for the BETD National Evaluation reported by Frykholm, C-U. (1995) National Evaluation of the Basic Education Teacher Diploma: Broad Curriculum Issues. Okahandja: NIED.
8 See Appendix 2.
My own participatory perspective can be placed within the critical action research tradition elaborated by Kincheloe. He has delineated what he considers as the requirements for critical action research. Within this perspective participatory practitioner inquiry is seen as a political action that questions the traditional notions of pure objectivity and truth. It embraces the value commitments of the participant, and acknowledges those of others and of the dominant culture. It accepts that professional consciousness is socially constructed. It attempts to uncover aspects of the dominant social order that undermine emancipatory goals. And lastly, it aims at improving practice.

This type of participatory practitioner inquiry can be characterised as partisan in nature. My work together with Namibians in exile before independence was partisan from both external and internal perspectives. The external partisan aspect was related to the fact that the work was done as part of the activities of a liberation movement. There was also an internal partisan aspect in the sense that the common educational practice within the liberation movement, which was not much different from colonial education, was challenged from within through the work of myself and my colleagues. The partisan position also continued after independence. It attempted, in Callewaert's words, to "de-colonise the colonised mind of the anti-colonial teacher".

My own background can also be viewed from a partisan perspective. I come from a conventional liberal middle class milieu in a

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small mercantile town. The atmosphere at home was based on a secular mixture of dissenting and liberal beliefs and an opposition to presumptuousness. At an early stage I disappointed my parents' ambitions and became an educator instead of an educated merchant. As a teacher and a teacher educator I started to orient myself towards what was called progressive educational thought in the 1970s. I was influenced by ideas from Freire in Brazil, Freinet in France, and Illeris and others in Denmark. In this way discussions of conscientisation became the introduction to a critical political and liberating dimension of education, of pedagogy of the école modern, a methodological alternative for the classroom and of project work, an example of a participatory educational praxis in teacher education towards social reconstruction. The meeting point between these educational ideas, an interest in international solidarity that had matured since the 1960s, and an intervening state power into my area of work, brought me as a volunteer worker to Botswana in 1980 and back to Southern Africa as a fulltime project coordinator in Namibia in 1993, with ten years of long-distance commuting in between.

The reform process in Namibia was built upon four factors, according to Callewaert. First, there was a pervading political will for change held by the black majority and the political party representing it; secondly, there were only a few qualified Namibians who remained in education after their return from exile; thirdly, NIED was created as the

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13 Callewaert op. cit.
professional wing of the ministry and a centre for the conceptualisation and national organisation of education reforms; and fourthly, the philosophical and professional input of the donor community in the form of projects and their material and human resources.

NIED became my place of work and the point from where the work I was responsible for emanated. Callewaert maintains that my involvement had two strengths; a “coherent progressive plan, tested and transformed by twenty years of African experience in collaboration with highly qualified international scholars” and my “practical involvement with the history of the struggle for an independent education in Namibia”\(^\text{14}\).

If I look back and place myself on the reform arena I would consider myself having had a rather powerful position as the co-ordinator of a foreign project with the main task to assist in the teacher education reform process. However, I would rate the acceptance of my preferential right of interpretation as more dependent on my political and educational capital arising from my previous experiences than on my official position as a project co-ordinator.

The primary accumulation of this capital started with the journey to Kwanza in 1983. Many black Namibians who were sympathetic to the new SWAPO government saw me and the project I was co-ordinating as their allies in the struggle that continued on a different level after independence. For example, Namibians in different positions expressed the opinion that TERP was different from other donor interventions because of its historical credentials. I am referring to the indisputable social and cultural bonds and extraordinary inclusiveness that was created beyond the interpersonal level by the periodic living and working together during the exiled war situation in Angola. This happened in a community literally cut off from the outer world except for the news reports from the BBC World Service and Radio Sweden. The other side of this coin was

\(^{14}\) Callewaert op. cit. pp. 244-245.
that other Namibians, both blacks and whites, who had political preferences other than SWAPO, saw me and other advisers as a strong threat and as hampering their own positioning in the post-colonial era. In addition, my position created a general closeness between myself, the project staff, the project activities and the new establishment symbolised by NIED and the re-born colleges of education. To sceptics of the reform this situation confirmed the common belief that the BETD was a TERP construction, foreign to the Namibian traditions, and therefore legitimate to attack. As Melber noted in his contributions as a peer-evaluator in a critical self-evaluation of the teacher education reform and its support:

> It was less risky to blame foreigners for imposing new ideas upon people, than to seek active discourse and exchange with the local agents of such reform projects like the TERP. From a donor perspective TERP was an example of good practice. It was seen as a good example of the organic development of a small initiative into a national support project by administrators who had followed the life of the project from its beginning. At other times however the project was consider as problematic. Conflicts of interest arose. Some of these conflicts had negative effects as noted in the Critical Self-Evaluation report carried out by a core group of the participants in the

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15 At an early stage in the national reforms (1993-94) there were even a number of scam campaigns published in newspapers politically opposed to the new leadership against the new strata of Namibian educators and foreign advisors who worked together for the reform.  
17 See for example Craig, H., Kraft, R.J. and Du Plessis, J. (1998) Teacher Development: Making an Impact. Washington, DC: USAID and World Bank, pp. 32 - 43. This publication comprises a selection of good practices in teacher education support worldwide. The teacher education reform in Namibia and the support from TERP was included in this selection as the only project that was not financed by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).
reform process, including myself.¹⁸ And these effects extended to Namibians as well as foreigners involved in the reform process.

**Changed positions**

My position as a critical inquirer became new. As a critical inquirer I was no longer an actor in development work. I was more of a retrospective observer. I made inquiries into the reform process instead of getting involved in the process. I acted as an inquirer instead of as a development worker. I was an observer looking at the reform process through my own experiences and the available documentation.

My inquiry had participatory and co-operative features. However, my position as the project co-ordinator of TERP did not allow me to act as a researcher. Even to prepare my future research through active data collection was considered unethical as well as problematic in practice. Therefore, I chose to make my inquiry in retrospect.

It was after eighteen years as an outsider-within and a living through practical encounters within the field of teacher education for Namibia that I stepped out and became a critical inquirer.¹⁹ I am aware that this metamorphosis was to a certain extent an illusory act in the sense that I could not pretend that my previous experiences and my pre-judicious understandings could suddenly be left behind.²⁰ My pre-judicious

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¹⁸ This report was an attempt to create a more participatory and holistic evaluation model of a donor sponsored reform effort than what was normally the case at the time. Swarts op.cit. See also p. 232 ff.

¹⁹ The concept *outsider-within* is from Griffiths, M. (1998) *Educational Research for Social Justice, getting off the fence*. Buckingham: Open University Press. This concept is also addressed on p. 35.

²⁰ I have chosen to construct the concept *pre-judicious* as a way to address the pre-understanding I as an inquirer carry along. By describing this understanding as pre-judicious instead of prejudicial, I want to indicate that the goal with the inquiry process is to create well-motivated and judicious understandings. I want to acknowledge Jörgen From and Carina Holmgren, colleagues at the Department of Education, who triggered me off on this by bringing up the issues of pre-understanding and prejudice in our
position would still guide and influence my inquiry. The best I could do was to make this position explicit and, by that, create an understanding of my move from the level of action to the look-out level.

My critical inquiry perspective parallels my view on pedagogy as a practice. This perspective attempts to uncover forces affecting social situations, just as critical pedagogy is to expose and change undemocratic practices and structures that produce or reproduce inequalities and oppressive social situations. My critical inquiry perspective also attempts to expose the effect of hegemonic powers in society, just as critical pedagogy understands the relations between ideology, power, and culture in the society at large and in the classroom, as a reflection of the larger society. The aim is to create more participatory practices within the formal school system. Critical inquiry is also concerned with the formation of common sense and official knowledge, just as critical pedagogy considers learning and education also to take place outside the school, affecting what is accepted as school knowledge. Critical inquiry and critical pedagogic practice must be related to the larger society by incorporating and unpacking experiences and by encouraging closer relationships between inquiry, pedagogy and society. Lastly, the critical inquirer must uncover his/her underlying assumptions to make it possible to judge the reasoning from the inquirer's expressed positioning just as the critical practitioner in the classroom needs to apply a reflective perspective on preconceived assumptions, values and interests. Through these strategies the critical inquirer and the practitioner can develop strategies in pursuit of social justice.\(^{21}\)


My inquiry can also be described as an analysis of *text and context* in its broadest sense. The text is the mental deposits remaining from my experience together with the written documents I refer to. Context is what creates meaning for these texts and this context is created in the first instance by my choice of inquiry perspective.

**An emerging perspective on critical and narrative inquiry**

My *inquiry* is inherently political. It is based on views that according to Griffiths “stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, [and] the situational constraints that shape inquiry”.

My inquiry is placed within the domain of critical theory as developed by McLaren and others. It is based on the view that the power and positions of actors in a reform process are influenced by the historical deposits made into common sense and official knowledge. In that sense my inquiry is based on a view that recognises fluency in human endeavours that connect the past and the present with the future. I adhere to the view of Walker who in connection with her inquiries in South Africa stated,

> What is at stake here is the difficulty of stepping outside of one’s own taken for granted reality precisely because that reality is familiar. Unpacking experience depends on the discursive conditions of possibility, not least the interpretative frameworks which mediate that experience.


22 Griffiths op. cit. p. 4.


Chapter One

My reasoning is influenced by the Bourdieu tradition without being subservient to Bourdieu's assumptions. However, claims in that tradition about capital and transposable habitus are acknowledged. It follows from my tentative reasoning that the historical deposits into common sense in combination with social and cultural capital create possibilities for people to enter positions of power and counter-power. These positions can be used to reformulate common sense by utilising the degrees of freedom that are available in hegemonic social settings.

My inquiry perspective is also affected by the narrative inquiry tradition and what Polkingthorne calls narrative analysis. Polkingthorne discriminates between two types of narrative inquiry. The first type, analysis of narratives follows what he calls a paradigmatic cognition that attends to the classification of features into predefined categories, such as finding similarities between a number of life stories. The other type, narrative analysis follows a narrative cognition trait where the outcome of the analysis is an emplotted narrative, i.e. a story building on a range of data that are re-constructed and configured towards the advancement of a plot.

The result of a narrative analysis is an explanation that is retrospective, having linked past events together to account for how a final outcome might have come about.

Goodson has elaborated further on narrative analyses in a way that is adaptable to my inquiry. It is the combination of the critical and narrative analysis perspectives that create the "stories of action within theories of

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27 Polkingthorne op. cit. p. 16.
context" approach that Goodson proposes as a necessary means to disclose power relations.\textsuperscript{28}

**The construct of shared meaning and fidelity**

Triangulation is often put forward as a method to validate evidence in participatory action research.\textsuperscript{29} Griffiths, who includes triangulation in her elaboration, also addresses three levels of bias and inter-related problems of validity.\textsuperscript{30} The first level is related to the research process. Here she adds the openness to the perspectives of different socio-political groups and respondent validity to the common mainstream factors. The second level is related to the values and politics of the researcher where “bias comes not from having ethical and political positions – this is inevitable – but from not acknowledging them” as “taking an explicit stance helps to reduce bias, unless the stance is one of neutrality”.\textsuperscript{31} This bias is about hiding partiality, which becomes a contradiction in committed research.\textsuperscript{32} The third level is about the wider context of educational research and the matter of power in the research community as a whole. The value-laden nature of committed research is related to Walker’s statement made in relation to her inquiries into her own role as a researcher in action research in South Africa:


\textsuperscript{30} Griffiths op. cit.

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid. p. 133.

\textsuperscript{32} Committed research is a collective concept used here for practice-related activities like action research and critical practitioner inquiry that are based on basic values of democracy and aiming at change towards social justice.
The point is to emphasise yet again the reflexivity of the researcher, so that validity and reliability are not so much about 'truth' or 'falsity' as about shifting the emphasis to the contexts in which meanings are produced and the multiple and contradictory possible readings not only of these contexts but of the research report itself.\textsuperscript{33}

Evidence in narrative inquiry is related to the accuracy of the data and the plausibility of the plot. Triangulation is also forwarded as a method to create confidence in narrative inquiry. The plausibility of the plot is of great complexity according to Polkingthorne.\textsuperscript{34} This complexity is related to the gap between experienced actions and emplotted explication. However, Polkingthorne expresses that a "storied narrative is not an imposition on data of an alien type but a tightening and ordering of experience by explicating an intrinsically meaningful form".\textsuperscript{35} His conclusion is that it is the theoretical perspective that frames the plot. A consequence from this is that "the same data elements can be configured by more than one plot".\textsuperscript{36} Fidelity is another concept used in narrative inquiry that connects this type of inquiry with "betweenness" and "believability", according to Blumenfeld-Jones.\textsuperscript{37} Fidelity in narrative inquiry is related to making explicit the bonds between inquirer – subject and story – context and a reasonable portrayal of the story as it speaks to the reader. Fisher's construction of a narrative paradigm is sometimes used in arguments in favour of "ways of knowing that an exclusively technical form of argument excludes and inhibits".\textsuperscript{38} A basis of the narrative

\textsuperscript{33} Walker (1996:a) op. cit., p. 45.
\textsuperscript{34} Polkingthorne (1995) op. cit.
\textsuperscript{35} Ibid., p. 20.
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., p. 20.
paradigm is the notion of humans as homo narrans or homo narrandus, i.e. that people understand the world through the telling and assessment of stories or that people are portrayed as those whose stories have to be told.

The route ahead

This chapter sets the scene and the direction from where my journey of inquiry started. The scenario I have painted at the starting point is one with participatory, contextual, and critical colours. It promises a route through teacher education reform in a new-born southern African nation-state. At the terminus I will exhibit my understanding of the annotated landscape that we will traverse along the route. We will make a few stops at sidings to load necessary goods to be able to observe and analyse the landscape as we travel and to build up the conditions for an understanding.

Before the journey starts I will pick up analytical tools in chapter two with the aim to redress my pre-judicious understanding in a conceptual attire. The journey starts by looking at the broader historical influences that make up an African nation state and its educational landscape in chapter three and four. In chapter five and six we approach an area of new educational features where I will push back the innovative horizon from the national to the international level. The situational specifics come into sight in chapter seven and patterns of reform are outlined in chapters eight to ten. My comprehension of the reform landscape, presented as situational annotations along the journey, are gathered together as an explanatory analysis in chapter eleven. A concluding discussion and recommendations for future African tours are outlined in chapter twelve. Keep your binoculars handy because as in most African safaris we will pass both big and small game!
Chapter Two

Through the lenses of hegemony and common sense

The concepts introduced here, hegemony and common sense, are chosen for their explanatory value. These concepts come from the classic work of the Italian Antonio Gramsci and the more recent work of the North American scholar Michael Apple.

The concept of hegemony as applied in contemporary social sciences and critical educational thought is often drawn from the work of Antonio Gramsci.1 In this respect, Kenway states, “it was Gramsci who, through his notion of hegemony, developed a most persuasive account of the ways in which social groups and collective identities and socio-cultural hegemonies are formed and reformed”.2 Hegemony is a condition of power in which the major cultural, social and economic aspects of life are influenced by a dominant group in society. This power is spread amongst the subordinate people in society through socio-cultural influence and the winning of consent. Part of this process is the construct of common sense in society.

Mayo, in his writings about transformative educational action, has summarised the features of hegemony as being non-static, open for negotiation, incomplete, and sensitive to crisis.3 Thus, hegemony is never complete or total. When conditions change the hegemonic group seeks

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new alliances. There are always areas that are not easily reached by the hegemony. They have the potential or *degrees of freedom* to develop counter-hegemonic powers. The history of Namibia and resistance against colonial rule illustrates this view of hegemony.

The relevance of Gramsci’s writings to Namibia can be traced back to the political era during which Gramsci did his scholarly work. Gramsci lived in Italy in the first part of the 20th century. He died in 1937 at an age of 46. He was arrested in 1926 by the world’s first fascist regime under Benito Mussolini and spent the rest of his life in prison or hospital. Most of his scholarly work was produced while in prison. Kenway adheres to the view that the concept hegemony can be used to recognise social totalities such as capitalism, patriarchy, and colonialism as they are played out at different times and places while still allowing us to recognise their specifics.4 Its relevance to Namibia is acknowledged.

Gramsci’s view on hegemony is related to the capacity of the ruling stratum to maintain their power and control. This capacity is played out through economic and political domination and intellectual and moral leadership in which intellectuals and education play a leading role.5

**The intellectuals and education**

Gramsci offers a broad view of what he considers as the intellectuals in a society. Intellectuals play an important role in establishing and maintaining hegemony. He claims that all humans are intellectuals, but that not all of them have the function of being intellectuals in a given society. He continues by saying that “there is no human activity from which every form of intellectual participation can be excluded” and that Homo faber (The Maker) cannot be separated from Homo sapiens (The Thinker).6

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4 Kenway op. cit.
6 Ibid. p. 9.
However, intellectuals are not a homogeneous group in society. Each social stratum develops its own group of intellectuals. Gramsci makes a distinction between traditional and organic intellectuals. *Traditional intellectuals* exist in every phase of history in the sense that every class formation "which emerges into history out of the preceding economic structure, and as an expression of a development of this structure, has found categories of intellectuals already in existence". These pre-existing traditional intellectuals are socially portrayed as a distinct independent social category, an image which Gramsci challenges as a "social utopia by which the intellectuals think of themselves as "independent", autonomous, endowed with a character of their own, etc.".

With reference to Gramsci’s writings, Mayo makes a distinction between great intellectuals and subordinated intellectuals, which both belong to the category of traditional intellectuals. The concept of great intellectuals can be generalised to a group composed of public figures with a scholastic image. These public figures have taken it as their social responsibility to educate the populace about the objective role of all strata in society and, by that, to contribute to the common sense in society which keeps the prevailing hegemony intact. The subordinated intellectuals include teachers, priests or functionaries, who work in favour of the prevailing political system.

Gramsci’s view is that traditional intellectuals have developed from different historical class formations and are therefore class related. This relationship however is concealed through the inter-class image traditional intellectuals have developed of themselves. This gives them the historical social position for their self-assumed preferential right of interpretation of...
social realities with the attached image that they are considered as objective and true interpreters. In this way traditional intellectuals contribute to the imposition and construct of a common sense in support of the prevailing hegemony.

*Organic intellectuals* are socially identified as belonging to a single social class or group. Their role is to be the spokespersons for their social class. Organic intellectuals are found in all classes, both amongst the strata in power and the subaltern groups. They play a mediating role in the society. Organic intellectuals act as the “thinking and organising element of a particular fundamental social class”.¹¹ Organic intellectuals are not identified primarily from their profession but from the function they play in their social group. International examples of organic intellectuals from the philosophical/educational arena are Freire (Brasil) and Freinet (France). More recent examples from the political arena are Gusmao (East Timor) and Subcomandante Marcos (Mexico). They possessed during specific periods of their life conscious responsibilities towards their social class. The organic intellectuals from the dominant class (like Kissinger in the US) serve to mediate the existing hegemony like traditional intellectuals, but more consciously. Their counterparts amongst the subaltern groups are involved in what Gramsci calls the *war of position* to create *historical blocs* for the ultimate overthrow of the prevailing hegemony by affecting and altering the prevailing common sense. Organic intellectuals act as the *dirigenti*, conductors, who mediate the creation of “a new historical bloc of the exploited, capable of overcoming ruling-class hegemony” by undermining hegemony through civil actions in their war of position.¹²

In a situation where dominance is developed in a society there is a parallel forging of alliances with, or the conquest of, traditional intellectuals. This process is, according to Gramsci, more efficiently

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¹¹ Gramsci op. cit. p. 3

carried out when the stratum aspiring for dominance also develops its own organic intellectuals. The underlying logic is that traditional intellectuals, who see themselves as independent, have a self-interest in keeping their hegemonic position and, by that, are willing to negotiate their traditional position around new powers.

Gramsci gives the example of *Ordine Nuovo*, the magazine he edited during his militant years in Turin, as a means of developing forms of new organic intellectualism. "The mode of being of the new intellectual can no longer consist in eloquence, which is an exterior and momentary mover of feelings and passions (more like an agitator), but in active participation in practical life, as constructor, organiser, 'permanent persuader' and not just a simple orator". The role of the intellectual is developed through a combination of skills and knowledge used for political ends. It "depends on the circumstances in which they attempt to act; what opposing or alternative 'discursive formations' contend within the same or adjacent spaces; and the degree to which they succeed in cementing alliances to exercise power".

Gramsci also makes a distinction between urban and rural intellectuals. Urban intellectuals are to a large extent confined to the powerful forces established in the modern industrial society and act as their executives. Average urban intellectuals have a general executive role, as described above, while top urban intellectuals identify themselves with the industrialists. Rural intellectuals, on the other hand, are less organic

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13 Gramsci op. cit. p. 9-10.
15 Recent analyses of the modifications of social classes reported by G. Greider during the Socialist Forum in Umeå, February, 2000 confirm Gramsci’s analysis. The top layer of the middle class tends to identify itself more and more with the upper class strata in society. They are also treated more often as part of the upper class, in respect to their privileges, through new types of economic increments like options and other benefits. In Namibia, many previous leaders of the liberation struggle became not only top state bureaucrats but also hostages of the capital interests when offered seats in company boards and when they transformed the former liberation movement’s assets, based on
than traditional and bring the people into contact with the local state apparatus executed through administrative offices, clinics and schools, i.e. as the institutional representatives of services for civil society. Rural intellectuals retain a different living standard from that of the people. Therefore, their example contributes to the ambitions amongst the people to improve their own living standards. This is done by encouraging at least one member of the family, preferably one of the sons in the patriarchal society, to become a rural intellectual and “thus becoming a gentleman and raising the social level of the family”.\textsuperscript{16} In this way, education becomes the key for a better life. However, this key does not always open the door for everyone. As Callewaert expressed it in relations to the functions of the pre-colonial education system in Namibia: “To go to school was to leave the homestead and to return as a different but not more competent person”.\textsuperscript{17}

Gramsci relates the expansion of education in all societies as a sign of “the importance assumed in the modern world by intellectual functions and categories”.\textsuperscript{18} Education in its broadest sense plays an important role in Gramsci’s strategy for social transformation. He developed his own example of an alternative function of education through the factory council movement. This was a movement to create the space for workers to develop a new kind of sense beyond the narrow control over their practical work towards a broader understanding of and control over the means of production. Gramsci also claims that “every relationship of ‘hegemony’ is necessarily an educational relationship and occurs not only within a nation, between the various forces of which the nation is

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Gramsci op. cit. p. 14
\item Callewaert op. cit. p. 224
\item Gramsci op. cit. p. 10
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composed, but also in the international and world-wide field, between complexes of national and continental civilisations”.

Gramsci’s views on education have been contested and sometimes judged as conservative, when he has pointed to what he sees as the good aspects of traditional schooling. However, he has also stated that traditional schooling was intended for the new generation of the ruling class and therefore oligarchic. In Gramsci’s elaboration of what he calls the future common school he borrows characteristics from the traditional school and blends them with a common school for all, building on a democratic notion. This democratic notion reaches beyond the technical aspects of schooling into the field of politics and education for democracy.

But democracy, by definition, cannot mean merely that an unskilled worker can become skilled. It must mean that every ‘citizen’ can ‘govern’ and that society places him, even if only abstractly, in a general condition to achieve this.

According to Mayo, Gramsci “argued for the provision of a broad education, with a strong humanistic basis, for all children”.

Gramsci also rejected educational practices that did not consider the learners’ previous knowledge and their social realities, i.e. “learners’ background and framework of relevance”. The common school that Gramsci outlines is characterised as an active and creative school, where the aim is to develop situations where learning takes place “through a spontaneous and autonomous effort of the pupil, with the teacher only exercising a function

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19 Gramsci op. cit. p. 350.
20 Hoare and Smith have addressed the seemingly conservative view expressed by Gramsci at times. Their explanation is related to Gramsci’s many initiatives “to circumvent the prison censor, by disguising the future (ideal system) as the past in order to criticise the present”. Hoare, Q. and Smith, G.N. (1971) On education, Introduction. In Gramsci (1971) op. cit. 24-25. p. 24.
21 Gramsci op. cit. p. 40.
22 Mayo op. cit. p. 36.
23 Gramsci op. cit. p. 42.
of friendly guide – as happens or should happen in the university”. To reach this situation the educator must also be instructive and has an obligation to create learning situations both in intellectual and physical terms. These learning situations must cater for the creation of critical and dynamic perspectives in the learning process and, by that, moving the learners away from a folkloristic view based on superstition. It is these uncoordinated remnants of the historical social environments that form what Gramsci calls folklore. These remnants are building on opinions and notions that are removed from their context and included into the popular opinions in a more or less distorted form.

Educators who aspire to act as organic intellectuals for those they teach must be politically committed to the subaltern groups and their aspiring for power, according to Mayo. Gramsci’s critique of the contemporary education system in Italy has a parallel in the critique of the colonial education system in Namibia. Gramsci objected to attempts by the fascist regime in Italy to create streaming in the system either through the establishing of early specialisation or the creation of vocational streams for children from the working class. These structures mirror the system of parallel development of adapted education applied during the colonial period in Namibia.

On the construct and reconstruct of common sense

Under the heading The philosophy of praxis Gramsci elaborates on the concept common sense. Gramsci looks at philosophy as “not just the abstract cogitation of a few professional intellectuals, but a concrete social activity in which, implicitly, all men are engaged”. According to

24 Gramsci op. cit. p. 33
26 Mayo, op. cit., See p. 35 for a related issue and the concept “intellectual defector”.
Gramsci, spontaneous philosophy, i.e. the philosophy that is proper to everybody, is contained in our language plus what he collectively includes under the term folklore. It is socially played out in our common sense. We need to critically investigate the composite historical deposits into our conceptions of the world and common sense. By becoming aware of these deposits we can develop a philosophy of praxis and construct an intellectual-moral bloc in pursuit of the subaltern groups in society.

In the beginning of the 1990s, Apple reported an analysis of how this deposit process works in a modern society, like the US.\(^{28}\) He based his analysis on the hegemonic restructuring of the popular common sense by the groups in power, i.e. the New Right. Apple demonstrated how the New Right managed to alter the common sense conception of equality from being based on the conceptions of person's right towards something related to property rights and associated free market conceptions. The redefinition of the New Right:

> seeks to intervene 'on the terrain of ordinary, contradictory common-sense', to 'interrupt, renovate, and transform in a more systematic direction' people's practical consciousness. It is this restructuring of common-sense, which is itself the already complex and contradictory result of previous struggles and accords, which becomes the object of the cultural battles now being waged.\(^{29}\)

This restructuring of common sense was carried out by linking reactivated conservative political and cultural themes with the fears of the large portion of the population towards their future social and economic wellbeing.\(^{30}\) As Apple states, the process of altering the common sense

\(^{28}\) Apple (1996) op. cit
\(^{29}\) Ibid. p. 22
\(^{30}\) Representatives of the former white hegemony demonstrated similar assaults in connection with the work on the Presidential Commission of Education and Culture in Namibia in 1999. There were attempts to link right wing moral values to the perceived general lack of values in schools and the popular worry about the exam results and
and the creation of a new hegemonic perception of the world is not something imposed on unthinking subjects. It is carried out through a war of position over the symbolic power to define reality for others. This works out by redefining "existing themes, desires, and fears" embraced by the popular common sense.\textsuperscript{31}

Calls for efficiency, new effective management models, cutting of expenditures, introductions of measurable competencies, individualisation, privatisation, competition and the like have entered the field of education and become mainstream conceptions for the solving of school problems today. The real effect of these calls will be exclusion rather than inclusion as a logical consequence of the mental shift from personal to property rights. Knowledge-as-property replaces the right to become educated. Common sense about education will move away from a concern about human values towards prioritising economic values following the trend in the commercial market place. There we have observed the shift from production values for improved living conditions to an emphasis on capital generation through speculative money transactions, even for social security reasons.\textsuperscript{32}

The promises of what is left of the welfare state will transform the fear for the future into a part of what the Swedish unionist Perjus has called \textit{Casino Earth}, i.e. the speculative money market.\textsuperscript{33} The effect will be an ultimate exclusion as observed in what Castells has called the black holes of the Fourth World.\textsuperscript{34} These black holes symbolise in an absurd

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\textsuperscript{32} The recent reforms of the Swedish pension funds has forced every person in Sweden with a right to receive a pension when retiring, to put a part of their accumulated pension funds on the stock market. Something similar has as yet not happened in Namibia.
\end{flushright}
way the repayment from the Third World to the First World for the First World enclaves established in Third World urban centres under colonialism that until today has created the conditions for survival of mainstream development workers. A similar development on a more local scene was the over-commercialised northern parts of Namibia that constituted the war zone before independence. In the midst of a society where the overwhelming majority were dependent on subsistence farming, Oshakati existed as a large shopping area consisting of depots and liqueur shops, themselves outgrowths of the South African military machinery.

**Common sense, identity and civil society**

Gramsci writes about civil society and the State, i.e. political society. These two levels correspond on the one hand to the hegemony that the dominant group exercises throughout society and on the other hand to that of direct domination or command exercised through the state and juridical government.

Civil society is an ambiguous concept, according to Castells. According to Gramsci, civil society is formed by a number of institutions and organisations like business, church, parties, unions, civic associations, etc. through which hegemony is exercised by spontaneous consent that is acted out through common sense. However, the institutions and organisations that form civil society are at the same time strongly rooted among people and constitute a terrain where political struggle can be exercised for the overthrow of the prevailing hegemony through a war of position. This war of position is

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the first step in which civil society is transformed politically as a prerequisite for the creation of a counter-hegemonic power.

Castells has put the concept of civil society in the context of the construction of identity in societies at the end of the 20th century. He proposes a distinction between three types of identity formation that can be related to the writings of Gramsci. *Legitimising identity* is initiated by the state and influences civil society as defined by Gramsci. It follows that the identity of the functionaries corresponds to the role of subaltern traditional intellectuals carrying out the functions of creating consent with the agenda of the hegemonic powers.

*Resistance identity* is, according to Castells, generated by excluded or stigmatised actors who build trenches of resistance and survival on the basis of principles different from, or opposed to, those permeating the institutions of society. In Gramscian terms, they are the communities of resistance which hegemony does not reach.

*Project identity* creates subjects who are seen as collective social actors. It is "the building of identity as a project of a different life, perhaps on the basis of an oppressed identity, but expanding toward the transformation of society". In a sense this is an identification of the past and the present that can reach into the future as organic intellectualism.

A Gramsci-related consequence of Castells' view on the construction of identity is that the war of position is carried out by the subaltern and organic intellectuals within the sphere of a civil society under disintegration. This war of position is an intellectual war over the positioning of the incoherent historical deposits into common sense and a good sense in the service of the subaltern groups in society. *Good sense* is the conceptualisations generated within subaltern groups that reflect the genuine interests of these groups. Gramsci sees a nucleus of good sense in common sense as a conception of necessity that gives a conscious

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37 Castells (1997) op.cit.
38 Ibid. p. 10.
direction to one's activity. Collective social actors holding project identity initiate the attack on the prevailing hegemony as a constructive extension of communal resistance identities, i.e. a countervailing force based on a people's revolt.

A successful countervailing force is a combination of collective human agencies played out as a war of position over common sense and the positioning of the associated organic intellectuals. The question remains as to whether such a countervailing force can be generated in a post-apartheid educational context involving development co-operation? It is with an initial reference to the concept 'outsider-within' that an elaboration on this issue can be done. The outsider-within conception speaks of someone who acts within a milieu and a social setting that is basically foreign to that person. If the 'withinness' is an expression of the acceptance of an outsider who works towards the same goal as the 'ordinary' people, this person could as well be characterised as an 'intellectual defector', i.e. a traditional intellectual who has defected to the counter-hegemonic side of the struggle.

Common sense, educational texts and official knowledge

We are all influenced in different ways in the construction of our understanding of education. As young learners we listen to what our parents say about schooling. Our own school experiences have strong effects on our understanding of what schooling is about. As student

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40 This is what happened in Namibia with the Old Location protests in 1959 that later on developed to the organised resistance through the liberation movement. See e.g. Pendelton, W. C. (1994) *Katutura: A Place Where We Stay*. Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan.
42 Ahlström has written about the conservatism of the *apprenticeship of observation* and of most school-based experiences if not counterbalanced by community-based experience
teachers we start to get the view of the academics and their assumptions about education in society during our training. And as teachers we develop our own strategies for the practical situations we face, based on the conglomerations of ideas we have collected that will add up to our common sense about schooling and education. All along there is also the official knowledge of education, i.e. the messages in the official discourse about education that are expressions of the preferential right of interpretation by the strata in power. In a situation of reform and change, official knowledge plays an important role as a mediator of reform efforts and needs therefore to be considered and studied. Common sense is the type of knowledge, which has become internalised by groups of people in a society, as a taken for granted knowledge as previously outlined in relation to the writings of Gramsci.\(^4\) If issues that are part of common sense are questioned people react with statements like "but that's how things are", "it's how things must be done", or "it's natural". There are of course different kinds of common sense in a society and there are also versions of common sense that are sanctioned by people in powerful and hegemonic positions. In other words, when the meaning of education as perceived by the hegemonic forces in a society has been made public as official knowledge and become internalised by a portion of the people in that society it becomes part of their common sense. For example, the official knowledge of education in Namibia during the apartheid era, that education had different purposes for different races because of their constituted racial differences, became part of common sense even for the blacks and contributed to their consent through an inferiority complex. However, this consent was never total. Thus, education became a contested area in the war of position. An early example from the refugee camp in Kwanza, Angola can illustrate how the common sense affected

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\(^4\) Bourdieu uses the term *doxa* (Greek – belief) for a similar analysis. See e.g. Geckler op cit.
educational situations. I brought with me the pedagogical idea that the construction of texts in the classroom should have a meaning to the learners beyond the significance for the teacher, and that texts can be produced with the involvement of learners based on their experiences in and out of school.

I had organised some activities for the teachers I was working with, and we ended up with a number of short stories about life in the refugee camp. We discussed how these and similar texts could be produced and used in the classroom together with learners. I rounded off the discussion by asking if there were any other ideas to discuss about the use of the stories. By that I wanted the teachers to bring up any issue that we had not touched upon that might be worth mentioning as a pedagogical note. One teacher who had been very silent during the discussion eagerly asked a question by referring to the factual information in one of the stories: How many vehicles were there in the convoy?44

This teacher's mind was still locked into the common sense about the use of texts in school as a source to check factual knowledge. This and similar experiences tells a lot about how educational texts and for that matter how the meaning of schooling can be perceived.45 According to this perception, schooling seems to be constructed for control purposes and school texts as a means of control of factual knowledge and not something, which can be used for broader developmental purposes. It is a plausible assumption that for many learners, school texts represent generally acknowledged facts, and often are presented as such by the teachers, and therefore something unproblematic and taken for granted, i.e. as part of official knowledge transformed to common sense. The introduction of assessment procedures like continuous assessment and

45 When references are made to educational and school texts it is to its broadest definition embracing all types of inscriptions related to education including research reports, policy documents, curricula documents, textbooks, the teacher's notes on the blackboard, as well as the learners' own writings.
portfolios in the BETD were often questioned from the same perspective as the question above about the number of vehicles, i.e. a perspective that reduces the educational process to objectively measurable outcomes, like in outcome-based education.

The structures and operations of modern formal education systems are in broad terms the same all over the world and may be even more so in the future, provided societies continue to converge towards market-oriented societies under global capitalism. The international convergence of national education systems has been influenced historically by the different globalisation trends like colonialism, imperialism, development co-operation, pressures from international organisations, and now even more so by the new information technologies. "Institutionalisation of international influence" has with few exceptions come from the North and gone to the South. It goes without saying that this international convergence is not a process without variations. However, there is a core in modern education systems that has fundamental similarities across cultures and nations, even when they operate under pre-modern contextual situations like in Africa. Part of this core is the selective role of modern schooling that becomes so starkly obvious when operating in African contexts. Another core function is the significance of educational texts as presented through curriculum documents, teachers' guides, textbooks or simply through the learners' note-taking from the blackboard. It is also often the use of texts, e.g. presented as notes on the blackboard or even orally that create the patterns in the ritualised African classrooms. It is because of the important role of educational texts in their broadest sense that analyses made elsewhere can develop an

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Understanding also of education reform in Namibia. Support for this idea is received by Apple's statement, related to his analysis of educational texts, that the connections between education, state and economy from class, gender, and race perspectives are universal. He claims that "these dynamic interconnections are essential as building blocks to any complete understanding of education, even where their articulations to each other may be different due to historically distinct developments".\(^{48}\)

In countries like Namibia where "new kinds of governments, new possibilities for democratic, political, economic, and cultural arrangements" are created,

the role of education takes on even more importance, since new knowledge, new ethics, and a new reality seek to replace the old. This is one of the reasons that those of us committed to cultures that are more participatory and democratic, both inside and outside schools, must give serious attention to changes in official knowledge in those nations that have sought to overthrow their colonial or elitist heritage. Here the politics of the text takes on special importance, because the textbook often represents an overt attempt to help create a new cultural reality.\(^{49}\)

According to Apple it is necessary to "seeing schooling relationally" by relating it to the "complexity of the power/knowledge nexus".\(^{50}\) This power/knowledge nexus is only revealed if an externalist view is applied. Such a view includes critical cultural, political and economic considerations, to contrast the false de-politicised agenda adapted worldwide as part of the individualistic and market-oriented developments in capitalist societies in general, including education.

\(^{50}\) Apple (1996) op. cit. pp. 4-5.
The making of common sense and consensus around neo-liberal and neo-conservative policies is the focus of Apple's concern about the development of schooling in the US. Apple claims that parents' worries have been utilised to create the support needed for shifting policies from a concern about human rights to a drive towards consumer rights. The human rights movement was part of a different project, where a strong welfare state would, among other things, guarantee education for all. The urge for consumer rights is part of the neo-liberal/neo-conservative alliance between liberal market-oriented, neo-conservative intellectuals who call for high standards, professionals in the new middle class who are committed to accountability, measurement and management, and conservative moral claims based on fundamentalist religious beliefs.\(^{51}\) Apple makes a similar distinction between person and property right and relates this to the changes in the definitions of concepts like freedom and equality. From a human rights perspective freedom and equality are related to democracy, i.e. democratic notions of the welfare state. From a property rights perspective freedom and equality are related to commercial needs, i.e. the right to choose your tooth-paste based on a competitive market ideology following consumerist ideals.\(^{52}\)

This development has had tremendous effects on schooling and education in the sense that it affects the learners' hopes for the future. The worthiness of an individual is calculated on the basis of his/her contribution to the economy according to the official knowledge engineered through the policies of, what Apple calls, authoritarian populism. It is no coincident that lotteries and *Who wants to be a Millionaire* - TV shows are the type of intellectual activity that remains as the last chance for someone to become a somebody. If this is what is perceived as the remaining hope for many, it is understandable that critical schooling becomes an obstacle.


\(^{52}\) Apple (1993) op. cit.
These dichotomising economic trends in western societies, with the US as the trend-setter, have their established parallels in countries like Namibia, when attempts are made to accelerate the modernisation project in times of globalisations. A recent publication from the Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit (NEPRU) in Windhoek confirms the constraints that the Namibian society is facing and the fact that many of these constraints have their roots in the legacy of the previous apartheid system. Almost a decade after independence the Namibian society is still characterised by contrasts. The labour market has a dual character with a high-wage urban sector and a low-wage rural-informal sector. Namibia is actually one of the most unequal societies in the world with an income distribution where the richest 10% of the society receive 65% of the total income.

In general terms, the advancement of the official knowledge of authoritarian populism and its integration into the common sense is not made by decree or force, but through a process of cultural incorporation of the knowledge and perspectives of the less powerful, with a residual cultural domination as a result. This is true for curricula as well as other educational texts like schoolbooks. One of the obvious results of this process is what is called "mentioning". Mentioning stands for the process in which textual or conceptual inclusions of external demands are made at facial levels, while the dominant cultural perspective remains. The translation of official knowledge into common sense in a society follows Bennet's (1986) description:

55 Apple (1993) op. cit. p. 56.
Dominant culture gains a purchase not in being imposed, as an alien external force, onto the cultures of subordinate groups, but by reaching into these cultures, reshaping them, hooking them and, with them, people whose consciousness and experience is defined in their terms, into an association with the values and ideologies of the ruling groups in society. Such processes neither erase the cultures of subordinate groups, nor do they rob "the people" of their "true culture": what they do is shuffle those cultures on to an ideological and cultural terrain in which they can be disconnected from whatever radical impulses which may (but need not) have fuelled them and be connected to more conservative or, often, downright reactionary cultural and ideological tendencies.  

This displacement process is effective in the sense that it can give credit to the official dominant culture for listening to and considering other viewpoints through mentioning and other facial forms of consensus willingness. The real invasion of common sense by dominant cultural perspectives happens behind the curtain of the facial consensus. The cultural dominance through classical as well as modern colonialism works/ed very much in the same way, but with different degrees of external force.

As the new society emerged in Namibia new conceptions of education developed that qualified for careful considerations and critical analysis. They were presented as the official knowledge of the new order.

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57 Classical colonialism refers to the type of colonialism that started on a large scale after the chopping up of Africa in the 1884-85 Berlin-meeting and ended with the political independence of African states - after a time span of roughly one century. Modern colonialism is the type of overlapping colonialism that we have seen effected during the last 50 years through the work of transnational capital interests, international monetary and donor agencies, streamlined globalised media productions, and the emerging information highways.
in documents like *Toward Education for All*. Therefore, another lengthy quote on the effect of dominant conceptions.

Ruling or dominant conceptions of the world do not directly prescribe the mental content of the illusions that supposedly fill the heads of dominated classes. But the circle of dominant ideas does accumulate the symbolic power to map or classify the world for others; its classifications do acquire not only the constraining power of dominance over other modes of thought but also the initial authority of habit and instinct. It becomes the horizon of the taken-for-granted: what the world is and how it works, for all practical purposes. Ruling ideas may dominate other conceptions of the social world by setting the limit on what will appear as rational, reasonable, credible, indeed sayable or thinkable within the given vocabularies of motive and action available to us. Their dominance lies precisely in the power they have to contain within their limits, to frame within their circumference of thought, the reasoning and calculation of other social groups.

It would be premature to evaluate the new conceptions introduced in Namibia after independence at this point beyond the fact that a majority agreed to the need for change. However, there were at the outset very few ideas about what these changes would entail beyond the unreflective and utopian hope for white education and privilege for all.

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Towards a counter-hegemonic alternative

The tendencies in authoritarian populism, including the market-orientation in schooling through "strict accountability systems, competency-based education and testing, management by objectives", leads to a degradation of teachers' work. This degradation is affected by two related phenomena from industry, according to Apple. These are the separation of conception from execution and deskilling.

The managerial perspective on education and schooling accelerates to the extent that management seems to become the way to solve educational problems. As a consequence the deskilling of teachers is furthered when the focus of educational development is moved out from the classroom to the principal's office. This move is of a specific relevance in the Namibian situation where the view that position is a strong social marker of power rather than a place that generate social responsibilities. This common sense has been inherited from the colonial times. Another indirect deskilling phenomenon is the frequent calls for external evaluations as a strong control mechanism that enters all spheres of schooling and education. Evaluation robs the practitioners of their preferential right of interpretation unless carried out through a truly participatory strategy within a forward-looking perspective.

Another development in education is the intensification of educational labour that results in the chronic work overload experienced by many educators in western societies. The intensification of educational labour is sometimes even misrepresented as professionalism as it is to a large extent coupled to new duties of a technical character related to information and communication technologies and makes the effects of the deskilling process even more serious.

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Apple links the above developments to the kind of knowledge we want to foster through schooling. These are knowledge that (factual knowledge), knowledge how (skills), and knowledge to (dispositional knowledge) which includes norms and values that guide future conduct such as knowing to be honest. The combination of these different types of knowledge constitutes what Apple calls critical literacy. The recent trends escalating through the conservative triumphalism are geared towards knowledge that and thus narrowing down the span of knowledge that schools value and want to offer. A fourth category of knowledge that is even further distanced in the conservative turn is knowledge why, by whom, for whom and under what conditions. This category should then work in tandem with Apple’s categorisation in the following order of critical dyads: why – to, why – how, and why - that. These dyads constitute in combination a basis for what can be called critical literacy of pedagogy, as an expansion of Apple's concept. A critical literacy of pedagogy that embraces the critical dyads can be used for curriculum development and educational praxis, as a counter-hegemonic force in pursuit of social justice, provided its moral basis is aligned with such considerations.

An initial bridging to the African landscape

The foregoing analytic concepts originated far from Namibia. Even though, concepts like hegemony were considered highly relevant for an inquiry that was related to the remnants of colonialism or the continuation of it by other means together with a critical perspective on international development co-operation. Gramsci's conceptualisation of hegemony is

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connected with the role of the intellectuals and the formation of common sense through a war of position. This created a plausible conceptual basis for an understanding of the attempt to overhaul the colonial teacher education system in Namibia.

Apple's work gave an example of how hegemonic powers penetrate common sense in a conservative direction by the mobilisation of people's fears for the future. It was also Apple's work that led to a conceptualisation of a critical literacy of pedagogy as a plausible representation of a counter-hegemonic praxis and a good sense. The concept degrees of freedom was introduced as a label for the areas that are not reached by hegemonic powers. The preferential right of interpretation became an expression for the instrumental tool in the formation of and influence over common sense and official knowledge through a war of position.

This conceptual basis created a plausible explanatory value, even on a teacher education reform far away in time and place. In other words, a pre-judicious understanding of an outsider-within became dressed in a conceptual attire that will be used for a retrospective analysis of the teacher education reform in Namibia.

Human endeavours are placed on the past-present-future continuum and they need to be analysed on that continuum. Therefore, with reference to the importance of the past, especially in an African perspective, the following journey will start in a landscape created by the broader global layers with historical connections that influence an African nation state like Namibia today and in the future.
PART TWO: THE LANDSCAPE
Chapter Three

Broad layers of influence

This first outlook presents the African landscape through global historical spectacles. It attempts to connect the economic, political, and cultural fields to create a cohesive understanding of the societal forces affecting educational endeavours such as a national teacher education reform in an African state. It looks at the emerging hegemony of the global expansion of capitalism, informationalism, and network society. It looks at the effects of the imported official knowledge of development and the common sense of modernisation through schooling. These aspects are interrelated entities and are considered to create a fuller understanding of the possibilities and constraints for education reform.

The hegemonic global perspective

Capitalist expansion has inverse effects upon the centres and the peripheries of the system; in the first it integrates society, on which the nation is based, and in the second it destroys society, eventually destroying the nation itself, or annihilating its potentialities.¹

After the disintegration of the Eastern Bloc, the collapse of its version of industrial statism and the disappearance of Soviet state communism as a political system, capitalism was given free scope to develop as the dominant economic system from the beginning of the 1990s.² This global revolution, which kicked off with an accelerated globalisation of

¹ Amin op. cit. p. 68.
² Statism has been described by Castells as "a specific social system oriented toward the maximization of state power" as opposed to capitalism "in which surplus is appropriated by the holders of control in economic organizations". "While capitalism is oriented toward profit-maximizing, statism is oriented toward power-maximizing". Castells (1998) op. cit. pp. 7-9.
international capital, the development of informationalism and the emerging network society, coincided with the declaration of independence in Namibia. These externally driven trends and the internal changes in the Namibian society created an unexpected new situation, with optimism for the future. Namibia was not in a situation where strict measures of structural adjustments were called for from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, or the donor communities. At an early stage the World Bank was instrumental in setting up the so called Task Force on teacher education. This was done through one of its educational agents, who had a lot of personal and educational goodwill in the Southern African region because of his previous involvement with Science education in Zimbabwe. The World Bank also tried to get involved in the future development in teacher education. However, the Minister of Education did not accept the Bank's offer to finance the building of new teacher education colleges on the conditions that it also wanted to get involved in the software, i.e. the development of the teacher education programmes. The situation opened up for a new and pluralistic donor market and opportunities for donors to get some relevant experiences before moving on to South Africa. Modernisation was on the agenda and would be effectuated through the demands for multiparty parliamentary democracy and donor support.

The recent globalisation trends as described and analysed by Amin and Castells, both significant scholars and thinkers in the area of global

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3 SWAPO had been a liberation movement heavily dependent on military support from the Eastern Bloc and had amongst its top leadership a significant number of people who rhetorically subscribed to the ideologies of the Eastern Bloc including Marxist-Leninist ideas. With the new international situation such ideas disappeared almost entirely from the official political arena, creating almost a total national consensus for the remaining and prevailing international idea of capital generation through market-orientations.

4 Changes in South Africa were expected already in the beginning of the 1990s in connection with the release of Nelson Mandela. Many donor agencies saw their entrance in Namibia, a country of minor international significance, as a relevant experience for a future official engagement in South Africa, the regional super power.
issues, seem to have similar effects on Third World countries as colonialism, i.e. further dependency and marginalisation, even though with some modifications. In that sense, the modern urban enclaves in many African cities are today in such a state that no temporary visitor from Western Europe would miss any of the latest symbols of (post)modernity, being it cell-phones networks, computers, e-mail cafés, or the latest BMW models. Today, Sub-Saharan Africa is characterised by "the incorporation of some minuscule sectors of some countries into global capitalism, as well as the chaotic de-linking of most people and most territories from the global economy". The hope that the recent globalisation trends will bring people closer to each other, which seem to be the message of the globalisation proponents, will probably turn out as empty slogans for the majority, while further supporting a skewed global order. As a US-based expert in nationalism, revolutions, and empires has put it, "of all the forces facilitating empire at present, globalization may turn out to be the most powerful".

How did the present marginalisation develop for Sub-Saharan Africa after decades of attempts for European-styled modernisation of the independent African states? Castells argues that we cannot understand the current predicament of the weak nation-state in Sub-Saharan Africa without linking it to the political economy in the past decades. In the 1960s the lifeline for the local peasantry was destroyed by large-scale agricultural production for export and autarkic industrialisation without African markets. In the 1970s indebtedness accelerated and the invention of structural adjustment programmes aggravated the social conditions for the masses. The furtherance of the economic crisis, an accelerated depth crises and demands for structural adjustment in the 1980s diminished the resources even further and politicians started to foresee an approaching legitimacy crisis. This crisis was turned into a political economy of

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5 Castells (1998) op. cit. p. 113.
begging, large-scale illicit trade, and a disintegration of nation-states through clientelistic political ethnicism. Chabal & Daloz, two scholars with African background now operating from bases in UK and France, elaborate on the African crisis, but from a somewhat different perspective.

Our argument is that it is the decline in the resources available for patronage rather than dissatisfaction with the patrimonial order per se which has undermined the legitimacy of political elites on the continent.\(^7\)

This point illustrates the strong logic of clientelistic reciprocity in African politics that alters the context within which we should place the international demands for liberalisation, representative and parliamentary democracy, human rights, etc. as conditions for foreign aid. In political terms, the clientelistic reciprocity turns the political act of casting your vote, which we in the Western world consider as an individual expression of choice, into ties of solidarity. While the Western view of society is based on conceptions about the "modern legal and rationale state, the emergence of individualism and the assertion of class identities", the African informal political order is based on "a system grounded in a reciprocal type of interdependence between leaders, courtiers and the populace".\(^8\) This system still works, not according to the Western logic, but "to maintain social bonds between those at the top and bottom of society".\(^9\)

What happens in African states today is that the democratic transition, according to the Western paradigm, is reinterpreted locally and with it, African political identity. In this respect Chabal & Daloz address five areas of importance that are summarised here.\(^{10}\)

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\(^8\) Ibid. p. 44.

\(^9\) Ibid. p. 44.

\(^{10}\) After Chabal and Daloz op. cit. pp. 50-56.
The boundaries of politics are much broader in the African society, thus anything related to human life, even the occult, can be politically significant.

The view of the individual is also inclusive in the sense that individuals are foremost seen as members of communities. Becoming 'modern' does not exclude collectivity. The African is first a collective being through kin, ethnicity, etc. and then a single citizen of the state.

As a consequence political legitimacy springs from the collective being rather than from the citizenship in the modern state.

From this follows that representation is also communal or collective. A political representative will embody the qualities and virtues of the community and is expected to further the communal interests.  

Political opposition gets a different meaning in this situation. A political opposition with no means to deliver the needed communal resources through the political system is instrumentally useless, besides the long term ambitions to gain political power.

A consequence of the last point is that multiparty competitions "may have serious unintended effects and may even prove to be deeply destabilizing" as electoral failure will have far-reaching negative communal consequences.  

Motyl's statement related to the discussion of modern nation-states is worth noting here as "parliamentary competition accentuates the "groupness" of groups and thus provides elites with ready-made vehicles for their ambitions". In the worst cases these forces work together and accelerate the dichotomising tendencies in the society.

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1 Officially there are 35 recognised traditional authorities in Namibia, which is an indication of the social structure in the Namibian society. When the Ministry of Regional, Local Government and Housing recently called for the registration of tribal authorities they received 213 applications which further reflects the social importance of ethnic identity. Amupadhi, T. (2000) Too many chiefs, too few followers. The Namibian, website edition, 19-09-2000. http://www.namibian.com.na

2 Chabal and Daloz op. cit. p. 69.

3 Motyl op. cit. p. 112.
as new elite strata of politicians in opposition are formed that cannot deliver to the populace.

Chabal & Daloz conclude their analysis with some notes on productivity and the political instrumentalisation of disorder. The Western conception of modernity includes a strong demand for productivity as it is seen as the key element for economic development and therefore essential for achievement and consequentially for deferred reward. The opposite is the case in Africa, according to Chabal & Daloz, where achievement within the modernised parts of society is "found in the immediate display of material gain - that is consumption rather than production". They state that the scope for reform becomes limited as "where disorder has become a resource, there is no incentive to work for a more institutionalized ordering of society". Thus, in the absence of other ways to sustain neo-patrimonialism, "there is inevitable a tendency to link politics to realms of increased disorder, be it war or crime". They conclude,

There is therefore an inbuilt bias in favour of greater disorder and against the formation of the Western-style legal, administrative and institutional foundations required for development.

These analyses are such that if read dogmatically, they can support the common perception of Africa as a doomed continent or even impinge on racist notions, which the authors also note themselves. However, they acknowledge that "political elites operate on a number of different registers - both modern and traditional".

15 Chabal and Daloz op. cit. p. 162.
16 Ibid. p. 162.
17 Ibid. p. 162.
18 Ibid. p. 161.
It holds true that from the perspective of Chabal & Daloz donor aid fills a function in the African society, even though not the intended one. These authors are also sceptical about recent trends in the international donor community where supporting the civil society through e.g. non-government organisation (NGOs) is seen as a way to achieve modernisation yet outside the political state apparatus. They claim that the strong neo-patrimonial reciprocity will find its way into the NGOs and thus undermine this modernisation strategy.

The African state is no more than a decorative pseudo-Western facade according to Chabal & Daloz. If that holds true aid administrators who distribute development aid through a Western efficiency rationality can expect surprises in the future. The recent trend of sector support within a partnership rhetoric - even with its less partnership oriented hidden agenda - is incapable of changing or might even further feed the clientelism that Chabal & Daloz have addressed.

**Challenging the official knowledge of the development business**

In these closing years of the twentieth century the time has come for the lords of poverty to depart. Their ouster can only be achieved, however, by stopping development assistance in its present form ...Perhaps when the middle men of the aid industry have been shut out it will become possible for people to rediscover ways to "help" one another directly according to their needs and aspirations as they themselves define them, in line with priorities that they themselves have set, and guided by their own agendas.¹⁹

Is Hancock's call for an end to the present mainstream aid business a valid option? The evidence that Hancock and other scholars have collected over time is overwhelming. *Yes* is the answer to this question if we aim for development in terms of standardised western modernisation. Our moral

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responsibility tells us that we still have to find ways to meet the needs of the toiling masses of the Third World. A critical solidarity paradigm beyond the present global order of marginalisation, polarisation, and structural violence, which is also accelerated by the aid business, can be the answer.²⁰ Amin's analysis of the historical critics of development in the Third World from both modern and postmodern positions on the Right and the Left sides of the political scale relates also to development co-operation. According to Amin there is a tendency amongst donor agencies to divert attention from the real issues of development, i.e. development as expansion of capitalist modernisation. Instead donor agencies become concerned about fashionable currencies like awareness of gender, cultural, or environmental issues. Even though undeniably important, such currencies can divert the attention from the holistic to the specific. According to Amin, "development agencies have become extraordinarily clever in handling these matters, changing their rhetoric without ever challenging established regimes".²¹ Alternative approaches, he suggests, need to be developed that address theoretical and practical dilemmas related to the connection between the universal and the particular.²²

We have to be able to design practical action programmes linking democratization with social advancement, with sufficient courage to implement effective policies within such a framework and to deal boldly with the risk of conflict that arises from the thrust of capitalist expansion.²³

²⁰ See for example Hancock op. cit. pp. 160 - 161; Amin op. cit. pp. 142 - 146. The recent development of organisations like Attac is a growing sign of a new type of critic of the prevailing order that often is reduced to another expression of youth protests by the establishment while other observers see it as a broader type of mobilisation on the global arena.

²¹ Amin op. cit. p. 146.

²² Here the universal is related to global issues and the particular to cultural, social, political and economic variations on national/regional levels.

²³ Amin op. cit. p. 146.
Odora Hoppers, an African scholar working in South Africa, has attended to the issue of international aid and its link to structural violence and power. She relates conceptualisations of aid:

- as an invisible way to exercise power,
- as a way to further the self-interest of the donor countries,
- as a way to exercise mind control,
- to feed a stratum of international consultants, and
- to uphold global capitalism.\(^\text{24}\)

These critical notions seem to have overwhelming effects on Third World countries and are the major crux of international aid, which from this perspective can be summed up as aid for self-help for the already affluent countries in the North. Swedish aid has a reputation of breaking with this mainstream agenda and is said to apply a more humanistic approach that for example has been documented through the long-term support to liberation movements in Southern Africa.\(^\text{25}\) However, the broader shifts in Swedish development aid over the last 40 years from a solidarity to a market orientated paradigm is an indication of the Swedish adaptation to the international mainstream agenda following the broader political trends in the Swedish society. The changes in aid are sometimes officially motivated by a self-critical analysis of previous mistakes in development co-operation but can also be explained by the general penetration of the political thinking of economism and marketism into the field of international co-operation. As Samoff puts it in relation to the World Bank activities during the 1990s: "conventional wisdom on analyzing and


understanding education came to reflect the perspectives of economists and bankers".\textsuperscript{26} Policy change under the slogan \textit{Partnership Africa} is a recent example of this longitudinal shift in emphasis that follows the global trend of unconditional convergence towards the prevailing global economic order.\textsuperscript{27} This convergence calls for counter-action through an urgent institutionalisation of a critical policy paradigm in the African societies that will also have far-reaching consequences for international co-operation.

An alternative model of development, one that would in fact be more socially and environmentally sustainable, is not a utopia, and there is an abundance of realistic, technically sound proposals for self-reliant development models in a number of countries, as well as strategies for Africa-centered regional cooperation. In most cases, they assume the necessary partial de-linking of African economies from global networks of capital accumulation, given the consequences of current asymmetrical linkages.\textsuperscript{28}

What Odora Hoppers calls "Public Policy Dialogue" can play a role in a critical policy paradigm.\textsuperscript{29} Public Policy Dialogue is characterising dialogue as reciprocal elucidation involving planners, practitioners, and civil society, and thus also the diversity of perspectives this broad representation creates. As Odora Hoppers puts it:

\begin{quote}

\citep{samoff1998a} op.cit. p. 8.
\citep{andren1997} Partnership Africa/Partner med Afrika. Stockholm: Utrikesdepartmentet. See also Dahlström, L. (1997:a) Gärna partnerskap - men med fortsatt bistånd! (Partnership is welcome - but with continued aid!) In Omvärlden, No. 5. pp. 36-37, for a critic of this policy.
\citep{castells1998} op. cit. p. 128.
\citep{odora1998} Hoppers op. cit.
\end{quote}
This can enable science to be seen in its correct perspective as one way of knowing, one way of seeking knowledge, but also one which cannot replace experience. Science, experiential knowledge and politics have to come together in the framework of a human-centred development.\(^{30}\)

Public Policy Dialogue involves a shift in the forum for critical facilitation, negotiations, and communication "around pertinent developmental and policy issues" beyond the "ivory towers, old boys club" or academic networks.\(^{31}\) This is related to the role of academics and scholarship and Odora Hoopers claims that the role and positioning of the analyst (scholar, researcher) must also change.

The role of the analyst becomes one of active human agency and commitment, fully aware of that the role of representative institutions in social democratic politics is constrained and distorted by the obvious inequalities of power.\(^{32}\)

Odora Hoppers links this to African researchers in particular and claims that they could benefit from Gramsci's notion of organic intellectuals as a way to attend to the demystification of bourgeoisie ideology and the unmasking of false universality. Within a critical policy paradigm spaces can be opened for creative and transformative action in pursuit of social justice.

**The modern school as exported to Africa**

Following the theme of this outlook a move closer to education practices would still entail a combination of universal and particular perspectives. Therefore, Fuller’s discussion of *The Western state builds third-world schools* is a relevant starting point.\(^{33}\) What Apple explains as a conscious

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\(^{30}\) Odora Hoppers op. cit. p. 193.

\(^{31}\) Ibid. p. 193.

\(^{32}\) Ibid. p. 191.

way by the people in power to redirect attention from the real source of economic crises to the school has, by Fuller, been expressed as the reflexive turn to schooling for the treatment of "a variety of social maladies".\textsuperscript{34} It is true for many places and for diverse political camps, from left to right, that schooling often has been turned into the representative battleground for ideological differences. This confirms that schooling matters for social development both directly as a site for social activities, influences, and promises for mass opportunity and indirectly as being this battleground over ideology.

When Fuller addresses schooling in Africa he does it by characterising the African state as a fragile state. This fragile state is manifested in its need to "nurture interdependence with other institutions using it as a stage upon which the ideals and symbols of the liberal polity are enacted".\textsuperscript{35} The introduction of mass schooling acts both as a way to boost Westernised modernisation and to signal the illusion of mass opportunity. However, mass opportunity will not arrive unaided. At the same time political leaders of the fragile state need to nurture the "mediating authority of local collectives".\textsuperscript{36} All this will subvert the state's legitimacy, according to Fuller, and create the fragile state.

This analysis can be compared to the one by Chabal & Daloz reported above. Instead of drawing the conclusion of a fragile state, they conclude that what is considered as disorder from the Western perspective works, when seen from the African perspective.\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{34} Apple (1996) op. cit. p. 119; Fuller op. cit. p. 2.
\textsuperscript{35} Fuller op. cit. p. 9.
\textsuperscript{36} Fuller op. cit. p. 10.
\textsuperscript{37} Castells has put forward another concept, the 'bifurcated state', that according to him survived independence and represents the Westernized state/ethnicity authority parallelism in today's African states. Castells (1998) op. cit. pp. 106 - 107.
[Within Africa] mass schooling has become a key strategy for signaling modern institutional change, particularly the coming of Western ideals and the arrival of mass opportunity.\(^{38}\)

Fuller argues that the macro agenda of the central state sets the mass conditions in the classrooms. This is broadly done through the following penetrations:

- The state enforces bureaucratic forms and rituals (tidy class schedules, ritualised lesson plans, breaking down complex tasks into simple behavioural entities) that signal modern bureaucracy.
- The state produces curricula that contain Western forms of knowledge and symbols, which further strengthens parallelism in African societies.
- The state sanctions a moral order, which is perceived as superior to the indigenous forms of authority and knowledge.
- The state sets up the mass conditions in the classroom, which leaves the teacher in a situation where the ritualised school, as we know it in Africa, becomes the rational norm.
- All this is further enforced by a situation where each child's virtue and worth is judged along the same secular criteria which emphasise memorisation of sacred fact and bits of knowledge.\(^{39}\)

Serpell, who studied the effects of schooling in a district in Zambia, claim that the controversies over the Western package of schooling can only be solved through a more inclusive strategy.

\(^{38}\) Fuller op. cit. p. xvii

\(^{39}\) After Fuller op. cit. pp. 132-133.
Chapter Three

If schooling is to be a source of empowering enlightenment rather than an instrument of domesticating indoctrination, its intellectual content must recruit the creative imagination of the growing child. And if the consequences for the local community are to be cultural enrichment and socio-economic progress rather than debilitating social conflict, cultural demoralisation and economic stagnation, an active dialogue is required among the varied perspectives of its multiple interest groups.  

Serpell believes that this can be done through "a radical redefinition of what constitutes modern education, incorporating the best of both cultures, a synthesis born of egalitarian discourse". He relates this to the following implications for the rethinking of educational planning and policy: schools as nodes for reform, a focus on an alternation of curriculum content, an expansion of the clientele for schooling, an enlarging of the local service functions of schools, and an increased flexibility of access.

One of the basic features of schools in Africa is that they are operating in an environment that for the great majority consists of forms of life, work, economy, family and conviction that are different from the transnational modernistic way of life and culture spreading over the world. This transnational modernistic culture is spread based on the claim to be the expression of the universal truth about man and society. It eliminates the chance of a constructive growth process involving other cultures and ways of life. Schooling under independence in Africa has to a great extent continued colonial schooling and therefore supported this transnational, modernising culture. The question remains whether schooling can create a new way out of the confrontation between tradition and modernism? Can schooling reverse the process of being an instrument for the unconscious destruction of civilisations, without allowing people to participate in this

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41 Ibid. p. 278.  
42 Ibid. pp. 266 - 276.
globalisation process in other ways than as victims, except for an urban middle class minority?43

In spite of the overwhelming evidence that schooling has a reproductive role in society and that it persists in operating according to a conservative charter, even after a liberation struggle where its critical role has been emphasised, there is also evidence of the contrary, according to Samoff. "Notwithstanding the pervasive sense of crisis, Africa has seen significant experiments and innovations, some strikingly successful", even though in many cases not sustained after the initial enthusiasm, due to a combination of local and structural reasons.44

Annotation: a constraining global layer for reform

At independence everything in Namibia was in flux and the land of many faces, diversity, and contrast - as Namibia is often portrayed in the tourist brochures - continued to live up to its reputation not only for the tourists. A new political leadership, new institutions and new programmes emerged at the same time as the socio-economic situation for the majority of Namibians remained the same or even deteriorated. All expected change both those who wanted it to be fundamental and revolutionary and those who feared that their privileges could be infringed. Teacher education reform became one of the strongest forces in the attempts to move education in a radical direction.

In the midst of this situation, teacher education reform after independence began based on an agenda of secular radicalism with traits of collectivism, critical pedagogy, democracy, and social development through participation.45

Teacher education reform was announced as a way to undo the previous system and to introduce something different. It also faced the contradictory effects of the broad forms of influence that have been addressed in this chapter. Thus, the accelerating globalisation trends that replaced the era of the cold war opened up the Namibian borders for international forces and the establishment of new alliances and hopes that contrasted the maintenance of an extremely askew distribution of wealth amongst the Namibian people.

The second-tier hierarchy installed by the apartheid ideology was replaced by a representative parliamentarian system that gave SWAPO a two-third majority in parliament. A new type of gravy train started to roll in Namibia, one that had far reaching effects on the Namibian society including education reforms. This gravy train furthered the drive for individual climbing of social ladders, urbanisation and other negative aspects of modernisation.\(^4\)\(^6\)

Independence created a new market place for international development co-operation. This had the effect that a number of international and national donor organisations landed on Namibian ground. Some had their agendas already in their pockets and others had a more humble approach, but all with their own perceived preferential right of interpretation often operationalised through mandating sector analysis.\(^4\)\(^7\)

SWAPO entered the post-independence arena with a strong mandate to change formal schooling to something beneficial to all Namibians. Since then, the school system has gone through a number of significant changes for the better. However, many features of the distorted

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\(^4\) This gravy train was an expression used by the critical media for the tendencies by the new political elite to use their position to further their own benefits continuously since independence through elaborated medical and pension schemes, housing and car allowances and towering salaries. See for example Amupadhi, T. (2001) Gravy train back on track. The Namibian website edition, 11-05-2001. http://www.namibian.com.na.

version of the modern school still prevail with their illusionary signals of mass opportunity. It is the combination of the broad forms of influence attended to in this chapter and the specific historical imprints on formal schooling in Namibia that contributed to the survival of a school that did not live up to its official promises.

Chapter four will address the historical imprints on education in Namibia that affected the common sense about schooling and reforms.
Chapter Four

Deposits into common sense about education

A hundred years of colonialism has become engraved in Namibian society. These engravings are best observed today through the ways any urban community is organised, not only in Namibia but throughout the African continent. Modernisation has arrived on the colonisers' conditions. Smaller communities and towns are still today mirrors of a segregated society with the commercial centres usually surrounded by the living areas for whites with gardens either hidden behind walls or defended by the Beware of the Dog-signs.

I lived for a period in a part of Windhoek for mainly white middle class. This area is colloquially called *White after Dark* by the black maids and gardeners who toil in the whites' houses during the day before they return to their own children and low cost houses in the location. I once attended a neighbourhood watch meeting, where the question was raised: How many of you are armed? All 25 neighbours lifted their hands, except the two foreigners of whom I was one.¹

Beyond these areas that are obviously built on fear you will find the industrial sites where some of the economic conditions for a segregated society are created. Further beyond at the dusty outskirts you will meet the majority of the people in what are normally called the locations.

Asplund, a Swedish scholar, makes a distinction between the levels of material conditions, conceptions and discourses.² If summarised for the present purpose, Asplund claims that conceptions are based on material conditions. He further notes that time travel faster at discourse level than at conceptual level with the consequence that conceptions have a

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...tendency to lack behind and influence new discourses and practices in a conservative direction. If we accept Asplund's notion that the way we think has its origin in material and practical conditions and that mental engravings (conceptions) are sustainable beyond its material basis, we must look back into history to understand what happens today.

Namibia was the last colony in Southern Africa until the 21st of March 1990, when the country and its people became politically independent from South Africa after almost three decades of political and armed liberation struggle mainly through the liberation movement SWAPO. The new government formed by SWAPO in 1990 started the difficult process to undo the legacy of the previous regime that was characterised by inequality and inequity in all spheres of life created through the previous government policy based on the racist philosophy of apartheid. The apartheid policy had been implemented in the education sector through bantu education for the blacks and an elitist system favouring the white minority.3

The racist notions of apartheid took root after the arrival of the Dutch (Afrikaaners) in the Cape in 1652, through their Calvinist Christianity. The Calvinist original belief was that of religious separateness and the Calvinists recognised themselves as a chosen people of God, based on “the twin doctrines of ‘predestination’ and ‘election’”.4 This religious separateness was soon conveniently confused with separateness in race and colour that later became the acknowledged state policy in South Africa as well as Namibia. This state policy was created for “legalised thuggery, brutality and theft on a large scale and was a

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3 See for example Dahlström, L. (1999:a) Transforming teacher education for a democratic society - the case of Namibia. Teaching and Teacher Education. 15. 143-155.
disguise to enrich, empower and ‘emprivilege’ /the whites/ on a massive scale”, according to the South African scholar du Pre.⁵

Many scholars, who have written recently on education in Namibia have attended to the historical aspects of education as an important factor for the understanding of the present situation.⁶ As Swarts points out, there are three major historical periods for education in Africa: the pre-colonial, the colonial, and the post-colonial.⁷ If we look at these periods as dominated by certain traits in education, we can also add the period of the liberation struggle as a fourth category, which operated in parallel with the colonial period. The period of the liberation struggle can be looked at as a counter force to colonial education and a pre-stage to the post colonial period, but in many cases with distinct differences created by the specific social and political conditions.

The relevance of these historical stages of education for this study is related to the dynamics of education in Africa in contrast to education in affluent societies in the North. Formal education as we know it in these societies is more or less taken for granted. In principle, it stands out in these countries as an almost uncontested way to bring up, educate, and socialise the next generation. The fundamentals of that system are seldom questioned, while the discussions on methodological and organisational

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⁵ Du Pre op. cit. p. 248.
⁷ Swarts, Ibid. p. 20.
issues are fierce. In African societies the influences from different forms of education are still significant due to the social patterns of the African societies. This creates a situation that on a societal level has been characterised as an “overlapping structure under transformation”. It creates a kind of a layered pattern with residual deposits that inflict on the common sense about modern schooling and education at large. The origins of these residuals are addressed below.

**Indigenous African education**

Education in the pre-colonial societies had a number of characteristics under the guiding principle of functionalism. Rodney summarises the characteristics of African education as follows:

Its close links with social life, both in material and spiritual sense; its collective nature; its many-sidedness; and its progressive development in conformity with the successive stages of physical, emotional and mental development of the child.

When we talk of indigenous African education, we must keep in mind the variations, also when we try to identify the commonalties. One of the strongest general characteristics was the oral tradition that was expressed in many different ways and for many different educational purposes. Proverbs, riddles, word games, puzzles, tongue-twisters, fables, myths and legends were used e.g. to carry forward ideas and experiences in the shared cultural knowledge, to develop innovative and creative skills, to carry out problem solving, and to stimulate discussion for intellectual

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development.\textsuperscript{11} An important characteristic was that indigenous education took place through the media of the mother tongue.

Other characteristics of indigenous African education were its integration with the society at large and its life-long endeavour.\textsuperscript{12} Learning was not considered as something that in an absurd way had to be concentrated to an early period in life, but something that was staged according to age with the effect that the highest insight was the privilege of the elders.\textsuperscript{13} Indigenous African education had a conservative influence in the sense that it in most instances and with a few exceptions only allowed for the type of learning that supported status quo.\textsuperscript{14} It was strongly gender divided and authority bound like the rest of the traditional society.\textsuperscript{15} When these aspects were transferred to the modern enclaves of African societies, they often affected meanings and attitudes in transformed ways as expressions of oppression or authoritarian rule through their decontextualised transfer.

It would be wrong to call indigenous African education a type of informal or non-formal education just because it followed a different logic as compared to the global forms of western education. Specific functionaries existed, i.e. persons with specific competencies, who the learners met under specific learning arrangements throughout life.

It is without any attempts to glorify indigenous African education beyond its relevance to the social settings in which it was situated that we can point to parallels in the recent discourses of modern schooling. However, when we today e.g. hear about the needs to create links between school and community and for life-long learning it is usually for different

\textsuperscript{12} Amukugo op. cit.; Swarts (1998) op. cit.
\textsuperscript{13} Callewaert (1998) op. cit.
\textsuperscript{14} Reagan op. cit.
reasons. It can be used for the purpose to bring back relevance into schooling for later productive surplus reasons and to create a flexible workforce that can respond to the changing needs of the global capitalist mode of production. It can also be used for other reasons related to transformative practices for empowerment that goes beyond market considerations.

The social formations that created indigenous education are still present in many African societies, even though modern schooling has taken over the socialisation functions that are directed towards the modern society. However, remnants of indigenous African education are still operative in its social base and with them their common sense. From a broad perspective it is worth to note the contrasts between indigenous African education with its oral tradition, gender division, authority confinement and support to the status quo and the written, gender equity, learner-centred, and emancipatory intentions expressed in post-colonial policies. The deposits into common sense from the traditional historical layer are mainly related to these contrasts. When decontextualised in modern schooling they support teacher talk, uneven gender concerns, authoritarian behaviour, and a neglect of change.

Colonial education

The concept colonial education is used here to describe educational interventions that are based on the westernised mode of formal education and that were utilised purposefully for reasons of subjugation. Colonial education introduced western schooling and broke definitely with indigenous education that was considered heathen and reactionary by the colonisers.

The Namibian experience of colonial education is not only related to German imperialism and South African apartheid policies, but also to missionary endeavours, as the introduction of missionary education laid
the foundation for the future to come.\(^\text{16}\) This description will be limited to the general aspects of colonial education that are relevant for the further analysis of the post-colonial reform efforts in Namibia. Diescho, Cohen and Kustaaa have carried out broader analyses of colonial education in Namibia.\(^\text{17}\)

**Missionary schooling**

The first missionaries came to Namibia in 1805 representing the London Missionary Society. During the period until the formal colonisation by Germany in 1885 nine different denominations sent their representatives to Namibia, of which the Rhenish Mission Society and the Finnish Mission Society became the most significant.\(^\text{18}\)

The early missionaries were not very successful in their attempts to turn what they saw as the heathen and primitive societies in Namibia into societies based on Christianity. It took the Germans, under the influential missionary Hahn, several decades to install the Christian ideology amongst the traditional chiefs as a conscious way to infiltrate the traditional African societies. It was not until the establishment of Augustineum in 1866 that the sons of Chiefs converted to Christianity.\(^\text{19}\)

The strategy with the establishment of Augustineum was to train teacher assistants to the missionaries from the sons of chiefs in Hereroland and Ovamboland. This slow process of Christianisation was the main reason for the missionaries in Namibia to request the total colonisation of Namibia by Germany and Britain under the pretext of protecting the lives and property of the white settlers.\(^\text{20}\)

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\(^\text{16}\) Mbuende op. cit.; Kustaaa op. cit.

\(^\text{17}\) Diescho op. cit.; Cohen op. cit; and Kustaaa op.cit.

\(^\text{18}\) Kustaaa, Ibid.

\(^\text{19}\) Ibid. Augustineum was the first institution created in the country that resembled a teacher education college. It was established at Okahandja in 1866. Okahandja is today the place for the National Institute for Educational Development (NIED) from where the post-independence teacher education reform has been organised since 1995.

\(^\text{20}\) Ibid.
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There are ample examples given by Kustaa of the missionaries’ colonial mentality that totally ignored Namibian customs and beliefs, and saw themselves as bearers of a superior culture as was the common sense of the time in Europe with far reaching consequences for other cultures. Kustaa refers to the conflicts created by Hahn, mainly through his oppressive and ignorant behaviour towards the blacks. Hahn also became the person, who encouraged Finnish missionaries to share the de-heathenisation of Namibia. Kustaa claims through his reference to Nambala, that the Finnish missionaries followed the main stream paternalistic tradition, even after the 1961 visit by Professor Juva to Namibia, when he “persuaded the FMS [Finnish Missionary Society] missionaries to take a more active role against Apartheid in Namibia”.

The entrance of missionaries in Namibia was on occasions built on a misinterpretation of the Chiefs’ requests for missionaries to settle in their areas. While the missionaries interpreted it as a sign of interest in Christianity as indicated by Lehtonen, the Chiefs saw it as an opportunity to expand their power and empires, through the availability of goods and services, according to Nambala. This difference in expectations created its own problems. For example, one of the Finnish artisans, who arrived with the first Finnish missionaries, had to leave his station in Ovamboland when he refused to assist as a gunsmith on the request of the king.

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21 The Western notions about Africa and the less intellectual races as the saying was in the early times of colonialisation have recently been addressed by Lindqvist, S. (1992) Utrota varenda jävel. (Exterminate all the brutes) Stockholm: Bonniers; and Hochschild, A. (2000) Kung Leopolds Vålnad (King Leopold's Ghost). Stockholm: Ordfront.
24 Kustaa op.cit.
Kustaa describes missionary education as based on a *tabula rasa* theory, meaning that the missionaries’ attitude was that there was no significant knowledge related to culture and religion available amongst the blacks at the outset. Kustaa also refers to Freire’s concept of banking education as the way missionary schooling was carried out.²⁵ Kustaa argues, that

The development of adapted colonial education for Namibian Blacks under the aegis of missionaries representing various Christian denominations was not an isolated event. Missionary education in Namibia developed as part of a global system of adapted colonial education for Blacks and oppressed groups at a time when missionaries acted as agents of a global and expanding capitalist system.²⁶

The missionaries introduced the western type of formal schooling for religious indoctrination.²⁷ Even as late as 1958 the Finnish Missions in Namibia responded to a questionnaire by the South African authorities in Namibia, with the words “The Finnish Missionary Society and the Ev. Luth. Ovambokavango Church always try to make the teachers realise that ‘the fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge’”.²⁸

It was not until after the German colonisation of Namibia in 1885 that missionaries started to make an impact on schooling. The *bush schools* were an important development initiated by the Finnish missionaries. However, missionary schooling also contributed indirectly

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²⁵ Freire op. cit.
²⁶ Kustaa op. cit. p. 743.
²⁷ Ndilula op. cit.
²⁸ Lethonen op. cit. p. 186. The relationship between the introduction of Western schooling through the missionaries and the need for labour in the expansion of the capitalistic mode of production was not limited to the international colonial system between Europe and Africa. Ambjörnsson’s analysis of the contemporary alliances between religion, schooling, and industrial development in a small community in the northern part of Sweden exemplified this broader perspective on schooling. He notes that the common interests amongst the industrialists and the clergy was acted out through schooling to inculcate a way of living that satisfied their paternalistic outlooks on the workers. Ambjörnsson, R. (1988) *Den Skötsamme Arbetaren* (The Conscientious Worker). Stockholm: Carlssons.
to a segregation policy by starting separate schools for the different groups in the country.

**Schooling under German colonialism**

Segregated schooling that started with missionary education directed towards the upper strata in the traditional Namibian societies, was further developed during the German rule. Schooling was made compulsory for all white children in 1911, while schooling for blacks was left with the missionary societies, but under German control. Towards the end of the German colonial period, 1915, there were approximately 115 mission schools for all non-white groups enrolling 5,490 learners out of a total black population around 180,000.29

The preparing of the ground for the apartheid policy was furthered through the expressed preference for the boer system by the German administration as referred to by Kustaa.30 The system of unequal funding for black and white schools was another structural characteristics introduced by the Germans that in principle remained in Namibia through the apartheid era up until independence 1990 and beyond.31

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29 Mbamba op. cit.
30 Kustaa op. cit.
31 A Presidential Commission stated as late as 1999: "Although Namibia has made commendable progress in improving access to basic education, the same cannot be said of equity and quality, which are closely linked for disadvantaged groups. The Commission therefore recommends that unit costs should be calculated for each learner. These unit costs should include all components, including staff salaries. (Presently unit costs are used only for textbooks, stationary, and other materials.) The allocation of funds to a region should therefore be in terms of the number of learners it has at each phase of education, and the unit costs of that phase. Such measures should be phased in over a period of three years, by 2003. A system of unit costs should also be developed for other components of the education sector." Government of the Republic of Namibia (1999) *Presidential Commission on Education, Culture and Training*. Windhoek, p. 23. The first effects of this recommendation came in the beginning of 2002 when the Ministry of Basic Education, Sport and Culture announced that some teachers would be moved to disadvantaged schools to reduce inequities between regions. Maletsky, C. (2002) Teachers face D-day on new deployments. Windhoek: The Namibian web edition, 08-01-2002. http://www.namibian.com.na.
The most significant impact of the short and brutal German rule was the genocide of thousands of Namibians which reduced the number of Hereros and Namas from the estimated 75 – 100,000 to approximately 25,000 during a period of four years in the beginning of the 20th century. This was a cause for concern amongst the traditional leaders in Namibia even after independence. The German Chancellor Kohl made his first visit to Namibia in September 1995. Traditional Herero warriors used that occasion for a demonstration in the middle of Windhoek. They asked the German Chancellor to make an official apology and demanded war reparations to the Herero people, a request, which Kohl did not adhere to. During the second visit of a German high rank official in 1998 a formal request for compensation was handed over by the Herero and Mbandery tribal authorities, still without any positive responses from the German side. By 1999 the Herero people were prepared to take the German government to the International Court of Justice in a bid to win reparations for the 1904-1907 war. The latest development of this issue is that the Herero People’s Reparations Corporation has placed its case in US courts and claim US$ 2 billion from the German government and a further US$ 2 billion from Deutsche Bank and Woermann Line for atrocities committed in colonial times.

The German relation with the largest group of Namibians, the Owambos who lived in the northern part of the country, was somewhat different. The fact that the number of potential African labourers from the other tribes was severely diminished through the genocide, directed the

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German need for cheap labour towards the Ovambo tribes. According to Tötemeyer, the Germans preferred to keep the Owambos within their traditional political infrastructure and without external involvement to avoid military conflict as long as the region could furnish the Germans with cheap and abundant labour.\(^{37}\) German suspicion against the missionary societies was linked to their need for cheap labour, because they thought that education was not necessary for natives, as a “stupid” local inhabitant would make a humbler and more useful worker than an educated one - a viewpoint which originated in the Herrentaum (autocratic) philosophy characteristic of the German colonial period.\(^{38}\)

The differences between the traditional indigenous African schooling and colonial schooling, as introduced by missionaries and the German colonisers, became already obvious in relation to its socialisation functions in these early days of colonisation. Indigenous schooling was a matter of inclusion and incorporation into the society.

The young people who were initiated into their communities became full members of society, i.e. the young person became an Ovambo, an Okavango, a Nama, or a Herero. One’s ethnic identity was associated with this participation in the activities of one’s community.\(^{39}\)

This purpose of schooling made sense to the young people, as it made them to become part of the social fabric of their society. Colonial schooling was based on the notion of fundamental exclusion that worked in two ways. First, it did not recognise the African societies, but downgraded them into second order societies, without fully realising the Namibians’ memberships in those societies. Secondly, it tried to inculcate the beliefs and values of the European societies, without allowing a


\(^{38}\) Ibid. p. 42

\(^{39}\) Kustaaa op. cit. p. 820
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membership in that society. The overall effect was exclusion and alienation. This policy was further advanced under the South African rule.

Schooling under South African rule

After the German defeat in the 1st World War South Africa, then a member of the British Commonwealth, administered Namibia on a mandate from the League of Nations. After the 2nd World War when South Africa became an independent republic the newly established United Nations demanded that Namibia should gain its independence. South Africa refused to adhere to this demand and tried to incorporate Namibia as much as possible into the South African hegemony. It was after the election victory of the Nationalist Party in South Africa in 1948 that the politics of apartheid became the official state policy of South Africa as well as Namibia.

Formal education and schooling under the period of South African rule in Namibia was to a large extent a prolongation of many of the characteristics of colonial education introduced previously, but with an even stronger institutionalisation through the state apparatus. The fully-fledged apartheid policy in education was introduced in Namibia through the recommendations of the Van Zyl Commission in 1958.

Not surprisingly the Commission found ‘a striking similarity in the background of SWA (South West Africa/Namibia) natives and that of the Bantu of the Union (of South Africa)’. It recommended:

- The introduction of South Africa’s Bantu education syllabus;
- The handing over of church schools to the state;
- An education levy on Africans; and
- The setting up of a separate education department for Africans including a Language Bureau which should be headed by a white. 40

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According to Ellis this plan had three components. First, the ambition was to put 80% of the black children through four years of schooling. Through this measure the administration wanted to respond to the need for literate workers for the whites, to transmit the ideology of parallel development, and to produce low-status staff for the administration. Secondly, by being responsible for the church schools, the administration hoped to control and to stall the opposition to apartheid that started to grow also within the church organisations. Thirdly, only 20% of the black students who completed the four year of schooling, were expected to continue their studies beyond that level. By that the administration created evidence for their own propaganda through a self-fulfilling prophecy that could explain that blacks did not need any further schooling.

Amukugo calls the later part of South African rule in Namibia the false de-colonisation period. This period was characterised by the attempts of the South African administration to give the racist education system a general face-lift. This manicure was prompted by the growing resistance by the Namibian people that lead to the launching of the armed struggle in 1966; the international pressure on South Africa for its illegal occupation of Namibia that was ruled by the International Court of Justice in 1971; and the growing fear of communism in the region through the new governments in Angola and Mozambique after the collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire in 1974.41

The most obvious effect of the false de-colonisation was the so-called free elections in 1978 following the Turnhalle talks, and with the election victory of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) under the supervision and control of the South African government.42 Following on the 1978 mock elections was the practice of homeland/bantustan

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41 Amukugo op. cit.
42 The DTA later became the main contestant to SWAPO in the 1989 independence elections through massive South African backing. DTA is still one of the opposition parties in Namibia.
development introduced from South Africa, which meant a further fragmentation of education along ethnic and tribal lines. For that reason eleven (11) different departments of education were introduced after 1980 that remained in effect until independence.

Kustaa refers to the correspondence theory in his analysis of colonial education in South Africa and Namibia. According to this theory there is a correspondence between the education system and the social, economic, and political institutions of a given society, in such a way that the education system reproduces the inequalities in the society at large. But, as Apple puts it:

this is not a mechanistic process where 'external pressures' from an economy or the state inexorably mould schools and students within them to the processes involved in the accumulation of economic and cultural capital...something of a process of self-selection as well as institutional selection goes on.

The Namibian experience gives proof to this end and also of its crude sides as testified by many Namibians. However, the Namibian experience is also an example of the lack of totality in the correspondence theory. It did not create a total correspondence. The resistance to Bantu education verified that educational systems are ideological battlegrounds – sites for political struggles and a war of position - that were also entered by the liberation movement.

The deposits from colonial education into the common sense about education are at one level related to the apprenticeship of observation. This apprenticeship is conservative in nature in the sense that it takes the

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43 Kustaa op.cit.
mode of delivery of education for granted. Further on, the traits of exclusion and parallel development in colonial education created an urge towards the forbidden green pastures of white education as a lever for modernisation.

**Education and the liberation struggle**

The political programme of SWAPO, as a liberation movement, included a section on education and culture. To ensure a socio-economic transformation of the Namibian society this programme outlined the broad framework for education and culture. This framework emphasised the training of technical and professional cadres, the development of work-oriented and comprehensive education, the creation of a foundation for free and universal education in the future through the training of educators, to develop cultural creativeness as a weapon in the struggle for liberation, and to strive to eliminate vestiges of tribal, feudal, and superstitious mentalities.  

Within this framework, the SWAPO Secretary for Education and Culture outlined the specific aims of the education programme. These aims were in sharp contrast to the previous educational ideas in Namibia. They

- emphasised the need for a common system for all on a national level, as opposed to separate and parallel developments applied by the apartheid regime,
- put forward rationality and science as the basis for education, and challenged by that both traditional and colonial schooling,

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introduced a view on productive work that supported a developmental and emancipatory position in contrast to the previous adapted colonial education model for blacks,

recognised the international arena as a source for knowledge and learning in contrast to the narrow South African apartheid perspective, and

acknowledged the role of culture and creativity as well as the socio-political context for development through education as opposed to a situation where these aspects were used as reasons to limit educational experiences.

Education became to a large extent the battleground and a persuasive means to fight the colonial regime. Experiences from colonial education were evident to young Namibians, who listened to the messages from the liberation movement. These messages called them to join the liberation struggle in exile and promised them proper education. They were told that they needed the weapons of education to accomplish other rights through national liberation. The struggle over education became the struggle between the two opposing ideologies of domination and liberation.48

It was relatively easy for the liberation movement to express their long-term political policy ambitions with education. It was more difficult to develop classroom practices along the lines of a liberatory educational praxis. The transformation of policy aims into classroom practices is always problematic. The fundamentals of modern schooling work at large in different ways, beyond the official aims and objectives. Callewaert has addressed this discrepancy, or misleading assumption, in relation to the work of Bourdieu, the French sociologist.

48 Diescho op. cit.
In all Bourdieu’s studies of modern formal public education systems, he has attempted to show that these systems, neither in relation to the societal conditions, their internal way of functioning, nor in their external societal effects, can be seen in the way they portray themselves, namely as meritocratic-based institutions for the democratic advancement of universally-valid knowledge.49

If we accept this discrepancy we must also acknowledge that the liberation movement was by its very nature beyond the control and influence of a national state apparatus and the societal and social mechanism at work in any normal situation. Many of the Namibians who left their country to be able to fight the system from outside, became members of a different kind of community. This was valid for many Namibians in exile, but especially for those who lived and worked for longer periods in the education centres in Angola and Zambia. Much of the space left open by the absent state apparatus was taken over by the liberation movement and its internal hierarchy and control system.50 However, even under the conditions of an armed liberation struggle with its own power structure, there was space left for transformation within the framework of the political rhetoric of the liberation movement. This space was also utilised by external agencies through the appearance of donor projects like the one organised from Umeå University.

Educational practices within the liberation movement

Before we look at these educational practices as they were played out in mid 1980s based on examples from the education centre in Kwanza, we must acknowledge that the education of many Namibians in exile was not an internal affair for the liberation movement. In most cases individuals and groups of Namibian students were recruited into different support programmes carried out at established institutions all over the world.

through development co-operation agencies or the United Nations. This was a conscious policy by the liberation movement, for at least three reasons. First, the leadership wanted the Namibians in exile to get experiences from a range of educational and societal conditions to be able to take informed decisions in a future and liberated Namibia. Secondly, there was no other option than to rely on external support, provided the liberation movement was going to fulfil its promises to the cadres of young Namibians who left their country to become educated. Thirdly, it was a pragmatic way to keep people in exile busy and to carry over some of the logistical problems to external agents.

For those reasons, secondary education was carried out in Cuba and West African countries, Namibian students joined English language programmes at different colleges and universities in the United Kingdom, and Masters courses at the University of Moscow, etc. Many students also entered educational programmes on the African continent and elsewhere through the Nationhood programme. In her attempts to give a comprehensive description of the training of Namibians in exile based on data collected in the latter half of 1980s, Cohen refers to a number of obstacles. The collection of statistical data was hindered by such factors as the lack of national records on support programmes, national confidentiality regulations and other political reasons, such as the fact that countries in the Eastern Bloc were not willing to supply researchers in the West with their data. However, based on Cohen’s data a conservative estimate of the number of trained Namibians on post-secondary level as teachers or other types of educational professionals reaches a thousand (1000) during the ten years preceding independence.

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52 Cohen op. cit.
53 The urgent need for educated Namibians in all sectors of the administration after independence had the effect that many of the trained educators from exile ended up in positions outside the education sector.
These arrangements meant that many Namibians were educated on commission for the liberation movement and not by the liberation movement. These arrangements were necessary, as the liberation movement did not have the material or human resources to organise their own educational programmes for its cadres in exile. The movement had to rely on the goodwill of external support organisations, even though the programmes for the Namibian students were in most cases developed together with Namibian partners. A consequence was that the liberation movement did not develop its own practices as a matter of urgency, but relied to a large extent on formal qualifications from elsewhere as a means to furnish their own schools with teachers, when students came back after the end of their scholarship periods. Many who returned from a scholarship period abroad took the first opportunity to receive a new scholarship that as soon as possible could bring them away from the troublesome situation in the centre to a more comfortable life at an institution in Europe or elsewhere. Another option for returning scholarship holders was the risk/possibility for recruitment to the front in Southern Angola. Any of these options had negative effects on the possibilities for the liberation movement to build up continuity in their own practices, as there was a constant flow of practitioners through the classrooms, especially at the centre in Kwanza. This aggravated the situation at this centre that was already a difficult place for formal schooling due to the war situation. The fact that activities organised by Umeå University followed a different logic from the start in 1983, with much of the activities taking place at the school in Kwanza, worked as a counter-force in this respect. The effects of the activities could actually be experienced at first hand by the people in charge. These experiences could then influence decisions taken about the future.

54 The teacher education programme at the United Nations Institute for Namibia (UNIN) in Lusaka involved some Namibians but was as all other programmes dependent on external human resources.
The situation at the centre in 1983 resembled the model of *ritualised schooling* that often has been the characterisation of modern schools in southern African countries. Early classroom observation revealed that class teaching was the rule at the centre in Kwanza. A common procedure was that the teacher made some notes on the board that always started with the date, the subject and the topic. The notes were explained shortly, and the rest of the time was used by the students to copy the notes in their exercise books. Occasionally, students were called to the board to carry out some exercises, especially in Mathematics, and in many cases they failed to do these exercises, why somebody else was called to make a try. Most of the time of the lesson was taken up by teacher talk. In some English lessons the students merely said one word of English beyond the stereotyped chorus repetitions of isolated words or phrases.

Even the rituals of formal schooling could be observed in the behaviour of teachers and learners, in spite of the obvious lack of the physical prompts, like classrooms, which the following incident illustrates, which happened during one of the early visits to Kwanza.

An opening in the bush is used as a classroom. There is a small board pinched to the trunk of a tree. The learners are sitting on benches made from branches. Two learners come late. They approach the area, but stop at a distance, where a possible door could have been placed in an invisible wall. After some time the teacher "notices" the late comers. The learners ask: "Can we come in?" And the teacher answered: "Yes, come in."

This description is comparable to observations by Callewaert & Kallos before independence in northern Namibia, the area from which most teachers in exile had their early school experiences.

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55 See for example Palme op. cit.


Chapter Four

... the content is taught in some remarkable way in a vacuum. The conflicting and complicated real life relevance of all subjects being systematically evacuated creating instead a type of autonomous examination .... from a methodological point of view the most striking fact is the total passivity of the pupils ... as far as the syllabus on the board is concerned, it is structured as a pure list of plain facts.\(^{58}\)

The classroom practices in Kwanza, as observed in the beginning of the 1980s, were to a large extent mirroring the conditions inside Namibia as observed by Callewaert & Kallos in 1989. This was not in any way unexpected as the teachers in Kwanza in most cases were untrained and relied to a large extent on the practices they themselves had experienced as students in Namibia, in spite of the different political contexts, following the principle of *apprenticeship of observation*.\(^{59}\) It was estimated that 90% of the teachers in Kwanza were untrained in 1983.\(^{60}\) However, if the classroom processes were similar to the situation inside Namibia, the teaching and learning content was different in many subject areas. Subjects like Mathematics and Science had been neglected by the colonial powers and were prioritised by the liberation movement. The development of Mathematics and Science in Kwanza was also supported by a group of teachers from what was East Germany (GDR) at that time. The content in a subject like Social Studies was changed to reflect the Namibian perspective as opposed to the coloniser’s perspective.\(^{61}\) The production of textbooks in Mathematics and English (through a project supported by Finnida) reflected the Namibian culture in a different way from the previous colonial material.\(^{62}\) However, these differences in the teaching


\(^{60}\) Dahlström (1983) op. cit.


and learning content were often overridden by the general educational processes with rotes in colonial education and to a certain extent furthered by the German educators operating in Kwanza, but from a different ideological stance.\textsuperscript{63}

The professional training that took place for example at the education centre in Angola and at the Lodima secondary school in Kongo-Brazzaville, were carried out under different conditions as compared to professional training e.g. in Europe, even though all being heavily dependent on external human resources. There was a difference between professional programmes carried out in a Namibian exile context on the African continent with close relationships to the practices of schooling and programmes based at institutions in Europe. The programmes in semi-Namibian contexts in exile, contributed significantly to the base for the post-independence policies simply because of its presence during this pre-independence period. This was also the case for junior secondary education.\textsuperscript{64}

**Annotation: historical residues**

The way we think about education has its origin in experience. If these experiences are moulded through a practice based on notions of colonialism and racism they have created specific types of mental engravings amongst both the masters and the victims of this practice. The white masters developed a superior attitude and the black victims a feeling of inferiority, but most of all history developed a common sense about

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\textsuperscript{63} Dahlström (1999:a) op. cit.

educational practice that was even carried over to the educational practices of the liberation movement. This common sense was the basis for the endurance of the type of modern schooling that is here characterised as a ritualised coulisse-school. Serpell and Palme have made similar characterisations of formal schooling. The combination of the concepts ritualised and coulisse is created for the sake of this thesis. The aim is to illustrate the external illusion (coulisse) that modern school buildings create of a well-functioning institution and the characteristics of the internal life in the classrooms that are built on strong routine (ritualised) behaviour by their inhabitants. In other words, the ritualised coulisse-school looks real at a distance but becomes a facade without the official educational content it is supposed to foster at a closer look. The rituals behind this facade can as well be replaced with a tape-recorder.

The ritualised coulisse-school continued to live as system residues even under the slogans of education for liberation amongst those who left Namibia to fight back against an unjust social system. All along did the decontextualised traditional views on authority and gender affect the development of the ritualised coulisse school. These views worked in tandem with the colonial experiences in the further deepening of the mental common sense engravings about education and schooling.

When the possibility was created to act in pursuit of a more coherent relation between liberating educational thought and its practice the degrees of freedom that the hegemonic situation offered were utilised to alter the praxis of schooling beyond the coulisse and the rituals. These became the first attempts to create a counter-hegemonic bloc.

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65 See Serpell op. cit.; Palme op. cit.
Chapter Five

Building a counter-hegemonic bloc

The activities organised after the first practical encounter between Swedish and exiled Namibian educators in 1983 were directed towards improving the schooling situation for the many Namibian children in exile. At that time there were no immediate signs of a changed political situation. A free Namibia only existed as a distant hope and a political promise. The long-term aim to provide experiences amongst Namibian educators that could form a basis for future educational considerations was a far-fetched dream that suddenly came true. In that sense, the different activities and developments taking place during the years immediately before and after independence became part of an overlapping transition period and the basis of a counter-hegemonic bloc.

In a state of conflict

To understand the contextual situation for the first meeting between Swedish and Namibian educators in 1983 it is necessary to give a general overview of the military situation in this part of Africa. SWAPO as a liberation movement was internationally recognised by the United Nations (UN) and most countries in the world, except for South Africa and its few allies, as the true representative of the Namibian people. The liberation war was fought mainly from SWAPO bases in Southern Angola. The South African army had its nearest bases around Ondangwa in the so-called war zone in Northern Namibia, constituting the whole of Ovamboland, i.e. most of the present educational regions of Ondangwa West and East. Important South African military bases were also placed in Rundu, at the Omega Base along the Northern Namibian border, and at the far end of the Caprivi strip outside Katima Mulilo. The whole of Northern Namibia was at this time an area heavily influenced by
occupying military troops, conflict and military manoeuvres. The People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) and the South African Defence Force/South West Africa Defence Force (SADF/SWADF) were the main contestants in the war related to the territory of Namibia. This war was heavily influenced by the military conflict in Angola between the government troops in the People's Armed Forces of the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA) and the rebels in the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). These conflicts had schematically at least four fronts. A more or less conventional warfare was carried out in Southern Angola between FAPLA supported by Cuban troops and the Eastern Bloc on the one side and UNITA/SADF supported by USA on the other side. Guerrilla warfare was carried out between FAPLA and UNITA in the whole of Angola. Another guerilla warfare situation existed in Owamboland between PLAN and SADF/SWADF during the rainy seasons. A kind of urban terrorist warfare through bombs and other types of isolated attacks on representatives and sympathisers of the liberation movements took place in what was called the Frontline States and beyond. Additionally, the major liberation movement of South Africa, the African National Congress (ANC) co-operated with the Angolan government and SWAPO in Angola and ANC's military wing, Umkonto we Siswe, had bases in Angola. And lastly, as always in situations of war, the civilian people especially in Northern Namibia and Angola suffered from the constant threats of intimidation from the SADF/SWADF, especially the branch called Kovoet (the crowbar), and UNITA forces.

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1 PLAN = SWAPO's military wing; SWADF = the Namibian wing of the SADF with Black Namibian forces and White South African commanders.
2 The frontline states were Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.
An educational alternative is moulded in exile

In the beginning of May, 1978, the largest civilian camp for Namibians in exile at Kassinga in Southern Angola was attacked by the SADF. This attack killed many Namibians and SWAPO decided to move its main site for civilians in exile to a place further away from the Namibian border. The Angolan government allocated an area 300 km East of the Angolan capital Luanda for this purpose. This area was an old coffee plantation in the Angolan mountains and was given the official name *Namibia Health and Education Centre, Kwanza-Sul*, and became known as Kwanza. The centre in Kwanza covered several kilometres with a number of sub-camps of which one was known as *Education*. Here you found the school that from the beginning was a few wooden barracks, while most classes were held in tents or in the open air. Later on a large number of prefabricated classrooms were built with donations from the Nordic countries. It was the Swedish buildings that originally created the reason for the qualitative support to teacher education.

Based on discussions between Sida and SWAPO in 1982-1983 it was agreed that a greater involvement by Sweden for the qualitative improvements at basic education level should commence with a consultancy study comprising in-service teacher education, curriculum development, and teaching materials. The consultancy report suggested a pilot in-service programme with four stages including three periods of 4-5 weeks each at the centre and a study visit to Sweden. A general theoretical background was produced before the pilot project started. This document outlined the justifications for the chosen approach. The

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4 Dahlström, L. (1983) op. cit.
The project was called *In-service Teacher Training: A Pilot Project at Namibia Education Centre, Kwanza-Sul*, and each stage was reported separately.\(^6\)

The reports showed that the pilot project was organised to integrate teaching methods, classroom organisation and the production of teaching material through a practical model. This model included seminar sessions with teachers in the afternoon, classroom applications and observations the following day, follow ups, further seminars and production workshops. Issues that were attended to were related to the principles of the chosen educational approach in the project, presented through the following slogans:

- Start with what each child knows, its vocabulary and ideas.
- Language must be based on and used in everyday life and a part of all subjects at school.
- Language must communicate something to someone, it must produce items which have a purpose.
- Democratic ways of working must be encouraged through co-operation in groups.\(^7\)

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It should be noted here (with reference to Cohen op. cit.) that all written documentation produced during the period 1983 - 1989 concerning the co-operation with the liberation movement SWAPO was classified as confidential information by the Swedish government. The working periods at the centre in Angola were also carried out under a kind of military rule and civil state of emergency. This was in addition to the general restrictions on movements enforced on all foreign personnel operating in Angola, being it in the capital Luanda or elsewhere, due to the state of war.

\(^7\) Dahlström and Russell op. cit. p. 4.
There was an emphasis on lower grades and language learning. Every opportunity was also taken to inform and involve others. For that reason newsletters to the community at the centre was produced. Teachers were also invited to workshops when their colleagues, i.e. participants in the pilot project, introduced and demonstrated self-made teaching material. In short, it was an attempt to introduce an alternative to the only way of education that the teachers knew from the ritualised coulisse-school, namely to learn some alien knowledge by heart and to prove that learning through tests.

The evaluation of the pilot project pointed both to the potential and the difficulty with a participatory approach. The intention was to demonstrate a participatory approach in a situation which was by and large heavily influenced by autocratic experiences from the past and top down practices transferred from the military order in the liberation movement, and justified by the war. The confusion that the clash between different perspectives created, was seen as an eye-opener for all involved. It was also recognised as a stage in a distancing from one perspective and advancement towards another, a process which was anticipated also in the future transformation after Namibia's independence.\(^8\)

After the initial pilot project SWAPO suggested that the support should be developed into a full-time programme for the training of primary school teachers and the *Integrated Teacher Training Programme* (ITTP) was born. The first ITTP Curriculum was finalised by a joint team of educators from SWAPO and Umeå University, during some intensive working sessions in Luanda in early 1986, and became the steering document for the work up until 1989.\(^9\) One of the major differences between the ITTP and other programmes that trained teachers for SWAPO, including the programme at the United Nations Institute for

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\(^8\) Dahlström, Engvall and Janson op. cit.

Namibia (UNIN) in Lusaka, Zambia, was that half of the programme was carried out at the education centre in Kwanza, as an adapted type of school-based model for teacher education.\textsuperscript{10}

The main reason for this model was to avoid the individual as well as professional alienation expected if the whole programme had been organised in Sweden or elsewhere away from a Namibian situation or with very little contact with the situation for which the programme was organised. The situation in Kwanza was not truly Namibian, but at least organised by the Namibians themselves in a surrounding where they had their homes in exile and therefore as close as you could get to a real Namibian situation. It can be added that Kwanza did not live up to the standard cliché picture of refugee camps in Africa. It developed into a well-organised community of around 10 - 15,000 Namibians in spite of the war going on around the defended area. The closeness to this situation facilitated the continuous fine-tuning of the programme and could at the same time improve the conditions for the learners at the school in Kwanza. The ethos of integration also called for a close relation between the programme and its practical base.

The booklets about the ITTP produced for the Lusaka Conference (see below) gave an overview of the programme, its intentions and some ideas for the future.\textsuperscript{11} The slogans presented in the pilot project had been developed into guiding principles for the ITTP related to student-centredness and democracy, integration and function, production, and reflective and inductive methods.\textsuperscript{12}

The first group of ITTP students graduated in June 1989. A second group of students had been selected to the programme already in 1988 and a preparatory course was carried out in Kwanza, before anyone knew

\textsuperscript{10} See Table 5, Appendix 3.
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid. p. 1-4.
officially that independence was just around the corner and would change the conditions dramatically.

An important event took place in Lusaka, Zambia, in September 1989 as part of the preparations for independence, organised by SWAPO and UNIN. The *International Conference on Teacher Education for Namibia* became the first official meeting place for SWAPO educators from exile and inside Namibia, representatives from international donor organisations and donor supported projects, and a cross-section of representatives from institutions and government offices inside Namibia. The Lusaka conference, as it became known, was organised around reports from fact-finding missions inside Namibia carried out by international scholars, officially operating under the UN flag, and reports from different international support programmes for teacher education. The most significant presentations for the development of teacher education after independence were the ones by Callewaert & Kallos and Dahlström & Janson. The working group on teacher education curriculum discussed a number of important issues and made some significant recommendations that became central to the post-independence reform efforts. These recommendations dealt with a unified programme and certification; entry requirements that did not only considered previous formal academic schooling; a curriculum as a guiding framework; a learner-centred approach as a unifying element in the curriculum, and a broad-based assessment policy. A suggestion for an alternative and innovative visionary approach to teacher education was included in the report about the ITTP, as a de-centralised model for teacher education with a strong school-based perspective beyond the traditional dichotomy between pre-service and in-service teacher education.

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Chapter Five

The first bricks on Namibian ground

Another important phase in the co-operation between Swedish and Namibian educators was the continuation of the ITTP after independence in northern Namibia during the period 1990 - 1992. A second group of student teachers had already been selected and prepared before independence. SWAPO and Sida decided that the ITTP should continue until a national teacher education reform started. For that reason the selection procedures were finalised inside Namibia and preparations were done to start the training of a new group of students in the beginning of 1990, based on a revised curriculum. The training took place in Sweden and Namibia.16

The periods in Sweden were used for integrated subject studies geared towards the teaching and learning of school subjects and general pedagogy. The periods in Northern Namibia were organised around the main course in the programme called Schoolwork, which took 57 out of the total 120 weeks. The revised course programme for the ITTP reflected parts of the visionary approach outlined in the report prepared for the Lusaka Conference. While in Namibia during the whole of 1991 (and the second part of 1992) the ITTP operated from the Ongwediva Teacher Resource Centre (OTRC), together with five primary schools in the area close to Ongwediva in 1991 and a few additional upper primary schools in the region during the second part of 1992. Students were accommodated in the hostels at Ongwediva College of Education (OCE) and worked at the schools throughout 1991. Teacher educators visited the schools regularly to the extent that the common excitements related to school visits by teacher educators were eliminated and rather developed to opportunities.

16 SWAPO and Umeå University (1990) Integrated Teacher Education Programme, ITTP, Curriculum, 1990 – 1992. Umeå: Department of Education. The ITTP continued with a revised curriculum, but with a similar organisation, where one part of the studies was carried out at Umeå University in Sweden and the other part now in northern Namibia replacing the school in Kwanza, Angola. See also Table 6, Appendix 3.
for mutual exchange of experiences and ideas. Students and teacher educators met in the afternoons in the ITTP-room at the OTRC for discussions about the school-based work, seminars and theme studies, the production of teaching and learning materials, individual discussions related to the students' reflective diaries, and preparations for future work. An in-service programme was developed for teachers in the schools where the students worked. These teachers were invited to the OTRC on Wednesday mornings for their own development while the ITTP students were responsible for their classes. The teachers were also encouraged to join the afternoon activities at the OTRC, which some of them did frequently while others came sporadically mainly due to transport problems. The ITTP students were also involved in school development projects for the building of classrooms, organising school gardens, and arranging school libraries with financial support from schools and solidarity activities in Sweden.

The productive principle had the effect that many programme activities ended up in material meant for the use by others. Texts produced for educational purposes as part of the training were on many occasions further developed for broader purposes. For example, the ITTP produced the teachers' magazine *The Frontline Teacher* that was printed in 5000 copies and distributed to schools in co-operation with the Namibia National Teachers Union (NANTU). Each issue was based on material produced as part of the training and student teachers and teacher educators took turns in being members of the editorial committee. Other examples are the booklets *Stories from the Struggle* and *Wipe your face and get ready for school*.

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17 The theme studies included subject studies directly related to the subjects taught in the schools.
18 This was a conscious attempt to break the common tradition in schooling that students' production is only for the teacher's eyes and the red pen.
19 Integrated Teacher Training Programme, ITTP (1991) op. cit.; Teacher Education Reform Project (1992:a) op. cit.
Chapter Five

Activities in one course often generated activities in another course especially in connection with the productive activities as results of previous studies or as a conscious way to integrate. One example is related to the booklet *Stories from the Struggle* mentioned above that was based on work in the Social Studies, School and Society, and Language courses. The booklet contains a collection of stories describing the experiences of the student teachers. The production was organised as an integrated part of the studies on the Namibian history, the role of education in society, and English language studies based on methods like process writing and a language experience approach. Another example is related to the professional and school-based studies. The relation between children’s self-image and self-confidence and the communication patterns in the classroom was attended to in the School and Society course. These studies had an impact on the students’ reflective diaries during the Schoolwork as classroom communication was included as an area of inquiry. The reflective diaries were analysed as part of the course Teaching and Learning and related to theories of education, which later on contributed to the production of a manuscript called *The ITTP Handbook in Teaching and Learning*. In addition students' individual school projects were published and became a resource used for in-service training in northern Namibia. There were also many products produced and used more locally like different types of readers for lower primary in English and the local language (Oshiwambo).

The ITTP was externally evaluated in 1992, i.e. during its last year of existence. The aim of the evaluation was to focus on how to incorporate the students and the teaching methods on a larger scale into the teacher education reform in Namibia. The terms of reference referred to an interest expressed by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) in Namibia to incorporate the ITTP graduates into the on-going in-service training.

20 These school projects were early examples of practitioner inquiry that later became an important part of the national teacher education programme.
programme. This evaluation was carried out both in Sweden and during working periods in Namibia.\textsuperscript{21}

Underpinning the whole curriculum is the School Based Practice. This integrates all subjects and is allotted 50\% of the time of the course. Each student is closely supervised by the members of the [teaching] team, and also works in tandem with one other student in the class, representing a commitment to team teaching.\textsuperscript{22}

Goodwin & Rubin made the following comment in their concluding remarks on the ITTP.

> It is clear that this programme has produced confident, professional and committed teachers, capable of adapting to most Namibian school situations. The candidates have shown qualities of leadership, both in schools where they were placed during practice and at the conference at the end of the course. Materials produced by the candidates and the team can be of value in the new training program, as a resource and as inspiration for teachers of the future. The confidence of the Ministry of Education and Culture in the ITTP is reflected in the philosophy of the new BETD course. The ITTP has been a creative course, producing proactive, creative and bold teachers.\textsuperscript{23}

Support was also given to the preparations for the national reform in parallel with the ITTP. It was in connection with these activities that support from Umeå University started to be organised under a different label, the \textit{Teacher Education Reform Project} (TERP). Based on the initial visionary ideas presented in the report for the Lusaka Conference, further ideas were continuously presented to encourage an innovative approach


\textsuperscript{23} Goodwin and Rubin op. cit. p. 28.
towards the national teacher education reform. For that purpose a
document was produced which outlined some unorthodox ideas about the
development of both in-service and pre-service teacher education.\textsuperscript{24} Visits
to the northern colleges were carried out to start the dialogue with teacher
educators about new ideas in teacher education.\textsuperscript{25} A comprehensive
consultant report about teacher education was produced by a group of
scholars closely related to the project. This report made an outline of a
future nationally integrated system for pre-service and in-service teacher
education.\textsuperscript{26} An outline of a philosophy of education was produced
within the project to encourage a discussion about different philosophies
of education with the aim to clarify the philosophy chosen under the
concept learner-centred education.\textsuperscript{27} An overview of teacher training
programmes in Namibia was produced as another background document.\textsuperscript{28}
Comments were given to the suggested institute for innovative
education.\textsuperscript{29} A seminar was arranged for selected teacher educators from
the three northern colleges to familiarise them with parts of the new

\textsuperscript{24} Dahlström, L. and Shinyemba, D. (1990) The Integrated Teacher Training Programme
\textsuperscript{25} Dahlström, L. (1991) First visits to teacher training colleges in Katima Mulilo,
\textsuperscript{26} Andersson, I., Callewaert, S. and Kallós, D. (1991) Teacher Education Reform For
Namibia. Department of Education, Umeå University and Department of Education,
University of Copenhagen. Stockholm: Sida.
TERP Document.
\textsuperscript{28} Frykholm, C-U. (1992:a) Teacher Training Programmes in Namibia - An Overview.
Windhoek: TERP Document.
\textsuperscript{29} This was what later became the National Institute for Educational Development
Ministerial Memorandum, Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports; Callewaert, S.,
teacher training and educational research and development in an independent Namibia.
Umeå and Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen and University of Umeå; Dahlström,
Of The National Institute For Education Development On Site Appraisal. Umeå:
Department of Education.
philosophy under the heading *Interactive Teaching and Learning.* A study tour was organised for a cross-sectional group of Namibian educators to look into the state of teacher education in the Southern African region. The study tour included visits to Botswana, Lesotho and Zimbabwe and discussions with educators involved in the preparations for a new South Africa. Project staff also participated in a number of seminars and meetings during the initialisation stage preceding the national reforms. At *The First National Consultative Conference on Basic Education Reform* in April 1991 (The Etosha Conference), the ITTP was introduced and displayed as the only non-USAID funded programme. This was the first occasion for the USAID-sponsored approaches in the field of education to meet the practices and ideas supported by Umeå University and the ITTP. The ITTP staff participated on request from the Minister of Education and Culture, after some hesitation from the American organisers.

The workshop *Perspectives on Teacher Education: Pre-service and In-service* in May 1991, was organised by the ministry to introduce a discussion about future reforms in teacher education mainly based on the suggestions on pre-service education in the report by Andersson, Callewaert & Kallos. It was at this workshop that one of the most prominent representatives of the previous establishment, still employed by the government, expressed the view that the Namibian education system needed improvement and not change. It was also noted that the NEC and NHEC interim programmes, which were introduced at the colleges in the beginning of 1991, were based on initiatives in 1989 at the former Academy as a preventing attempt to keep an upper hand on teacher education even after independence. The conclusion from the workshop regarding the pre-service programme as suggested in the

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Andersson et. al. report was that the recommendations were broadly accepted. However, there was a general feeling amongst some of the Namibian actors sympathetic to the reforms that the conservative members of the administration decided to be rather passive and non-participatory during the workshop to be able to act more freely in the future.\textsuperscript{32}

Further on, advisers working with the national reform were recruited to the project. The first full-time adviser was recruited to the project in November 1991. He was a Namibian educator from a local NGO, who become responsible for the support to in-service activities. The first Swedish full-time adviser started his work for the project in January 1992 and from the second part of 1992 there were two permanent staff members working as advisers on teacher education at the still embryonic NIED. These advisers participated in meetings and activities organised by the Task Force for In-service Teacher Education, the Project Implementation Unit (PIU), and the Curriculum Co-ordination Group (CCG). The PIU was an example of a by-pass construction created at this time with a direct reporting responsibility to the Minister. This by-pass was caused by the dysfunction of important parts of the administration and to avoid blockages of the reform processes. This was related to the introductory note by the Minister of Education at the Etosha Conference that expressed the concern over the fact that only 5\% of the ministry's administration was operative.\textsuperscript{33}

The Minister of Education decided in November 1991 that a new national programme for pre-service teacher education should be introduced at the four colleges of education in the beginning of 1993. The reform process started when the guidelines for the production of the steering


documents were ready in April 1992. A Task Force for Pre-service Teacher Education was established and the CCG, the executive working group of this Task Force, was assigned to be in charge of the development of steering documents for the Basic Education Teacher Diploma (BETD). The 8th draft version of the Broad Curriculum for the BETD was ready in mid 1992 after several revisions, meetings with different groups and workshops at the colleges of education.

The production of subject syllabuses also started in 1992. Nine panels were organised and a convenor was appointed by the CCG to each panel. Individual TERP staff members were involved in some of the panels, like the one for Languages and the panel for Education Theory and Practice, and the whole project team worked as a reference group to the CCG. However, it is worth noting that these panels were heavily over-represented by educators from the Windhoek area. Only one convenor was from outside this central area and she was a foreign educator working at OCE.34

This situation reflected the urgency in the preparations for the teacher education reform that did not allow for much delay because of infra-structural and communication problems, as well as the lack of funds to bring people together from all parts of the country at this time.35 Even with this heavy bias towards the involvement of Windhoek-based educators in the top level, it was estimated that more than 500 Namibian educators participated nation-wide in the preparations.36

With the BETD Namibia got a national three-year pre-service programme for teachers in Grade 1-10. The most important characteristics of the BETD were its emphasis on the professional aspects of the

34 See Appendix 4.
35 Budget allocations for curriculum seminars through TERP were only included from the beginning of 1993 when the national reform started its official implementation at the colleges.
preparation of teachers, school-based studies, and broad assessment policies. This was in line with what the ITTP had tried to accomplish and therefore also a continuation of the same philosophy of education, as identified by scholars like Cohen and Swarts.

Since the [ITTP] programme focused on improving the professional quality of a small number of teachers from Kwanza-Sul, its contribution to the overall teacher output was not great. Nevertheless, it provided a model for an alternative form of teacher training in independent Namibia.  

Many of the innovative ideas and principles underpinning the ITTP were incorporated into the design of the reformed teacher education programme for basic education.

This also meant that the BETD was in sharp contrast to the previous policies in Namibia, especially the way the previous dispensation looked at education in general and the acquisition of knowledge through a rigid examination system. Therefore, the BETD challenged the fundamentals of education as perceived by the strong conservative forces in Namibia and became the most important ideological battleground for educational practice and thought during the years ahead.

The curriculum for a university course for teacher educators was also developed and started in 1992. The aim of this course was to introduce teacher educators to curriculum development and the philosophy of the new teacher education programme. This course was later on developed into a post-graduate Higher Diploma course and a Master's course for teacher educators in Namibia with acclaimed international acknowledgement. This acknowledgement is exemplified here with a quote from Walker, who at that time worked in South Africa, and who dedicated her article Subaltern Professionals: acting in pursuit of social justice to the staff of TERP in Namibia, and all Namibian teacher educators and teachers. She pointed to the "shift from authoritarian

\[37\] Cohen op. cit. p. 243.
\[38\] Swarts (1998) op. cit. p. 38.
approaches and externally imposed expert knowledge, to a democratic pedagogy and knowledge creation in teacher research communities" as a way for teacher educators "to find their voices as producers of knowledge about education".  

The above has shown that activities involving project staff employed by Umeå University changed extensively during 1990-92. This period was a prolonged transformation of the project activities from a small innovative teacher education programme to a more extensive support project to the national reform of teacher education. This transformation was reflected in the Plans of Operation for this period that included three operative subheadings. The Integrated Teacher Training Programme included the training of 20 teachers for primary education integrated with in-service activities for teachers and institutional development at a small number of schools in the area around Oshakati in northern Namibia, and the development of educational material. The activities under Teacher Education Reform Development included visits to colleges, introductory seminars and meetings together with teacher educators, and other preparations at the colleges. The Support to NIED, mainly performed by the in-service and pre-service advisers, the project co-ordinator, and short-term consultants, were related to the development of infrastructure and steering documents for the new teacher education programme. During this period the project organised by Umeå University that had been officially known as the ITTP since 1986 changed its name to reflect the new duties and became at the end of this transition period known as the Teacher Education Reform Project, TERP.

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Chapter Five

Annotation: national teacher education reform in the making

The co-operation between Swedish and Namibian educators that was carried out during this transition period mainly through the ITTP turned out to be a small scale modelling of the national teacher education reform to come. Already at its initial stage at the education centre in exile this co-operation started to act as a counter force against the prevailing educational practices. The team of Swedish educators, Namibian colleagues, and student teachers developed a kind of organic and collective intellectualism.40 This intellectualism developed further and was strengthened when the work was moved to Namibia after independence, by the fact that more people were confronted with the practices e.g. through the co-operation with schools, local authorities, colleges of education, teachers' unions and communities. The organic and collective intellectualism was operationalised internally through the pedagogy and externally through the material produced and distributed to schools, the training of teachers, and local development projects at schools. These activities were carried out within a strong political framework in support of the new government policy. The activities were based on what was recognised as a preferential right of interpretation earned through the historical co-operation with the liberation movement in exile and the practical encounters in what had been the previous war zone. These practices were characterised as the beginning of something new and a strong hope for the future. This hope

40 The concept counterpart is almost inevitable in development co-operation. Donor agencies demand automatically that counterparts need to be identified as a means of creating sustainability. This demand is often an expression of a technocratic view that is based on a simplistic transfer perspective. The assumption is that when a foreign professional works hand in hand with a national a transfer of knowledge and skills from one person to another will take place. The ITTP tried to avoid the concept counterpart to describe the relationships that developed between the project staff and Namibian colleagues. Namibian educators worked all along together with ITTP staff in a mutual learning process and all contributed to the new situation.

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included emancipatory and liberating practices within a radical democratic framework that aimed at a restructuring beyond the classroom door as an expansion of a counter-hegemonic force.

It became clear already at this stage that there were at least as many fronts unfolding for the intellectual war of position as the military fronts during the liberation struggle. The first front represented the engineers of the previous policies who due to the reconciliation policy remained in strategically important positions. The second front was the clique of foreign academics at the University of Namibia (UNAM) who after independence saw their comprehensive preferential right of interpretation eroded. The third front was the conservative Namibians who saw their own position as the proof of the excellence of a strongly selective system of education. The fourth front was the contradictory interpretations of the new policy and the technocratic representations amongst donor projects that were allowed to make their imprints in the system. These forces were at times strategically co-ordinated as communities of interests but usually they operated as independent forces with specific party interests. As one of the Namibian educators involved in the reform expressed it:

We had to fight many battles, but I think that had to be expected in this scenario.

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42 Interview F1.
This war of position was staged on an arena that was influenced by the current international trends in teacher education. These trends also contributed to the landscape of the reform and the positioning of the reform policy. These influences are attended to in chapter six.
Chapter Six

Shaping the landscape for reform

In 1992 and 1993 the counter-hegemonic work gradually changed focus from a small pilot project to a national reform. At this time, people in different positions often commented that a national reform was something different from a small innovative pilot project. Such advise were either concerned about sharing the power and influence that the future would entail or worries about the capacity of the project to adhere to traditional administrative and bureaucratic structures. The work organised by Umeå University was still based on the view that teacher education should be organised in an integrated way with close relations to practice as had been the case in the ITTP. This view had also been presented in a number of documents.¹

In 1993 the ministerial building in Windhoek, where the then embryonic NIED was housed, became the place of work for TERP staff together with a handful of Namibians and a similar number of foreign advisers from different projects. The major parts of the ministerial building housed the inherited and overbearing administration overwhelmed by a bureaucratic administrative culture that stalled any new effort through silence or the creation of another working group. The early statement by the Minister that only 5 percent of the ministry administration was operative became an obvious reality.² The inactivity in the ministerial corridors was so flagrant that it at times evoked the picture of the previous function of the building as dormitories for railway workers.

¹ Dahlström (1984:a) op. cit.; Dahlström (1989) op. cit.; Dahlström and Shinyemba (1990) op. cit.
² This was said in the introductory note at the Etosha Conference in 1991. See Snyder op. cit.
NIED and foreign project staff brought a breath of air into the building. This was at times interpreted as a presage of bad weather and therefore met with scepticism, reluctance, or straightforward confrontation by the old guard, i.e. those who in different ways represented the former dispensation and soon became significant actors in the war of position.

The new leadership saw the need for a strong counter-hegemonic strategy at ministerial level, even though the number of Namibians that occupied posts at that level and who agreed to such a strategy were significantly outnumbered by the hibernating occupants. In a way, education reform became the means to conquer the preferential right of interpretation at central administration in the first instance. In this situation a reform based on a decentralised system for the development of teacher education would run the risk of being drawn back into the prevailing common sense and soon be turned into a non-reform.

This situation called for a new strategy. The organic and collective intellectualism that had been developed together with Namibian colleagues had a greater value amongst practitioners than at central administration where it was seen with scepticism, even though still recognised by the new political leadership. Therefore, there was a need to create a broader arena for this intellectualism beyond what at times was apprehended as intellectual comradeship amongst former terrorists by the opponents.\(^3\)

The previously established co-operation with Swedish scholars, like Callewaert, continued. There was also a need for a broader international base on teacher education beyond the Swedish connections. This broader base was initially created through co-operation with Tabachnick and Zeichner at the University of Madison-Wisconsin in the US and at a later stage with Elliott at the University of East-Anglia in the UK. Callewaert, Tabachnick, Zeichner and Elliott and some of their colleagues expanded the sphere for the organic and collective intellectualism. The

\(^3\) The common practice amongst people who supported the state policy before independence was that SWAPO as a liberation movement was understood as a terrorist organisation and its supporters were labelled terrorists.
intellectualism that these scholars brought with them onto the reform arena could not simply be dismissed as intellectual comradeship from the struggle as it represented acknowledged international recognition on a much broader arena. This broader base also placed the teacher education reform in Namibia on the international arena of teacher education controversies, conflicts, and developments.

The international arena of teacher education

Internationally, teacher education has for long been a contested area for educational policy and will. The earlier work of Elliott, Zeichner and Tabachnick provides an illustration.

Elliot has made an overview of different perspectives on teacher education related to the struggle over teacher education in England. His outline has three broad perspectives.

The rationalist perspective as the traditional perspective on teacher education that entails that good practice consists of consciously applied theory. The teacher is recognised as a rational-autonomous professional and this perspective creates a rather individualistic image of the teacher. Pre-service teacher education is to develop theoretical understanding and to give opportunity to apply them appropriately in practice. In-service and continued teacher education are based on voluntary patterns. The teacher educator is seen as an expert.

The social-market perspective applies the production-consumption systems that prevail in the economic sphere of modern capitalist societies and adapts it to the cultural/social sphere of the public services, including teacher education. Learning outcomes are conceived as behavioural, with an emphasis placed on the atomistic specification of discrete practical skills, through constructions like outcome-based education and competencies. The school is the main site of training even in pre-service to

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identify a few basic behavioural skills that are sufficient to assure the organisation that the trainee is able to function within it. The school identifies in-service training needs of the teachers. The teacher educator becomes a part-time technical operator.

The *hermeneutic* perspective, where Elliott can be placed himself, has its roots in what is commonly known as action research approaches and the notions of teachers as researchers and reflective practitioners. The key concept is situational understanding, which implies that practice is grounded in interpretations of particular situations as a whole and cannot be improved without improving these interpretations. Theory may play an important role in improving situational understanding but it is subordinate to the latter. A theoretical analysis of particularly problematic aspects of a situation, that one is trying to understand as a whole, is often an important episode in the development of a new synthesis. Good practice is not a matter of reproducing pre-programmed responses but responding intelligently and wisely to a situation as it unfolds on the basis of discernment and insight. Teacher education, both pre- and in-service, becomes a matter of scaffolding teachers' capacities for situational understandings as a basis for wise judgement and intelligent decisions in complex, ambiguous and dynamic educational situations.

These perspectives are, according to Elliott, related to more fundamental values of what constitutes knowledge and how it is arrived at. The rationalists rely on expert knowledge derived from theoretical assumptions about what they see as isolated entities in the reality. This has for long been the dominant perspective and its implications on teacher education are for many experienced educators assimilated into their thought processes. Much of traditional teacher education is founded on this view and has been questioned lately from the social-market perspective.5

What counts in the social-market perspective is what the market and the consumers want, thus transforming education to a commodity and a production technology. By this the spokespersons of this perspective also hope to move teacher education away from the explicit ideological field of teacher education institutions and relate it more to concepts like efficiency and management.

The hermeneutic perspective looks at understanding as derived from situational interpretations by student teachers and practitioners in a participatory process. The accumulated theoretical knowledge can act in a supportive way to the interpretations while the holistic understanding of a situation will be the basis for action.

Based on their work in Namibia Ebbutt & Elliott expressed the opinion that the development vision of education in Namibia "is imbued with radical nuances that resonate with injustices of the past". Ebbutt & Elliott also reflected on the national goals in Namibia and the fact that they differ significantly from contemporary goals set up in affluent societies.

It is interesting that the national goals are formulated as a set of values to be realised in the educational system and its constitutive practices rather than as a set of tangible outcomes of the system which one can clearly and precisely describe in advance of any decisions about how they are to be produced.

Based on their own extensive work with teacher education in the USA and internationally, including Africa, incorporated with the work of other scholars, Tabachnick & Zeichner have identified several distinctive orientations to teacher education found in Africa today. With reference to

7 Ibid. p. 30.
Avalos, who is involved in teacher education reform in Chile, they acknowledge that a *behavioural skills-training* approach has been the dominant model of teacher education in Third World countries. "This approach concentrates on producing changes in discrete teaching behaviours such as questioning strategies and lesson pacing. The goal is to train teachers to behave in particular ways, not to exercise their judgement."  

A second orientation is an *academic* approach, which put the emphasis on academic subject knowledge and assumes that the more you know of the academic subject knowledge the better you will perform as a teacher. Usually, the achievement of the academic subject knowledge is a matter of transmission and pedagogical content knowledge is either marginalised or ignored, as it is considered as something that can be learnt on the job.

A third orientation is what Avalos has called the *model* approach. This is a dogmatic package solution which aims at transmitting a particular educational model based on a specific methodology like Skinnerian behaviourism, Piagetian psychology, or Freirian reconstructivism. A similar transmission model is described by Harber, where little attention is given to practical teaching skills and the emphasis is on the reproduction of acknowledged wisdom.

A fourth orientation is what Avalos calls the *heuristic-interactive* approach. It is a participatory and inquiry-oriented approach. "Here the goal is to prepare teachers who are able to exercise reasoned judgement about the goals to be achieved in schools and about appropriate teaching

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*Teacher Education Reform in Africa - The Case of Namibia.* Boulder: Westview Press. 207-221.

9 Ibid. p. 215


methods and curriculum." According to Tabachnick & Zeichner the focus is on solving teaching and learning problems in the classroom and the teacher is both an active participant and a constructor of knowledge.

A fifth orientation is the social reconstructionist approach or what has also been named the transformational approach. This approach "directs the inquiries of student teachers and teachers toward the building of a more just and equitable society". Tabachnick & Zeichner claim that the heuristic-interactive approach can easily develop into narrow perspectives when reflection and participation become ends in themselves. Teachers should rather be viewed as vehicles for greater equity, humanity, and social justice in the classroom, the school, and the society. In this way, transformational approaches can become an important force for social change as opposed to becoming a tool for the degradation and intensification of teachers' work.

The orientations presented above with reference to Elliott and Tabachnick & Zeichner can be combined and are not in that sense exclusive in relation to each other. Tabachnick & Zeichner express their own caution about the five orientations they present and say that they are not mutually exclusive. They give an example from Namibia, where several of the characteristics of these orientations are operative in the reform efforts, not necessarily as part of conflicting orientations, but as parts of a broader reconstructionist framework.

Typologies can be both functional and problematic. The functionality is related to the way they can assist in the analysis of ideas and systems to identify trace and structure. However, social constructions are seldom logical in such a way that they fit highly structured typologies unless we discharge anomalies as insignificant. Social constructions can rather be characterised as a mesh formed by different external influences, from which we try to create some sense and understanding. The concept

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12 Tabachnick and Zeichner op. cit. p. 216.
13 Ibid. p. 216.
of hegemony and its lack of totality as described by Gramsci can be helpful in this respect and in the attempts to describe and analyse hegemonic aspects of orientations in teacher education.

Nyambe, a Namibian scholar involved in the teacher education reform, places the reform in Namibia in a broad transnational and global policy network where he identifies two dichotomised paradigmatic perspectives: the technocratic-modernisation paradigm and the critical-transformative paradigm. The norm in this global network has for long been the technocratic-modernisation paradigm dominated by the perception that Third World countries should follow suit in the footsteps of the West. The consequence, also for teacher education, is that it becomes dependent on the Western philanthropic generosity through an overwhelming will to assist in the formulation of policy that reinforces the dependency relationship of the Third World countries towards the Western countries. Nyambe states that "exemplars in the critical/transformational paradigm remain to date exceptional".14

When looking at teacher education in Namibia it is also possible to add the broader historical perspective attended to earlier in this thesis. Before independence teacher education was part and parcel of the political agenda of separation to maintain social injustices. Teacher education in exile was an integrated part of the liberation struggle and in that sense part of a politicised transitional stage. After independence the aim was to create a democratic system through a national programme for all, with characteristics of what has been called above hermeneutic, reconstructionist and transformational orientations to teacher education.

The Namibian teacher education reform was affected by a number of orientations and agencies that created new alliances. It was also constrained by the historically formed common sense about education that

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Shaping the landscape for reform

was embedded in the ritualised coulisse-school or in the utopian hope for white education for all.

At independence, the new government of Namibia saw teacher education as the most important priority in the transformation of the inadequate, inappropriate, and irrelevant education system inherited from the colonial period.

The teachers are prime movers in education delivery. Their attitudes, inclinations, and competencies will, to a large measure, determine the quality and operation of an educational enterprise. Priority should therefore be given to teacher training and the management of the teaching service. There is an urgent need to develop in-service programs of different kinds to help teachers improve their professional competencies. Similarly, the pre-service teacher training programs should be improved and revamped to respond to the critical demands of participatory learning.\(^{15}\)

A more pragmatic side of the situation at independence was that it seemed to be a fairly surmountable task to move teacher education. In quantitative terms it amounted to four college institutions, around 150 teacher educators, and an approximate of 400 student teachers recruited every year. For these and other reasons, like the fact that there were alternative experiences and external support available, teacher education got a rather unique leading position after independence. Zeichner & Dahlström refer to Samoff when they conclude that teacher education became the leading edge of reform in Namibia and not, as in many other countries, an appendage to other reforms.\(^{16}\)

A word needs to be said also about the Republic of South Africa in connection with international trends and influences. Even though South


Africa is the overwhelmingly largest economic and political force in the Southern African region, it is noteworthy that there have been no large direct influences from South Africa on the education reforms in Namibia. The main reason is that the education reforms in South Africa started four years later than in Namibia. It was also the very dependency on South Africa that the new regime in Namibia wanted to get rid of. South Africa also had huge problems in their own attempts to reverse the effects of the previous system and for many South Africans Namibia continued to be insignificant in many ways considering their own efforts and different emphasis in the reform.

Education for All - the Namibian way

The slogan *Education for All* is often connected with the Jomtien Meeting in 1990. At this meeting international organisations, including UN institutions and other financial and technical assistance agencies from the North, together with representatives from countries in the South met in Thailand and decided that universal primary education for all children in the world should be accomplished by the year 2000. Even though Namibia also adhered to that slogan, it is interesting to note that at the schools in exile, organised by SWAPO, teachers and learners used *Education For All* as a political slogan replacing the prayer at the morning assembly already in the beginning of the 1980s.

After several policy papers from the desk of the Minister of Education, guidelines from committees, and expressions of ideas and will by external consultants, a broad policy document was produced for the educational reforms. This statement of vision, *Toward Education for All - A Development Brief for Education, Culture, and Training*, further emphasised teacher education as a central part in the reform strategy and the need for a unified and national programme.\(^\text{18}\)

\(^{17}\) That goal has now been re-set for year 2005 as it was not accomplished during 2000.

\(^{18}\) Ministry of Education and Culture (1993:a) op. cit.
The new education system was build on the Constitution of Namibia, which expresses that all persons have the right to education and that primary education is compulsory. The major goals of education were formulated under the concepts of access, equity, quality, and democracy. In a way these broad goals became prominent features in the discourse over achievements and non-achievements and in the discussions over educational approaches as they were supposed to affect education in a systemic and integrated way.

An interpretative analysis of the major goals indicates that democracy was the broadest concept. It was to be backed up through access, equity, quality, and systemic efficiency. All concepts were defined in broad terms beyond their technical aspects.

Democracy was the broadest concept used for stating the goals of education. It was seen as a central purpose of education at all levels and could not be reduced to a set of lessons when democracy was taught to learners. The belief was that education for a democracy could only be developed through a democratic education. Democratic education was seen as a process of participation and responsibility at all levels and the right to participate in the construction of human processes had its counterpart in the shared responsibility for the results.

The goal of access was translated to ten years of comprehensive schooling for every Namibian child through an expanded physical capacity and by addressing barriers that kept children out of school. In many cases these barriers worked beyond the physical access to education and were also identified as barriers to learning like rote memorisation, punitive discipline, and other intellectually stifling classroom routines.

Equity was largely connected to affirmative action, i.e. the positive treatment of previously disadvantaged groups, as a means to create greater fairness in the education system and to accomplish equity in the effects of

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20 MEC (1993:a) op. cit. pp. 31-44.
schooling. Equity was therefore related to questions about systematic disadvantage in schooling e.g. in respect of gender, regional, and ethnic bias.

The role and preparation of teachers were emphasised in relation to quality. It was said that the teacher was the key for education. The teacher structures the learning environment. Therefore it is the teacher who can make learning exciting and satisfying or who makes schooling a pain. It was expressed that teachers should look at themselves more as active participants than passive intermediaries in aspects of curriculum and materials development. There should also be enough room to structure education to meet the needs, interests, and abilities of the students. It was also emphasised that quality education goes beyond the measurement of educational output through examination results and it was stated that examinations were too narrow to judge the quality of the education system. Instead, quality of education had to be related to the learners' skills to use the information they acquire, to integrate scattered bits of information into coherent understanding and to apply such understanding to unfamiliar situations. School learning should also become a self-directed, interactive, exciting, and intrinsically rewarding activity.

The systemic efficiency was related to the effective utilisation of funding for education as, since independence, it had been such a large part of the national budget. The concerns about the efficiency of the system were however extended beyond the unit cost and included e.g. inefficiency related to late arrival of teachers, authoritarian principals focusing on discipline instead of the fostering of learning, and teacher education programmes that did not help teachers to be resourceful. Systematic efficiency was also related to the development of an effective monitoring system as the reforms aimed at moving the education system away from educating an elite to education for all. This demanded a new sort of schooling and therefore also a new form of monitoring.
Because education for all requires a new sort of schooling for Namibia, we shall have to develop new, better, and more appropriate measures of expanding access, the reduction of inequalities, the quality of instruction and materials, and the effectiveness of education spending. Most important, we shall need to develop better ways to assess learning, both to help our schools and to help the learners themselves.\(^\text{21}\)

Swarts uses the term *policy formation* to describe how policy was developed after independence.\(^\text{22}\) The term policy formation is used by Swarts to describe the fluid process of policy making as opposed to the view that policy making is a strict linear process starting in central directives and ending with multiplied implementation. Similar views have also been expressed elsewhere.

Even though the transformation of teacher education was a planned intervention into social processes, it tried to accommodate the human and social perspectives by avoiding a slavish adherence to grand plans.\(^\text{23}\)

Even a central document such as *Toward Education for All* was the result of dynamic feeding loops through broad consultation with people and draft policy documents already produced. Even though the intention was to follow such a cyclic policy formation process, it has been shown by Swarts' own data and from other evaluation data collected, e.g. during the Critical Self-Evaluation of the BETD, that this was not always the perception of the people involved at the colleges.\(^\text{24}\) Some explanatory value can be found in the mandatory aspects of the reform "necessitated by the legacy of apartheid and the policy of national reconciliation after independence".\(^\text{25}\) The protection of the non-negotiable parts of the policy

\(^{21}\) MEC (1993:a) op. cit. p 44.

\(^{22}\) Swarts op. cit. pp. 90-91.


\(^{24}\) Swarts op. cit.; Swarts (ed) op. cit.

\(^{25}\) Swarts op. cit. p. 63.
related to the broad goals referred to above and the policy of learner-centred education that will be attended to below, was expanded into other areas as semi-mandatory consequences of the policy. This had restricting effects on the teacher educators' control and therefore also a reason for questioning and conflict. A reflection at this stage is that the possibilities created by the dynamic policy formation approach were to some extent not utilised, due to this expansion of power and the perceived threats from the past. An alternative interpretation could be that the policy formation approach was more of an ideal vision that at times turned into a spontaneous state of affairs called for by reality and the national piloting process rather than by a consciously applied strategy.\(^{26}\)

**The essence of reform: learner-centred education**

To accomplish the broad goals expressed in *Toward Education for All* another policy directive concerning educational approaches was developed. This directive stated that education reform should follow the policy of learner-centred education.

As we make the transition from educating an elite to education for all we are also making another shift, from teacher-centred to learner-centred education.\(^{27}\)

In this way learner-centred education became the concept to represent the new reformed educational practices at all levels. The development brief *Toward Education for All* makes an extensive number of references to the traits and characteristics of learner-centred education, relating it to concepts like learners' background knowledge, curiosity, participation, involvement, liberating, integration, individual achievement, democracy, responsibility, intellectual and personal development, social and cultural

\(^{26}\) See Chapter Seven, p. 133ff.  
\(^{27}\) MEC (1993:a) op. cit. p. 10.
development, and self-fulfilment. In relation to basic education the document outlines learner-centred education as a practice, where

- the starting point is the learners' existing knowledge, skills, interests and understanding, derived from previous experience in and out of school;
- the natural curiosity and eagerness of all young people to learn to investigate and to make sense of a widening world must be nourished and encouraged by challenging and meaningful tasks;
- the learners' perspective needs to be appreciated and considered in the work of the school;
- learners should be empowered to think and take responsibility not only for their own, but also for one another's learning and total development; and
- learners should be involved as partners in, rather than receivers of, educational growth.\(^{28}\)

And to accomplish this "our teaching methods must allow for the active involvement and participation of learners in the learning process".\(^{29}\)

The *BETD Broad Curriculum* was the frame policy document for the BETD programme from which course/subject syllabi and the programme activities at the colleges of education were to emanate.\(^{30}\) The rationale of the Broad Curriculum stated that the programme was based on the goals expressed in *Toward Education for All* and that it was "based on a democratic pedagogy, a methodology which promotes learning through understanding, and practice directed towards empowerment to shape the conditions of one's own life. As such it relates closely to the curriculum

\(^{28}\) MEC (1993:a) op. cit. p. 60.
\(^{29}\) MEC (1993:a) op. cit. p. 60.
\(^{30}\) The concepts *curriculum* and *syllabus* are used in this text following the meaning these concepts were given officially in Namibia during the reform process. At the 4\(^{th}\) National Seminar the following working definitions were given. *Curriculum*: this relates only to the Broad Curriculum which is seen as the overall document to guide the three years of the BETD programme. *Syllabus*: this relates to the overall document used as a guide for each subject area over the three years of the BETD programme.
intentions of Basic Education, and to the context of the school in society."\(^{31}\)

Under approaches and methods it was established that basic education in Namibia, and therefore teacher education for basic education, was based on learner-centred principles. Referring to the role of student teachers in the BETD the Broad Curriculum states:

Students will therefore be prepared to be able to stimulate the natural curiosity and eagerness of young people to investigate and make sense of a widening world through varying, challenging and meaningful tasks. Students will be enabled to organise teaching and learning so that the starting point at each stage of a learning process is each learners' existing knowledge, skills, interests and understanding, derived from previous experience in and out of school. They will be equipped with the knowledge and skills to organise, sustain, and evaluate learning environments and learning experiences which are meaningful to the learner. They will be able to formatively and summatively assess each learner's progress and achievements as an integral part of the teaching and learning process.\(^{32}\)

In 1992, during the transition period between ITTP and TERP, the project suggested the production of a document that could be used in the anticipated discussions about the new philosophy of education in Namibia. The background was that a number of studies, including sector reviews by donors, and analyses by external and internal agents had been carried out for different parts of the education system. The intention with addressing the philosophy of education was to illuminate and to make more explicit the philosophical underpinnings of the policy directives

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\(^{32}\) MHEVTST and MBEC op. cit. p. 15.
after independence. Callewaert & Kallós were commissioned to produce the document in co-operation with TERP staff.

Among other things Callewaert & Kallós addressed the issue of learner-centred education and outlined two distinctively separate views of what it implied.

The first view of a learner centered pedagogy regards the child as active and curious, striving to acquire knowledge and skills to master its surrounding world and able to do so under certain circumstances. The ensuing pedagogy is accordingly adapted to the experiences of each learner and uses these experiences and the knowledge already acquired by the learner as a starting point for the teaching process. The necessary pedagogy is flexible and highly individualized in terms of content, methods of instruction and pacing.

Callewaert & Kallós connected this view with a break with authoritarian education and the introduction of a democratic pedagogy characterised by joint planning and influence by teacher and learners, and changed behaviour by both teachers and learners.

The second view of a learner centered pedagogy is anchored in a different theory of knowledge and knowledge acquisition. This second view focuses on the presumed capability of each child to learn predefined skills and regards knowledge as definable as such and accordingly does not regard knowledge as contextually dependent. Its emphasis is on a behavioristic view of learning and the ensuing pedagogy is accordingly highly dependent on the instructional media used. The pedagogy is individualized principally in term of pacing but not necessarily in terms of contents or methods of instruction. It regards knowledge

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33 Callewaert and Kallós (1992) op. cit. Also published in Callewaert (1998) op. cit. The document was presented to the Ministry, but was never used as intended. The reason was that it was considered to be too provocative for some players on the donor arena and therefore also considered to be in contradiction to the consensus and reconciliation intentions. To some extent the intention with this paper was met later by the development brief *Toward Education for All*.

acquisition as a cumulative process which is to be closely monitored in a step by step instructional process via the use of instructional media that allow the learners to work in their own pace supervised by the teacher. Essentially this pedagogy epistemologically regards the child as an object.35

Callewaert & Kallós connected this view with the right of the child to acquire predefined skills and knowledge. "It assumes a changed meaning of teacher authority but does not imply a democratic relationship between teacher and taught". 36 It requires new behaviour of the teacher to manage new instructional media and de-emphasises the teacher as a professional.

Van Harmelen made a distinction between child-centred and learner-centred education in her contribution to the educational debate in Namibia that can also be related to the two views expressed by Callewaert & Kallós above. Van Harmelen claimed that the myths and folklore of child-centred education interferes with the conceptions and practices of learner-centred education in Namibia. While the child-centred ideas have a strong theoretical correspondence in stage theories still within a largely behavioural paradigm not very different from behaviourism, van Harmelen placed learner-centred education within the social constructivist paradigm. 37 It can even be argued that child-centred education and its strong links to stage theories have similarities with the apartheid ideology. In that sense it can easily be confused with the view that different races were at different stages in their development and therefore should be kept apart and treated differently. 38

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36 Ibid. p. 164.
38 This confusion between child-centred and learner-centred education might be one explanation of the fact that some representatives from the former dispensation time and again claimed (lately officially during a conference at NIED in 1998) that 'we have always used learner-centred education in Namibia'.
Nyambe identifies three different understandings of learner-centred education in his analyses of the views of students, teacher educators, and other significant persons about the BETD programme. These are: (i) learner-centred pedagogy conceptualised as "democratic participation and increased involvement" by student teachers in the teaching and learning process; (ii) learner-centred pedagogy perceived as a challenge for transforming the authoritarian teacher centred system, frequently referred to as the old system, to a more learner-centred democratic system, also referred to as the new system; lastly (iii) learner-centred pedagogy conceptualised as collaborative work through the use of group-exercises in conducting lessons.\(^{39}\)

An analysis of more than 400 critical incidents reported by BETD students during their college-based studies were developed into a conceptual map representing the students' collective view of learner-centred education.\(^{40}\) At the centre of this map you found incidents related to concepts like participation and sharing. These concepts constituted almost a quarter of all mentioned characteristics of the BETD philosophy and were geared towards an individual level, even though within a participatory social environment. Another central cluster of incidents was identified around collective work and research. This cluster contained different methods for co-operative learning, mainly through group work and expressed more collective concerns even in relation to research as it symbolised membership in a professional community.

Learner-centred education was at the centre of the education discourse in Namibia after independence. It became largely accepted and

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\(^{39}\) Nyambe op.cit.

understood at the discursive level as an expression of a break with previous practices.\textsuperscript{41}

**Annotation: a basis for a counter-hegemonic reform**

It was a combination of factors that created a basis for a counter-hegemonic force in the teacher education reform in Namibia. First, it was the expressed will to accomplish change amongst the political leadership in education as well as the majority of practitioners.

One of the fundamental factors was the political pressure at that point in time. Everybody wanted something new. People didn't know what but they wanted something new. SWAPO came into power with a lot of promises. It was the strong political will of the minister to push ahead.\textsuperscript{42}

Secondly, it was the practical encounters in teacher education that preceded the reform and started as a counter-hegemonic process already before independence. Thirdly, it was the conscious placement of the reform within an internationally acknowledged orientation presented in this chapter. These factors transformed the previous liberating intentions of education during the struggle into a national agenda under the slogans of education for all and learner-centred education. This agenda placed the new national teacher education programme, the BETD, at the hermeneutic, reconstructive and transformative end of the international teacher education spectrum as a counter-force against the prevailing practices with their traits of the rationalist, behavioural skills-training and academic modernisation tradition embedded in the ritualised coulisse-school.


\textsuperscript{42} Interview M1, 2001.
The BETD became the strongest challenge to the status quo and the prevailing common sense about education. Therefore, it also became the most discussed part of the education reforms in the country and a symbol of the attempts to create a counter-hegemonic reform. The situational conditions for the different actors in the war of position over the preferential right of interpretation are attended to in chapter seven.
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Situational conditions for a war of position

The politics of separate development came to an official end at independence in 1990. However, mental engravings and physical conditions moulded by hundred years of colonialism persisted when the Minister of Education in November 1991 announced that a new national programme should be started at the four colleges of education in January 1993.

The discourses about education for all, learner-centred education and other conceptions representing the counter-hegemonic efforts took stage. These conceptions landed in mental and physical conditions marked by the colonial times. The ambition to create a counter-hegemonic teacher education system for all, independent from ethnicity and the previous diverging experiences, complicated the reform process. This became obvious when the institutional conditions for the four colleges were considered and when the newly established national institute responsible for the staging of the reform entered the arena. The timing of the reform process became another complicating factor, especially in relation to the false reform that took place by the introduction of interim programmes. Namibia was also overwhelmed with a range of funding and technical assistance agencies that entered the country and contributed to the war of position. These conditions became important in the struggle between the different forces on the ground over the preferential right of interpretation, especially in relation to the official power centre of the reform process, the Curriculum Co-ordinating Group. These scene-setting conditions are addressed in the following.
Institutional conditions

The four colleges of education were not in any way in a comparable situation at the outset. The major difference was the one existing between the privileged college for whites in the capital Windhoek and the three neglected and ethnically isolated colleges for blacks in the Northern parts of the country. One of the few benefits for the northern colleges was that the reform and the envisaged changes in teacher education was politically and in all other ways recognised as being on their side, while the opposite was the case for the college in Windhoek.

Windhoek College of Education (WCE) was situated at the outskirts of the capital Windhoek close to a white suburb area symbolically named Academia. The college campus embraced all possible facilities, including "a magnificent hall, a well equipped library and media centre (including an audio and TV studio), a fully equipped arts centre (including a drama studio, musical equipment, ceramic ovens etc.), all kinds of sports facilities (including an Olympic sized swimming pool), well equipped science laboratories, workshops for wood work and metal work" as well as dormitories with single and double rooms for students.¹ The whole college was of modern design with shaded foot-paths above the traffic passages between buildings and lecture halls. There were only around 120 fulltime students, with some 30 from South Africa, studying at WCE in 1989. The college was spaced to accommodate between 800 - 1000 students and had around 50 educational staff.² WCE offered full-time and part-time courses for white students and only started as late as 1989 to offer courses for students from all ethnic groups. Courses at WCE were delivered under the auspices of Rand Afrikaans University in South Africa. A visitor could feel the strong internal spirit of ethnic supremacy and well organised, sometimes over-organised, professional conduct under

² Callewaert and Kallós op. cit.
the leadership of the Rector, an honourable professor. WCE was merged with the former Khomasdal College for coloureds one month after independence and received 17 new educators. The college remained at its impressive and luxurious campus until the end of 1994, when the University of Namibia (UNAM) took over the college campus. It was then moved to the less prestigious site of a former technical school at the opposite side of town, close to the traditionally black residential areas. The move was for many teacher educators at WCE a traumatic experience, as the new situation called for the recognition of a different reality. As one teacher educator expressed it:

I never realised how important that building was for the teacher educators at that time. I never realised the psychological effects of working and living in a beautiful surrounding and a wonderful nature. It created an ivory tower problem. We were so physically removed from everything that we did not realise what was happening around us.  

Of the three northern colleges Caprivi College of Education (CCE) was the most remote from Windhoek, placed in Katima Mulilo at the end of the Caprivi Strip, some 1200 kilometres away from the capital. This remoteness had both its benefits and problems. The distance to the centre of power in Windhoek created room for regional initiatives. There was a regional, but constrained, preference for the English language. Such preferences were before independence associated with the liberation struggle and therefore not fully encouraged by the regime. Nevertheless, the Department of National Education introduced English in 1983 as part of the false de-colonialisation. English was supposed to be the language of

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instruction in upper primary. Instructions to teachers followed the style of the following example:

All teaching should be done through the medium of English, irrespective of the pupils' or the teacher's ability to use the language. Translation should be only the very last resort. If mother tongue is used, pupils are led to believe that one need not know any English. It also leads to mental laziness and a 'mixing' of the languages.  

The remoteness created the possibility for Caprivians to entertain their historical and cultural contacts, influences, and possibilities through the closeness to Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana. Negatively, the region was neglected also because of remoteness and teacher education operated as an integrated part of a secondary school, thus leaving both student teachers and teacher educators at the mercy of a strict secondary boarding school mentality. This had the effect that student teachers had to comply with rules for secondary school students and teacher educators were employed on the same conditions as secondary school teachers. During the first visit by TERP staff to the college in October 1991 meetings were held with staff members and first year students. A strong interest for new ideas was shown. At the same time a narrow and traditional view on teacher education was demonstrated. This view mirrored the perspectives put forward by representatives of the previous dispensation in Windhoek. The main worry amongst teacher educators and students alike was related to the assessment and examination procedures and the students' lack of


5 It was this situation at Caprivi college and the similar situations at the other northern colleges and the overall secondary school mentality permeating the activities that coined the saying that the northern colleges were nothing but glorified secondary schools. See Angula, N. (1993) Teaching Profession and the Professional Autonomy of the Teaching Profession: The Role of Teacher Training Colleges. National Induction Seminar for Teacher Educators. Seminar Report. Windhoek: MEC. 3 - 7.
subject knowledge. In 1990 the college employed seven teacher educators.⁶

*Rundu College of Education* (RCE), situated in Rundu close to the Angolan border and 700 km away from Windhoek, was at the outset more or less in the same physical situation as its 'twin' college in Katima Mulilo. RCE was the smallest college in the country and situated at a secondary school, but with one big difference from CCE. It was run by a group of white teacher educators. This emphasised even further the patronising situation at the college with student teachers treated as secondary school students. The ethnic conflicts that raged this college long after independence could be traced back to this initial situation. The ethnic conflicts remained until a new leadership was installed at the end of the 1990s. At the outset, the staff members were rather satisfied with the interim programme of the false reform even though the acting rector expressed his concern over the subject Teaching Science (i.e. pedagogy).⁷ He even referred to the training of medical doctors, which is 90% practical, as he said, and that guided practice should be emphasised in teacher education. As in the other colleges, activities stopped at midday, and the college was deserted in the afternoon. The staff at RCE agreed with what teacher educators at CCE mentioned, that a new teacher education programme must start from a new perspective, even though experiences from the interim programme could, according to them, be adapted and integrated. RCE had six teacher educators on the establishment in 1990.⁸

The third and largest college in the North was situated 700 km Northwest of Windhoek along the main tarred road between the commercial centre Oshakati and the administrative centre Ondangwa in what was previously called Owamboland, or the war zone, with the

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⁶ Dahlström (1991) op. cit.
⁷ The interim programmes are attended to under the heading 'Timing and internal positions', p. 143 ff.
⁸ Dahlström (1991) op. cit.
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highest population density in the country. It was called Ongwediva College of Education (OCE) and was an institution only for teacher education. Inside the fence there was also a Teacher Resource Centre (TRC), dormitories for student teachers, and staff houses. There was also a primary school at the campus called Control School, whose name symbolised the prevailing pedagogic perspective. OCE looked impressive at a distance, with the large hall decorated with what was supposed to be traditional African patterns. At a closer look, many of the college buildings were dysfunctional. The hall was a large empty room with a terrible acoustics, the sewage system was constantly flooding because of under-dimensional pipes, and electrical wires ended in the ceiling. The hostel facilities for students were built like military barracks with 16 beds in each room, and lecture halls and classrooms were lacking any supportive technology beyond worn blackboards, tables, and chairs. As with the other colleges in the north, OCE had a library that was totally inadequate for a teacher education institute. With the presence of an acting rector recruited to the college in 1991 there were some positive indications of improvements and proactive ideas for the professionalisation of the college. OCE had 36 teacher educators working at the college in 1990. The self-esteem of these teacher educators was very low, except for the group of Filipinos working at the college, who at an early stage constituted a force of its own in the struggle over influence and power.\(^9\) The black teacher educators had great hopes for the future, even though it would mean that many had to leave their "comfort zones".\(^{10}\)

The pedagogical perspective that prevailed at all colleges was on a general level influenced by the technocratic, behavioural and rationalist orientations.\(^{11}\) Collections of study guides were usually the material basis for this orientation. The study guides often consisted of a collection of shorter texts that treated isolated educational phenomena at a very

\(^9\) Based on field observation by the author in 1990 - 1992.
\(^{10}\) Swarts (ed) op. cit. p. 33.
\(^{11}\) See Chapter Six.
artificial level (half a page of this, followed by half a page of that). This content was then learnt by heart by the students and became the basis for tests and examinations that usually asked them to reproduce selected parts of the texts.

The most important institution for the education reforms in Namibia was the National Institute for Educational Development (NIED). This institute was purposefully created after independence to lead the reform efforts in the country. The initial conceptions of NIED were based on the notions of professional autonomy from the administrative bureaucracy and to encourage initiative, creativity and innovation through a modus operandi of participatory interaction.\(^1\)

The National Institute for Educational Development (NIED) was planned and established as a nerve center for educational reform, innovation, experimentation, research, and development. Its main functions are

- Curriculum development
- Teacher education development
- Language research and development
- Education media development
- Higher-level human resource development for education.\(^2\)

After its establishment, NIED soon became a controversial institution for the education establishment in Namibia, especially for representatives from the former leadership still serving the system. For them, NIED symbolised the attempts to dismantle not only the previous power system but also the belief system it was built on. NIED became the main co-operative institution for the many foreign projects operating in the education sector. The conservative forces soon turned this co-operation into a criticised alliance between the institute and alien foreign influences. NIED also became a threat to the hegemonic power of UNAM, which


previously had the sole preferential right of interpretation in the country over teacher education for the black majority. NIED became involved in educational research and human resource development for education e.g. through the joint offering of Master's courses for educational staff. This involvement generated challenges from other parts of the education system that kept the leadership at NIED on the alert.

There were also internal factors that challenged the institute in its expected operations. Some of these factors emanated from the combined effects from the reconciliation policy and the rationalisation of the administration. NIED was from the beginning perceived as a professionally autonomous institution directly responsible to the political level of the ministry. However, until today it has remained a directorate within the ministry. Some of the external consultants involved in the conceptualisation of NIED perceived it as a rather small organisation with a group of highly qualified staff in the field of research and development. The establishment in the rationalisation document confirmed that this innovative conception of the institute had been stifled already at that time through a traditional hierarchical and administrative order.

The scarcity of well-qualified Namibian educators had two main effects on NIED. First, the establishment was at places filled with individuals without the necessary experience and capacity for their expected innovative work, as a result of the rationalisation. This situation moulded the institute's activities further down the familiar bureaucracy lane. Secondly, foreign projects and individual advisers got privileged positions, as there were either no Namibians available or Namibians who became strongly dependent on foreign advise. In certain cases it was even perceived that it was the foreign experts who took the lead in the reform

process, beyond what some external observers of the situation saw as appropriate. Callewaert also noted at a later stage that some of the initiatives had to come from outside.

The fact that expatriates were available was not only the expression of a huge amount of foreign aid invested, but also of the fact that the inspiration had to come from elsewhere than from the bearers of the previously established system, if things were going to change.

This was also the pragmatic view of the Minister. Namibians who participated in the reform process have expressed in retrospect that there was a need for some external forces that could stir the stagnant water.

In view of the prevailing mindset, which had been there as a result of background and training, brainwashing and the isolation, I think it would have been impossible for Namibians totally on their own to have done what we have been trying to achieve through the reform.

At the end of the inquiry period the four colleges of education in Namibia were still placed in the towns of Windhoek, Katima-Mulilo, Rundu, and Ongwediva. The college in Windhoek was well established in the premises they moved to in 1994 and had a functioning campus, but still with some needs for improvements. Teacher educators from the pre-independence period were still working at WCE, but under a new leadership. The colleges in Katima-Mulilo and Rundu operated from new premises built with government loans from the African Development Bank and OCE had been upgraded in many ways, but was still operating from its old buildings. The number of teacher educators, especially at the three northern colleges, had increased significantly and was more equally

16 Callewaert (1995) op. cit.
18 Interview F1, 2001.
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distributed between the colleges after eight years of reform efforts.\textsuperscript{19} The redistribution of staff signified also a redistribution of power. Teacher educators from the previously neglected colleges in the north expressed more often a different stand from their previously privileged colleagues in Windhoek. This situation could also be seen as a more balanced power distribution at a discursive level in the light of a war of position over the preferential right of interpretation. Observations at two of the colleges revealed that the physical situation in the classrooms was still very poor in the beginning of 2001. The classroom situation did not in any way reflect a place where creative work and thought took place. Rows of worn out desks and chairs, at times placed in groups and circles without an apparent function, were the only physical prompts besides the blackboard and the personal material that the student carried with them. The classroom processes showed some differences between the Education Theory and Practice (ETP) lessons and the Mathematics lessons. Students were more active during the ETP lessons, while the students during the Mathematics lessons only reacted to specific instructions from the teacher educators.\textsuperscript{20}

After the initial years at the ministerial headquarters in Windhoek, NIED moved in 1995 to a new, purpose-built campus in Okahandja, 70 km outside Windhoek. The initial lack of appropriate staff improved and NIED became more able to carry out its many functions. Its operations were still influenced by administrative and bureaucratic organisation, mentality, and function and had a strong bias towards control functions of the education system through its general moderation duties.\textsuperscript{21} However, NIED's research capacity developed in the originally intended direction.

\textsuperscript{19} See Appendix 5.
\textsuperscript{20} See Appendix 2.
\textsuperscript{21} NIED's original function as the provider of procedures of assessment, examination and evaluation never materialised as intended. A separate directorate for examination was established at an early stage. This signified the continued overemphasis on examinations rather than educational aspects in the whole system and contributed also to the war of position in the reform process.
and started to collect empirical classroom data that could be used for the further critical fine-tuning of the reform conceptualisations, even though under constrained conditions due to the lack of staff engaged in such work. As one informant put it in 2001:

Even institutions like NIED which was supposed to be the brain of promoting educational effectiveness has somehow become just a bureaucracy.\(^\text{22}\)

In 1998 NIED had a total of 33 Namibian educational staff and 17 foreign advisors operating from the site in Okahandja.\(^\text{23}\) It is notable that one third of the staff at NIED were advisers. The advisers were mainly male and were also over-represented in the division for professional development, i.e. where the teacher education reform was conceptualised.

**Timing and internal positions**

There was a general feeling amongst the people involved with the teacher education reform, Namibian educators as well as foreign advisers, that the time frame for the preparations was far too short. In actual fact, only eight months were available to prepare for the new programme, as the guidelines for the production of steering documents were distributed in April 1992 and the new programme was to start in January 1993. A rational response to this situation was that many of the people involved, especially at ministerial level, including the Minister himself, saw the situation as a *national piloting* of the programme that would call for continuous modification and fine-tuning. The short time frame for the preparation put extra strain on the expected participatory approach.

A second issue was that the introduction of the BETD programme took place two years after the introduction of the interim courses the *National Education Certificate* (NEC) and the *National Higher Education*
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Certificate (NHEC). Both courses were based on a rationale developed by the Academy before independence. The NEC was a three year course for students with a Standard 8 (Grade 10) academic background and the NHEC was a two year programme for Standard 10 (Grade 12) graduates. The last intake of students for the pre-independence two-year Education Certificate Primary (ECP) course designed for black students at the northern colleges took place at the beginning of 1990. This had the consequence that teacher educators at the northern colleges who had students in ECP up until the end of 1992, started with the interim courses in 1991 and 1992 and were running the NEC and NHEC courses up until the end of 1994 and 1993 respectively. While the ECP, NEC and NHEC programmes followed a similar rationale, the introduction of the BETD in the beginning of 1993 called for a different organisation of activities that further complicated the operations at college level through the parallel running of programmes based on contradictory philosophies of education.

It was only from the beginning of 1995 that all previous programmes were phased out and that activities at the colleges could be fully adapted to the new philosophy of learner-centred education. An outsider could claim that teacher educators could under this transition period rationalise their behaviour in such a way that they would adapt their teaching style to the new approaches, with the consequence that also the old programmes would benefit from learner-centred education. However, the interim programmes were still run under the control of the Academy and therefore indirectly affected by the institutional and scholastic war of position between the Academy/UNAM and the new ministry. Mayumbelo and Nyambe noted the differences between the NEC and NHEC programmes as compared with the BETD, when they stated that the former were deficient in many ways and were coached...
within a traditional positivist approach. The consequence was that teacher educators tried to follow two different philosophies in parallel. This had constraining effects on the newly introduced philosophy of learner-centred education. Adaptations of learner-centred education to the prevailing practices took place rather than the opposite.

The timing for implementation of the newly adopted programme was somehow questionable. Information was shared within a short time and there was hardly enough time to digest it, i.e. to find what it all meant. The programme required a lot of material resources like reference books, equipment and other support materials for student exploration and support. Class space in some colleges was non-existent and some of the teacher educators found it difficult to catch up.

A third issue was related to the physical conditions, ethnical division and professional status at the colleges of education inherited from the previous dispensation and their combined effects on power relations. Many black teacher educators at the northern colleges had a positive relationship to the post-colonial reform efforts as a matter of professional, social and political liberation from the white minority rule. However, the physical conditions at these colleges expressed a different discourse with discouraging effects. A related issue was the underestimation of their own capacity that many black teacher educators showed, while a corresponding overestimation was recognised amongst many of the whites. There was also an open hostility against the BETD programme, especially but not exclusively from white teacher educators at WCE. The first report from the national evaluation of the BETD based on data collected in 1994 reported that BETD students claimed that almost half of the teacher educators at WCE "talk bad about the BETD".

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26 Swarts (ed) op. cit. pp. 37 - 38.
27 Frykholm (1997) op. cit., p. 110.
The social and attitudinal dispositions created by the previous apartheid legacy did also affect the way teacher educators related to each other when they were supposed to work together. At occasions this lead to both patronising and submissive behaviour at the beginning of the reform process. Last but not least, NIED was often perceived with scepticism as an unfamiliar newcomer on the reform arena, not only from the former rulers and their allies. Teacher educators, who were sympathetic to the reform were caught between the dilemma of an inevitably nationally directed reform and a desirable democratic decentralisation. In institutions under development and with everything else in flux, teacher educators often expressed negative attitudes towards NIED not least because of its close relation to international advisers.

External support and intervention

Namibia became a new market for international financial and technical assistance agencies in 1990. The many international and national organisations that had supported the liberation movements through the years since the 1960s continued to assist in building a new Namibian society. In addition, there were new players like the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The education sector was overwhelmed with support projects and foreign staff who were seen as and acted as experts, no matter their official titles as advisers or volunteers. The number of support projects operating in the area of pre-service teacher education alone during the inquiry period was most of the time around seven.

The Teacher Education Reform Project (TERP) from Umeå University was the main foreign actor in the area of pre-service teacher education. TERP placed between 2-5 Reform Facilitators at colleges and two Advisers and a Project Co-ordinator at NIED. The recruitment of staff for the posts was done internationally based on the idea that it was more important to recruit individuals with relevant experiences and
conceptions about teacher education than finding educators from Sweden for the posts. A related reason was to avoid a too strong Swedish educational bias.\textsuperscript{28}

The \textit{Reform Facilitators} had responsibility for the support to the development of the BETD programme at the college where they were stationed. They also had an overall responsibility for areas of their own speciality at all colleges and in staff development courses. The \textit{Advisers} at NIED were responsible for supporting the national reform of teacher education, meaning that they assisted NIED in the development of steering documents and national and inter-college seminars. The \textit{Project Co-ordinator} had overall responsibility for the project and its activities. The project also supported the overall co-ordination of educational activities through representation on different committees including the CCG.\textsuperscript{29} The Plans of Operation for TERP during the period 1993 - 1998 had three main areas. These were curriculum and programme support, staff development, and infrastructure support.\textsuperscript{30}

The report from the critical self-evaluation of teacher education development and support in Namibia carried out during 1999 and parts of 2000 looked specifically at the support from TERP.\textsuperscript{31} In a way, it was

\textsuperscript{28} See Appendix 6.
\textsuperscript{29} In addition to the CCG, TERP was represented on the steering committees of the Namibian Languages Competency Project (NLCP) at UNAM, the Village School Project (VSP) organised by the Nyae-Nyae Community, and the Enviroteach Project at the Desert Research Foundation (DRF). These projects were financially supported by Sida with funds for the NLCP and VSP Projects channelled through TERP during initial periods. Other committees with TERP representation was the Task Force for Teacher Education, The Project Implementation Unit (PIU), and the Task Force on 10 Year In-service Teacher Training, 1996 - 1998.
\textsuperscript{30} See Appendix 7.
\textsuperscript{31} Swarts (ed) op. cit. A previous evaluation of TERP was reported by Marope, M. and Noonan, R. (1995) Evaluation of Teacher Education Reform Project (TERP) in Namibia. Stockholm: InterScience Research Corporation. The Critical Self-evaluation report also referred to the Marope and Noonan evaluation. The Marope and Noonan report sparked off concern amongst people involved in teacher education in Namibia which meant that the second and final evaluation of TERP was carried out as a critical
inevitable that the support generated disappointments, short comings, and frustrations. It took place during a relatively extended period of six years in a state of contextual flux and with activities that included a total of 40 individuals employed in the project with 22 as long-term educational advisers/facilitators, 15 as short-term educational advisers, and 3 as administrative staff.\textsuperscript{32} The short-comings expressed in the critical self-evaluation report were related to professional tasks that were not accomplished according to plans, and internal and external conflict.\textsuperscript{33} However, the critical self-evaluation report concluded that the achievements and challenges related to TERP had to be looked at in context.

The achievements and challenges experienced by the TERP project from 1992 - 1998 cannot be viewed in isolation from the contextual factors impacting on the educational system. Similarly, they cannot be evaluated in isolation from NIED and the Colleges, since the activities were integrated and interwoven into those of NIED and the colleges. They should rather be viewed as part of the on-going process of educational reform and renewal and therefore the TERP successes and/or failures are to an extent the successes/failures of the educational system. This, above all, is the greatest achievement of the project: that because its activities were so integrated into those of its host institutions, they contributed effectively to institutional and professional capacity building as well as ensuring sustainability. The broader goals of the support, which are the broad goals of the reform, have been achieved, i.e. increased access, more equity, democratic participation, empowerment and capacity building.\textsuperscript{34}

\textsuperscript{32} Calculated from project staff records.
\textsuperscript{33} See Swarts (ed) op. cit. pp. 59 - 76. See also pp. 232 - 233 in this thesis.
\textsuperscript{34} Swarts (ed) op. cit. p. 76.
As mentioned previously, a number of other donor projects were involved in teacher education. The most important was the Education Reform Adviser (ERA) Project. It placed a single Reform Adviser at NIED and was funded by Norway through the Namibia Association of Norway (NAMAS). This adviser entered the Namibian scene with experiences from curriculum development for a junior secondary education school established by SWAPO in exile and started his work within Namibia with the same mandate, i.e. curriculum development at junior secondary level. However, the adviser soon became involved in teacher education, first as the deputy chair of the Task Force for Teacher Education, and soon after that as the chairperson of the CCG. As the chairperson of the CCG he got a central position in the teacher education reform, and was deeply involved with the reform until the end of his contract in mid 1997. At times this Adviser also saw it as his duties to allocate work to individual staff members of TERP, with the expected complication, frustration, and conflict such behaviour from an external adviser generated. The work of this adviser was externally evaluated at the end of his contract period. The evaluation report painted a malicious picture of the adviser as a person, rather than a balanced assessment of his professional contributions. A staff member of the Faculty of Education at UNAM headed the evaluation team. Therefore, instead of being an evaluation, this report became a party petition in the power conflicts between, in this case, a single foreign adviser to NIED and an equally foreign, but African, scholar at UNAM. This report symbolically represented the more general war of position over the preferential right of interpretation in the Namibian teacher education reform.35

Another important foreign project was the English Language Teacher Development Project (ELTDP) funded by the British Overseas Development Authority (ODA) and, later on, the Department for

International Development (DfID). ELTDP placed English facilitators at the colleges and played more or less the same role as TERP, but with a focus on English language teaching. This was at times expanded to other areas as well with occasional overlapping activity areas between ELTDP and TERP with attached co-operations as well as conflicts. In addition to TERP and ELTDP, which offered continuous support to the colleges through their respective facilitators, there were other projects that specialised in certain subject areas and worked with the colleges on a different basis. The *Enviroteach*, a Sida funded project, produced educational materials in the area of environmental education. This material was introduced to the colleges through workshops. The *Life Science* project was funded by Denmark through Ibis, a Danish NGO, and supported the promotion of Life Science, Agriculture, and Biology. They organised workshops for teacher educators and donated material to the colleges. During a period of time this project also had an adviser working from NIED, who was involved in the overall development of teacher education as a member of the CCG. The *In-service Training and Assistance for Namibian Teachers* (INSTANT), financed by the European Community, operated in the area of Physical Science and directed most of its work towards teachers in schools, but donated material to the colleges. *Florida State University* (FSU), financed by the USA, employed an adviser attached to NIED during the initial years of the reform process. This adviser was also a member of the CCG. Many individual project members beyond TERP and ELTDP were also involved at different times in the development of the BETD Broad Curriculum and Subject Syllabi. Additionally, there were volunteers from different organisations working as teacher educators, especially at the three northern colleges, who became involved in different ways in the reform conceptualisations.

In summary, a number of foreign actors operated directly with the teacher education reform in Namibia. There was an attempt to co-ordinate all these actors by NIED through the CCG or other means, like project steering committees. There were many reasons for a limited success in
these efforts. Bureaucratic rulings related to steering committees is something different from human agency and a practical logic of operations. Many projects preferred to operate physically from headquarters outside NIED based on the reason that they considered themselves as independent entities. There was a common feeling not only amongst foreign projects but also amongst different parts of the ministerial headquarters that NIED attempted to extend its power and influence beyond what others thought was within its jurisdiction. At instances this meant that ad hoc alliances were created between foreign donor projects that were in Namibia to assist in the reform and parts of the administration outside NIED. NIED was a new Namibian player on this arena and represented the new visions that projects were supposed to support. NIED’s legitimate role expanded the war of position as it created a threat to both the perceived independence of foreign projects and to the status quo. Many projects were also hesitant in working closer together with NIED due to the broad influence of the Reform Adviser on NIED’s operations and policies. It is however notable that TERP operated from the NIED premises from an early stage and by that faced both the benefits and problems connected to this position.

Co-ordination of what their staff considered as independent projects was also something that did not allow itself to happen, simply because of the common differences in the operational logic of donor-driven activities and national reforms. Donor projects are normally short-lived, product-oriented, and limited in scope. National reforms are long-lived, process-oriented, and broad in scope. This contradiction is part of the complexity of reform and development co-operation that will not disappear even with the newly refurbished sector support approach.

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36 This influence went beyond teacher education reform. For example, the Reform Advisor was an adviser to the Director at NIED, he was also a member of the NIED management team and instrumental in the development of the Broad Curriculum for Basic Education.
Chapter Seven

Reforms are often thought of as input-output processes very much in line with traditional views on development co-operation activities. However, change processes cannot be looked at from an input-output perspective, but as a process that goes through different layers of interpretations before it hits the classroom. As Callewaert has expressed it:

At every "passage" there is a gap allowing for distortion. In other words, history is not a project but a relatively unpredictable evolution, where things do not happen at will.  

As mentioned earlier, the teacher education reform could be characterised as a national and full-scale piloting. The reform process was affected by this piloting. There was a constant need to readdress issues within a cyclic process that included conceptualisations, practice, re-conceptualisations, and changed practice. Namibian teacher educators as well as foreign advisers who represented the institutional memory of the reform process through their long-term involvement were aware of the need for such a process and tried to avoid disruptions. When new players appeared on the arena in the shape of new project staff or newly recruited teacher educators without the needed understanding of the cyclic process a destabilisation was often the result through passages of distortion. It was often the Curriculum Development Group (CCG) that had the duty to put the cyclic process back on track when it was derailed. However, there were no other corrective measures available when passages of distortion emanated from the CCG itself.

The Curriculum Co-ordinating Group

The Curriculum Co-ordinating Group (CCG) played an important role in the teacher education reform process. The CCG was originally established as the working committee of the Task Force for Pre-service Teacher Education. The terms of reference for the Task Force included:

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37 Callewaert (1999) op. cit. p. 238.
• to constitute a Curriculum Co-ordinating Group to work out a broad curriculum, defining objectives, scope, content, methodology, time-frame and required resources to implement the new pre-service teacher training programme for Basic Education (Grades 1-10).
• to oversee the work of the Curriculum Co-ordinating Group.
• to approve the new teacher training programme for Basic Education, including entry requirements, curriculum, syllabi, assessment, evaluation, organisation, facilities, feasibilities etc.\(^{38}\)

The Task Force was formally chaired by the Minister and had the authority to decide on policy issues in the field of teacher education. The Task Force met once or twice a year and had a broad Namibian representation and co-opted members from different donor projects.\(^{39}\)

As time went on NIED, where the CCG was housed, became more and more established as the driving force of the reform. The Task Force ceased to exist as a place for policy decisions, while its working committee continued to function.\(^{40}\) As a consequence the CCG became the only remaining professional body on national level dealing with issues related to the development of teacher education and the sole official body for policy interpretations of teacher education. In reality, the CCG became the place where all important decisions concerning teacher education reform were identified and, later, approved by the Minister. The reverse also happened. The chairperson of the CCG prepared internal

\(^{38}\) Terms of Reference for the Task Force for Pre-service Teacher Education Reform, undated Internal Memo/Submission on a letterhead from the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC).

\(^{39}\) See Appendix 8.

\(^{40}\) The Task Force was never officially dismantled in the sense that it was made public knowledge that its functions had ceased to exist and that the CCG by that became a working group operating without a structural reporting line. In 1997 there was a suggestion put forward by NIED to create a system with a Standing Advisory Professional Committee on Teacher Education as a body that the CCG should be answerable to. This suggestion was not supported by UNAM and was never materialised during the period of this inquiry.
memos that were approved by the Minister before discussions and decisions were taken in the CCG. In this way, the official final approval rested with the Minister, while preparations of all major decisions and operative guidelines concerning teacher education was carried out by the CCG.

Terms of reference were outlined in connection with the restructuring of the CCG in mid 1997. These were based on what the coordinating group in actual fact had done previously. According to the final draft terms of reference the new CCG was to co-ordinate curriculum development, professional development, implementation, and quality assurance for all programmes for teachers and other professional staff. The CCG should also identify needs for research, materials and professional development for these groups, and to develop policy frameworks and broad curricula for teacher education.41

The comprehensive duties of the CCG would not have called for any larger concerns if not for the fact that it had from the beginning been strongly influenced by foreign advisers, including staff from TERP. From the very start the CCG was chaired by the foreign Reform Adviser. It was only in 1997 that the CCG got a Namibian chairperson. There is a need for a broader recapitulation to understand the reasoning as well as the factual conditions that created such a situation that has also been indicated previously in the text.

There were comparably few positions available for new recruitment beyond the highest political level when the previous parallel administrations were amalgamated into a new national and overstaffed administrative system after independence. A consequence of the reconciliation policy was that all civil servants had the right to remain on duty. The rationalisation of the government structures that took place in parallel to the build up of NIED did on the whole create a reallocation of civil servants within the system instead of creating new space for

recruitment. There was reason to believe that many of the civil servants, who had been in the system for quite some time, were unfit to act as the organic intellectuals for the new ideas. Previous ideological engravings, even in cases where there might have been an expressed and sometimes opportunistic will to participate, had a strong hold on the common sense about teacher education. This was not a simple black and white issue. It was obvious that the engineers and bearers of the previous system, i.e. whites from that system, were not able or even expected to do as Münchhausen and lift themselves by their hair to reach the other side and become organic parts of the policy formulations. At the best they could become functioning technocrats to start with. It was less obvious that blacks in managerial positions from the same system also suffered from ideological engravings affecting their professional common sense. These engravings were often described as being parts of the colonial hangover in the colloquial discourse.

When NIED was created as the professional wing of the ministry, with the expectation that it would lead the national reform efforts, there were very few Namibian educators who had both the necessary professional and political capital to lead and direct the national reform at this level. The few possible candidates, especially those coming back from exile, had already been recruited for other posts in the system. When rationalisation started NIED became a place for redundant surplus labour within the re-organised administration. Very few if any of the professional staff that ended up at NIED, especially in the division responsible for teacher education, had the experiences or mindset needed to be instrumental in an innovative national reform. This was confirmed by the fact that none of the educators who were placed in this division as an effect of the rationalisation remained for long. In most cases they accepted a golden handshake or a transfer back to the central administration.

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42 Ministry of Education and Culture (1993:b) op. cit.
These were some of the important conditions within which foreign projects and their advisers operated during the first years of the reform process. For example, it took until 1995 before a Namibian education officer for pre-service teacher education took office at NIED. If anything was going to happen along innovative lines it had to be initiated from outside. However, the prominent positioning of foreign advisers did also create problems as these advisers often became the target for anti-reform campaigns and their work fed the debate about alien influence through development co-operation.

The CCG became the most important reform body in the absence of a functional committee on the political level. During 1993 – 1996 two Namibian officials and seven external advisers sat on the CCG. The two Namibian officials were the only Namibians involved with teacher education reform at NIED and the ministry at this time. One of them became later the Director of NIED and the other became responsible for the BETD in-service programme. The seven advisers represented five different support projects financed by NORAD, DANIDA, USAID, UNDP, and Sida. Most of the time TERP was represented by its two advisers at NIED and the project co-ordinator. An official change took place in 1997 that confirmed what had happened earlier on a continuous basis, namely, that the CCG successively became a committee with mainly Namibian representation and with the NIED Chief Education Officer for Professional and Resources Development as its chairperson. This move also coincided with the departure from Namibia of the Reform Adviser and de facto chair of the CCG.

The most significant representation on the new CCG was the one from the colleges of education as each college retained one seat. Another

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43 See Table 11, Appendix 8.
44 NORAD = Norwegian Assistance and Development; DANIDA = Danish International Development Assistance; USAID = United States Agency for International Development; UNDP = United Nations Development Programme.
45 See Table 12, Appendix 8.
important marker was the seat for the Faculty of Education that, however, was very seldom utilised beyond the first couple of meetings. Individual foreign advisers were after September 1997 co-opted as members with observer status, while some still influenced the CCG indirectly through their mandate to assist in other ways.\textsuperscript{46}

The CCG became continuously more and more established and recognised as an important factor in the reform process. However, it was still a committee that provoked concerns at the beginning of 2001, during interviews. Some concerns were about the role of the CCG at the beginning of the reform.

The first documents were developed largely by the CCG although others were consulted. If one is really very honest it was more like consultation after the fact. Certain decisions were taken. We went out to find out - can you subscribe - and we did get a mandate to go ahead.\textsuperscript{47}

Other concerns dealt with the image of the CCG by other institutions and external members of the education community in Namibia.

They [the CCG members] are not even as a group respected by the university. The university sometimes never turns up. A lot of time the representation from Higher Education is not there.... Nobody thinks that the CCG is that important that if they ask you something you better jump and see to it that things get done.\textsuperscript{48}

A serious matter was the feeling of a lack of direction and philosophical guidance that developed after the reconstruction of the CCG in 1997.

\textsuperscript{46} The report from the Critical Self-Evaluation (CSE) of Teacher Education and Support [Swarts (ed) op. cit.] indicates how conflict entered the reform arena also through competitive situations created by the operation of different projects. It is worth noting in this respect that the CSE report totally avoided the most significant conflict created by the power position of the Reform Adviser, the chairperson of the CCG until 1997.

\textsuperscript{47} Interview F1, 2001.

\textsuperscript{48} Interview F2, 2001
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What I see with the CCG is that it has lost its philosophical basis. People have been left unguided.\textsuperscript{49}

The changed representation in the CCG also had positive effects on the situation.

From the beginning I didn't understand the role of the CCG. Things are brought down to the people now and this means that we can see the role of the CCG.\textsuperscript{50}

A conclusion concerning the CCG is that it took five years of transition from a situation heavily dependent on external advisers to reach a situation where there were proper Namibian representations from all major stakeholders in teacher education. A question still to be addressed is whether the length of this transition period could have been shortened? Was the way the CCG operated and the lack of respect that others showed it, an expression of the exercising of power and a consequence of the war of position? Another concern relates to the terms of reference of the CCG as they were outlined in the draft document in 1997. It was understandable that the CCG would have a prominent role in policy development, curriculum development, implementation, and control, at the beginning of the reform process. It was the only body capable of taking a lead in this process. However, it could be questioned whether the CCG should have remained in this prominent role even after five years of reform? This questioning is based on the fact that a college network for curriculum work was developed under the CCG to cater for a more decentralised development process. Nevertheless, the question remains whether the college network corresponded to the ambitions of the colleges to become more independent professional bodies or was it a symbolic restructuring of the teacher education sector related to the power over the BETD programme?

\textsuperscript{49} Interview M2, 2001.

\textsuperscript{50} Interview F3, 2001.
The question of *real* and *symbolic power* is crucial in a situation where a war of position is waged. A tentative conclusion is that the CCG lost its philosophical basis along the road and as a consequence also its real power. This was replaced with a symbolic power as a committee with an important administrative position but philosophically a toothless tiger.\(^{51}\)

It should be mentioned here that the Presidential Commission on Education, Culture and Training recommended in 1999 that a Council of Higher Education be established with a sub-committee responsible for the co-ordination of teacher education. The CCG will be administratively placed under this Council of Higher Education, if the suggestion is approved.\(^{52}\)

**The Basic Education Teacher Diploma - an overview**

This overview is a description of the main organisational structures of the programme within which alterations and changes took place since the first drafts in 1992-93. The *Basic Education Teacher Diploma* (BETD) is the national programme for preparation of teachers for Grades 1 - 10. The pre-service programme is offered at the four colleges of education in Namibia.\(^{53}\) These colleges are responsible to the *Ministry of Higher Education, Vocational Training, Science and Technology* (MHEVTST). The MHEVTST was created in 1995 when the *Ministry of Education and

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\(^{51}\) The toothless tiger refers to a response from TERP staff when discussions were fierce in 1993 about the site for the new innovative institution, NIED. It was argued at that time *that NIED could become a toothless tiger forever locked up in Okahandja Zoo*, provided it was placed outside the spheres of power in Windhoek. The place allocated to the NIED campus was close to a previous zoo park.

\(^{52}\) Government of the Republic of Namibia (1999) op. cit.

\(^{53}\) There is also an in-service version of the BETD, organised from NIED in co-operation with colleges and Teacher Resource Centres in the country. This study is limited to the pre-service programme at the colleges and will only attend to the in-service version when appropriate. TERP was involved in the development of the in-service programme foremost through the financing of the material that was produced along a practice-based inquiry approach.
Chapter Seven

Culture (MEC) was divided into two ministries, MHEVTST and the Ministry of Basic Education and Culture (MBEC). NIED remained a division of the MBEC, even after 1995. National responsibility for the development of teacher education programmes for basic education also remained with NIED after 1995 in spite of the creation of the two educational ministries.

The BETD is a three-year programme. The academic entrance requirement is grade 12 education with 5 good International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE) passes including English and the subject/s students select for their specialisation, or the equivalent. The equivalent is usually a lower academic background (grade 10 or 11 passes) combined with teaching experience. Since the number of applicants for the programme has increased annually beyond the places available, the colleges prefer to select applicants with the best academic qualifications. This has created a situation where all student teachers at the colleges, except for a few, have grade 12 passes. The BETD is one of the few possibilities for Grade 12 leavers in the northern parts of the country to become diploma graduates and to obtain employment without being forced to leave their region.

The number of student teachers entering the pre-service programme on the equivalent clause, 10 % in 1994, decreased each year in parallel to the increasing number of applicants. Already in 1995 there was a total of 7552 applicants for the 542 places available and this number increased in 1996 to more than 8000 for 630 places. An analysis of the situation in 1998 shows that there were more than 10,000 applicants to the 709 places available. At that time there were more than 15 applicants for each place or, expressed differently, fewer than 7 % of all applicants became BETD students.

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54 Frykholm (1997) op. cit.
56 See Table 14, Appendix 9.
Admitted students received a scholarship covering the three years of study. One effect of the scholarship was that students were bonded for three years after graduation to work for the government within the educational system. However, the scholarship system was recently changed to a loan system. The future will tell us whether this will change the behaviour of BETD graduates. Some questions for the future are as follows: Will BETD graduates start their teaching career in rural schools after graduation? Will BETD graduates opt for further studies and verify some of the tentative worries that many BETD students look at their studies as a first step in a different career that will bring them closer to the air-conditioned offices in the modernised sectors of society?

As mentioned above, a small number of the admitted students come to the colleges with previous teaching experiences. The majority come directly from secondary school with a view on the teacher profession based on an apprenticeship of observation from secondary school. The structure of the BETD was designed to respond to this situation. The purpose was to introduce students to a broader perspective on their future occupation through the foundation studies.\footnote{Foundation studies should not be confused with Fundamental Pedagogics in the previous policies that has also been called the South African model of behaviourism. See van Harmelen, U. (1997) Education Theory 2. Part One: Where have we come from? Unpublished study material. Grahamstown: Department of Education, Rhodes University.}

Therefore, there has always been a period of foundation studies for all students and another period of specialisation studies related to subjects and phase levels. Education Theory and Practice (ETP) and other core subjects, like English Communication Skills (ECS), has been taught to all students throughout the three years of study.\footnote{ECS has at times not been taught as a separate subject to students specialising in languages.} School-based Studies (SBS) have since the start been carried out during three weeks in the first

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57 Foundation studies should not be confused with Fundamental Pedagogics in the previous policies that has also been called the South African model of behaviourism. See van Harmelen, U. (1997) Education Theory 2. Part One: Where have we come from? Unpublished study material. Grahamstown: Department of Education, Rhodes University.

58 ECS has at times not been taught as a separate subject to students specialising in languages.
year, six weeks in the second year and a full term in the third year.\footnote{The studies at the colleges follow a three terms system, similar to basic education with 12 - 13 weeks in each term with the following approximate division on the annual calendar. Term 1: End of January to end of April; Term 2: Mid May to late August; Term 3: Mid September to early December.} This adds up to around 20\% of the total study time in the programme. Much time before and after the SBS periods are allocated to matters like data collections, lesson preparations, following up of collected data, report writing and portfolio issues. These activities expand the time used for SBS considerably.

One of the aims with the BETD programme is to create a broad qualification for teachers in Namibia. Each graduate receives the same type of diploma that makes the holder officially qualified to teach at two phases in basic education (lower primary and upper primary or upper primary and junior secondary) and with a specialisation in one of these three phases. All BETD graduates receive the same salary, which is a major break with the prevailing common sense that the higher up in the system you teach the higher is your salary.\footnote{Once you have been employed as a teacher the most significant way to increase your salary is to go for further studies. For example, a Bachelor of Education or a Master's degree will increase the salary of a BETD graduate working in lower primary as well as junior secondary. The problem with this policy is that it will accelerate the drive for formal qualifications and increase the already constrained salary bill for the government. One respondent raised the following question in 2001: “If many teachers over time decide to become [degree] graduates, can the system afford to pay them as primary school teachers?” (M0).}

The official and national documents that describe and direct the BETD programme are the Broad Curriculum and the Subject Syllabi. The Broad Curriculum gives a general overview of the BETD.\footnote{MHEVTST and MBEC op.cit. The officially approved version was signed by the two Ministers of Education in March 1998. All previous versions since 1992 were draft versions that were used as guiding document for the colleges.} Its main headings address a rationale, admission requirements, aims, professional competencies, the structure of the programme, school-based studies, approaches and methods in teacher education, assessment, and evaluation.
There are a total of 21 Subject Syllabi in the BETD organised according to the general structure of the programme as core subjects, foundation subjects, and specialisation subjects.62

**Annotation: situational conditions for a counter-hegemonic reform**

The situational conditions for a war of position over teacher education were at the outset characterised by contradictions. The four colleges of education were originally to be found in different ideological milieus. One came from the ivory tower clime where a specific form of hegemonic excellence had been developed. The others came from the ‘coulisse world’ where education and schooling, at the best, was a matter of learning texts by heart.

NIED was created as a centre of innovative thinking symbolically placed in Okahandja between the majority of the people in the north and central administration in Windhoek. However, NIED operated often as a contested extension of the administration with an innovative mandate that was not fully utilised.

The political pressure on the new government called for an early action after independence. Interim programmes became the answer to this pressure that created a temporal false reform while preparing for the envisaged reform. The interim programmes added to the contradiction as they counteracted the enthusiasm for change. They also became an excuse for later disengagement in the reform process. Some of the enthusiasm for reform and change had already disappeared when the BETD programme was introduced as a national piloting in 1993. Others had used the situation to collect arguments for an opposition both to the way the BETD was introduced and to the programme itself.

Independence also meant that a new group of players appeared on the Namibian arena. Before independence Namibia had been an isolated

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62 Subject syllabi are listed in Table 14, Appendix 9.
spot on the educational map that in principle only related to its masters in South Africa. After independence Namibia entered an era when the international community of financial and technical assistance agencies flooded the country. Projects financed by Denmark, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom, and United States, as well as European Community and UNDP/Unesco started to operate in the area of teacher education.

The entrance of the international donor community created a new situation for many Namibians. The broad policy framework created by documents like *Toward Education for All* allowed for the utilisation of the degrees of freedom by donor projects to forward their preferential right of interpretation on the reform arena. The multiple interpretations that appeared through donor projects broke with the previous situation. The dogmatic influences during the colonial period that stalled any attempt to break the patterns of the ritualised coulisse-school were replaced by multiplicity within a broad policy framework and the flux that the national piloting of the reform created.

This was the situation at the beginning of the reform process. From here on a war of position over the preferential right of interpretation was staged on the main levels of the reform process. These levels included the formulation of steering documents, the development of practical characteristics, and the creation of local agency for reform and change. The third part of this thesis attends to the struggle at these levels of the reform process.
PART THREE: THE STRUGGLE
Chapter Eight

Creating an imperative reform framework

This part, including chapter eight, nine, and ten, focuses on the reform struggle, i.e. the attempts to alter teacher education within the landscape that has been painted in the previous chapters. To establish a counter-hegemonic discourse and conditions for change three major tasks were tackled: Creating an imperative reform framework of steering documents discussed in chapter eight; developing practical programme imprints discussed in chapter nine; and creating local agency for reform and change discussed in chapter ten.

The creation of a reform framework and its imperative mandate that is discussed in this chapter was based on the policy to undo the previous system as outlined in the development brief Toward Education for All.

What is extraordinary in this document is that it goes beyond a concern for quantitative improvements (more children in more schools will have a basic 10 years of education available) to targeting qualitative goals of preparing thoughtful citizens in inclusive schools to participate in democratic government.¹

The participatory and democratic notions were at the forefront in the reform. The conceptualisation of the teacher education reform as a national piloting created further motivation for staging an unusual process. This process included two overlapping phases. The focus of the first phase was the creation of a national reform agenda while the focus of the second phase was an attempt to develop decentralisation and ownership. These two phases of the reform process did not always support each other and created at times contradiction and conflict.

The struggle over a national reform agenda

The creation of a national reform agenda out of the previous ethnic division started by replacing all previous teacher education programmes with one programme for all. The work on the steering documents for this change process started in 1992. The two ministries of education finally approved the BETD Broad Curriculum in the beginning of 1998. Subject syllabi were by 2000 coming close to final revision and approval. The processes in between are dealt with here.

The BETD Broad Curriculum is the main guiding policy document for the programme. It contains the rationale and aims, admission regulations, the main structures, recommended pedagogical approaches and methods, assessment and evaluation guidelines. A course syllabus was developed for each subject in the programme based on the framework established in the Broad Curriculum. The preparations during 1992 meant that a Broad Curriculum document and subject syllabi documents for the first year of study in the BETD were worked on by the CCG and the nine subject panels established during 1992\(^2\). The final work on these documents was carried out during the Induction Seminar for Teacher Educators, held at OCE during the period January 12 - 21, 1993. This seminar was the first in a series of national seminars sponsored by TERP with the extended aim of supporting the creation of a national agenda for teacher education. These national seminars were unique in the sense that teacher educators from all colleges came together to plan and assess their work. The seminars were planned and organised by NIED and TERP, together with selected colleges and educational regions. Representatives were invited from ministerial headquarters, educational regions, the Faculty of Education at UNAM, foreign projects, student teachers, and teachers' unions. The procedures were more or less the same during these seminars. The 2\(^{nd}\) National Seminar was held at WCE during the period 29

\(^2\) See p. 105 and Appendix 4.

The bulk of the time during the national seminars was shared between inputs, discussions and reports from college groups on different issues of the BETD programme. Much time was also used for different working groups, mostly along subject lines, but also for cross-college groups sharing experiences and resolving of common issues. The national seminars worked as a kind of clearinghouse, where draft documents were presented, grievances and positive experiences brought to the fore, and plans made for the future. More than half of the total time was used for inputs and discussions about pedagogical themes related to the programme. Some of these themes were broad in scope, like the ones introduced by the keynote speakers. Other themes were directly related to the BETD like School-based Studies, learning through production, team teaching, and integration. Much time was used for planning activities. These activities were usually organised either within subject areas across colleges or within colleges but across subject areas. The assessment procedures in the BETD, which was based on a combination of continuous and summative assessment, created a lot of anxiety, and time was used for that issue especially during the first seminar. The evaluation of the programme was continuously attended to throughout the seminars. The BETD documents were introduced and discussed at all seminars but

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3 Professor Källös, Umeå University, Sweden, was the keynote speaker at the Induction Seminar at OCE. He talked about the international trends in teacher education. Professor Grant, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA talked about the changing role of the teacher educator at the 2nd National Seminar at WCE. Professor Gerwel, Adviser to President Mandela and former Dean at the University of Western Cape, South Africa, addressed the issue of quality in teacher education at the 3rd National Seminar in Swakopmund. The presence of these external scholars was also a sign of a different international perspective beyond the previous mainstream South African influences. A 4th National Seminar took place in the beginning of 1996 with a different focus than the previous ones and will be addressed in a different context later on.

4 See Table 15, Appendix 10.
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more at the end when the overall cohesion of all documents was looked at. Other issues discussed were related to external support, staff development at the colleges, in-service teacher education, and teachers' career structures. A general trend in the seminars was that more time was used for broad pedagogical themes, planning, and assessment issues at the start, while a more even distribution of time across different aspects was noticed at the end of this process.

After the induction seminar almost half of all teacher educators looked forward to start with the BETD the week after the seminar. Some saw the BETD as an idealistic programme and envisaged problems ahead of them. As one participant expressed it: "The theories and philosophies seem bright, but the practical implementation can to a certain extent be problematic". However, the positive attitudes towards the future outnumbered the negative ones and one teacher educator said, that it was a privilege to participate in the seminar and "I could enrich myself and I am feeling good to take up the challenge to make BETD a success".

The second and third national seminars attended to the subject syllabi for years 2 and 3, as well as other issues like the assessment policies (2nd seminar) and School-based Studies (3rd seminar). There was an expectation from many teacher educators that the national seminars were organised to solve their practical problems instead of being a national forum for exchange of opinions on principles related to the teacher education reform. This discrepancy was related to the different expectations on teacher educators. Within a decentralised system the teacher educators were supposed to be the developers of subject syllabi and the related practice at the colleges. On the other hand some teacher educators expected NIED and the CCG to give specific directives towards the different parts of practice, teaching, learning or assessment. However, the value of the national seminars as expressed by teacher educators was

6 Ibid. p. 55.
related to the feeling of support they generated and the creation of a forum that reduced isolation.\textsuperscript{7}

Many other meeting points between teacher educators at the different colleges, NIED officials and project staff were organised between the three initial national seminars. These inter-college workshops and seminars were usually organised within subject boundaries with representatives from the different colleges. During 1993 - 1994 there was a total of fourteen (14) inter-college workshops/seminars organised for different subject areas in the BETD like ETP, Early Childhood Education, Namibian languages, and Social Studies.\textsuperscript{8} In addition, each college organised its own workshops/seminars, when teacher educators met to develop their work in specific areas. As an example, during the period January - June 1994 there was a total of eleven (11) college workshops organised with external support from TERP.

The first group of BETD students finalised their studies at the end of 1995. An early revision of the BETD Broad Curriculum and Subject syllabi was envisaged based on findings from the national evaluation, monitoring exercises and other information from colleges.\textsuperscript{9} Monitoring exercises were carried out in 1993 and 1994. These exercises meant that members of the CCG visited the colleges and carried out classroom observations and interviews. The composite report from the monitoring in October 1993 was one of mixed impressions. The overall impression was a positive one, while there were also expected shortcomings observed, that motivated the process perspective on the reform. For example, there seemed to be a general lack of information given to the students about the different national documents for the programme.\textsuperscript{10} This was interpreted as

\textsuperscript{7} Ministry of Education and Culture (1993:c) op. cit.
\textsuperscript{9} The National Evaluation of the BETD is reported under the subheading 'From assessment as control to assessment for development, p. 198 ff.
\textsuperscript{10} National Institute for Educational Development (1994) Monitoring of the Implementation of the BETD at the Colleges of Education. Windhoek: MEC.
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a remnant of the common sense about teaching and learning as being a transmission process based on an uneven distribution of information.

Towards participation and change

The second phase to create an imperative reform framework was one characterised by decentralisation, participation, and involvement. Based on a decision taken by the CCG an appraisal process of the BETD started with the issuing of a procedure document to the colleges in April 1995.\(^1\) This document included guidelines for staff and students' meetings at the colleges. CCG members at NIED followed the same guidelines. The minutes from the meetings at the colleges and NIED were handed over to the CCG member who had been selected as the National Broad Curriculum Co-ordinator for the appraisal process. The information was presented to the 120 participants in the *Broad Curriculum Appraisal Workshop*, 25 - 27 October, 1995, in Okahandja.\(^2\) According to the report from this workshop the majority of comments regarding change related to the structure of the programme, the subjects of the three years of study, and the specific subject area syllabi.\(^3\)

It was at this workshop that the main structure of the BETD programme was altered from one year of common foundation studies for all student teachers to a foundation block comprising term 1 and 2, and with the specialisation starting term 3 during the first year.\(^4\) The main reason for changing the structure of the programme was the strong

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\(^1\) National Institute for Educational Development (1995:a) Plan for the Appraisal of the BETD Broad Curriculum (BC) and the Subject Area Curricula by MBEC/NIED in conjunction with the Colleges of Education. Okahandja: NIED Working Document.

\(^2\) Representatives of the year 2 and 3 student teachers from all colleges were also invited to the workshop, as they had been involved in the preceding appraisal activities at college level.


\(^4\) See Figure 2 and Figure 3, Appendix 10.
requests from colleges and individual members of the CCG for an earlier specialisation based on the perception that this would improve the student teachers' knowledge of the school subjects.

The previous structure had been in place since the first drafts in 1992. It was based on the notion that the education system needed teachers with broad and flexible competencies that could answer to the diverse needs of the country. One reason for broad competencies was that a small group of BETD graduates would be able to teach all subjects from grade 1 - 7, i.e. the grades in a small primary school. In a future, when enough BETD graduates were serving in schools, it would even be possible to offer all grades in basic education (1 - 10) at a small village school as an alternative to the boarding school tradition. A related issue was that a teacher would be able to follow a group of students through many grades. However, it was apparent already during the data collections for the national evaluation in 1994 that modifications were called for by the teacher educators at the colleges in the structure of the BETD. Calculated on college level there were between 60 - 85% who wanted to see modifications in the structure, while 5 - 20% wanted radical changes. The modification dealt with the organisation of the specialisation during year 2 and 3 but did not produce any suggestions of limiting the time for the common foundation studies, which became an issue later on during the appraisal process. The few radical changes were in most cases calls for a return to a more traditional model of teacher education with an early separation of students following the three different grade levels in basic education.\(^\text{15}\) This was also what happened as a result of the appraisal exercise.

A consequence of the new structure was that student teachers had to select their specialisation option as part of the application process prior to the studies. Previously the choices were made at the end of the first year for their phase level and during the second year for their

\(^{15}\) Frykholm (1997) op. cit. pp. 24-29.
specialisation with a possibility for guidance from the teacher educators together with the students own experiences from the studies. Another consequence was that the pedagogical idea to keep student teachers together as long as possible was altered to an earlier specialisation with a possible risk for status and gender differentiation amongst the student teachers. An early specialisation did also increase the significance of previous academic achievements in the students' choices. The hope was that through an earlier specialisation the student teachers' subject knowledge would increase in response to the many calls for such a development. A proper analysis of the reasons for these calls was never carried out. The fact that these calls continued even after the modification of the programme was an indication of that at least some of the reasons behind these calls had to be found elsewhere. They were probably related to the broader war of position over the preferential right of interpretation over teacher education combined with the meagre possibilities for further studies at UNAM that became a struggle over accreditation.

When the changes of the foundation and specialisation blocks took place and the specialisation block was allowed to expand with another term at the expense of foundation block there were two ways to go. One was to include more of the same type of subject knowledge and the other was to introduce a counter-hegemonic type of expansion that was based on classroom observations. It was argued in the CCG that the extra term should be used to introduce students to subject studies through an expanded project approach. The idea was that students should collect information related to the learning of school subjects according to the students' specialisation. If teacher educators systematically organised and gave direction to the focus of the students' observations, they could build the other specialisation studies on the data that students had collected themselves, and by that base the specialisation studies on empirical data from classrooms. It was also agreed in this workshop that the programme should follow a thematic framework based on themes developed from the Education Theory and Practice (ETP) subject area. However, neither the
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idea to develop a model for generating subject knowledge nor the thematic framework for the BETD syllabi was developed in full.

The next major event in the development process of the national guiding documents was the *Fourth National Seminar*, held at NIED during 15 - 19 January, 1996. This seminar assembled 140 teacher educators, 35 BETD students, and 25 representatives from NIED/MBEC, MHEVTST and support projects adding up to a total of 200 participants. A new draft of the Broad Curriculum had been prepared. This draft became the document from which all activities emanated during the seminar. The aims of this seminar were outlined as below.

- To elaborate the agreed thematic framework for the year 1 BETD by developing a multi-layered process that enables task-based syllabuses to be constructed from the aims of the Broad Curriculum.
- To promote democratic processes for educational programme development through the creation of inter-college networks.\(^{16}\)

The *multi-layered process* was an attempt to create a connection between the stated goals of teacher education and the activities within the BETD programme. It was schematically presented as a working framework for the renewal of the broad curriculum and subject syllabi in the BETD. This was an attempt to adapt to a presumed logic that would make it possible to trace activities in the programme back to the general goals of teacher education as expressed through the nineteen (19) statements in the BETD Broad Curriculum.\(^{17}\)

The multi-layered process was presented as a relationship between five different layers in the BETD programme. In a written comment to this presentation Nyambe suggested that there should be a direct link


\(^{17}\) MHEVTST and MBEC op. cit. pp. 4-5.
between tasks and the general BETD competencies, to safeguard a circular feedback through the competencies. By that Nyambe wanted to accomplish that "statements of student competencies will directly link up with the aims and lead to a reflection on concrete outcomes related to the aims".

The multi-layered process was introduced as a way to construct guidelines for specific levels of the programme based on the ethos of broader levels. The first to happen was that the nineteen Broad Curriculum Aims were transformed into the General BETD Competencies. This happened through a clustering of the aims and each cluster was given a heading that later on was developed into the General BETD Competency Areas. These competency areas were broad and few in numbers and developed through negotiation and sharing. The competency areas were spelled out in the broad curriculum as to what students should have achieved on the completion of the BETD. To develop the student teachers' abilities in these competency areas, eight aspects of the teaching profession were identified. These aspects were introduced as professional themes for all studies in the foundation block and further developed as specific competencies through the subject topics in the specialisation block.

The list of Broad Professional Themes/Competencies in the Broad Curriculum was immediately followed by a sentence starting with "students performance will be assessed in terms of these competencies...". This confirmed that the multi-layered process also was seen as a devise to narrow the gap between the aims and objectives and the assessment procedures of the programme.

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18 See Appendix 11.
20 See Appendix 12.
21 MHEVTST and MBEC op. cit. p. 6.
It was during this phase of the appraisal process that *competencies* surfaced as an important concept in the BETD. In previous versions of the Broad Curriculum (e.g. June 1994 and January 1996) competencies as a concept was only used in general terms in the rational and aims of the programme. "The student teacher's actual achievements and competencies will be assessed in a variety of ways, giving an all-round picture of their development" or "The main aim of the Basic Education Teacher Diploma is to develop the professional expertise and competencies....".\(^2\)

In contrast, the Broad Curriculum, which became the approved document in March 1998, gave competencies a more prominent position as a result of what was called *curriculum development through a multi-layered process*.\(^3\)

The fourth national seminar turned out to be the starting point of the second phase in the development of steering documents for the BETD. It was expressed in the second aim of the seminar: "to promote democratic processes for educational programme development through the creation of inter-college networks".\(^4\)

The background to this ambition to move initiative and involvement closer to the colleges was the combined effects of stronger demands of involvement from college staff and the tendency of a stronger hold on the power by a few foreign hands in the CCG.

The *college network* was established after the fourth national seminar. Each college selected a *Broad Curriculum Co-ordinator*, who also became the college representative in the CCG. Teacher educators were engaged in the inter-college network and subject area groups through


\(\text{\(^{4}\) National Institute for Educational Development (1996:c) op. cit. p. 2.}\)
which the new syllabi, including Topics and Tasks, were produced. The finalisation of the Broad Curriculum was still an issue very much dependent on work carried out by the members of the CCG. Therefore, the production of the new Broad Curriculum was also strongly influenced by advisers working at NIED, even though it also at times went through broader participatory processes through seminars and other types of consultations with colleges.

Frameworks for the syllabus development was introduced from NIED in connection with syllabus seminars, while the actual production of syllabus content was made by teacher educators through the network. The production of syllabi went through a phased process as it was paralleled with the finalisation of the Broad Curriculum that had to be at least one step ahead of the syllabus production. This process was organised from NIED, while the teacher educators at the four colleges were the ones who produced the syllabus content through subject area workshops headed by subject co-ordinators at the colleges.

It took the rest of 1996 and 1997 to finalise the Broad Curriculum and draft syllabi through intensive work by all involved, i.e. teacher educators, NIED and project staff. The major national events related to the appraisal and renewal process of the BETD programme organised with the involvement of colleges, NIED, and TERP, between the work carried out at the institutions involved, added up to ten major workshops and seminars during the period October 1995 to October 1997.

In summary, the appraisal and renewal process involved a lot of people, almost all teacher educators in the country. However, this involvement did not guarantee ownership. The process was rather complex and sometimes difficult to follow. It was directed from NIED by a combination of necessity and will due to the perceived need for co-

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25 This network operated informally since 1996 and was formally instituted in September 1998. The subject co-ordinators were distributed across the colleges with 8 from WCE, 4 from CCE, 3 from RCE, and 6 from OCE.

26 See Appendix 13.
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ordination and control over the creation of an imperative reform framework. The evaluations of the different activities indicated that participants often recognised the seminars/workshops as informative, explanatory, and a step in the right direction. The majority of participants thought that it was a good start for sharing of ideas and that the new Broad Curriculum structure and the subject areas changes were good. The introduction of the multi-layered process, learning task maps, and the assessment plan were appreciated by the majority. The strengthening of the inter-college network and the formulating of broad criteria were seen as useful. The evaluations of the inter-college subject syllabus workshops showed that many participants appreciated the opportunities to work on different aspects of their own subject areas syllabi. However, there were also quite large portions of the participants who were less happy with the Broad Curriculum structure and questioned the supposedly participatory and democratic approaches used in its development. Many questioned the assessment principles and individual participants expressed their concerns in many of the inter-college subject syllabus workshops. Calls for curriculum experts could still be heard as late as March 2001.27

The overall impression was that the construction of an imperative reform framework became soon a contested issue in the war of position of teacher education after the initial enthusiasm.

**Annotation: forces at work at policy level**

There were often calls for changes in connection with the development of the steering documents for the BETD programme. People in charge felt obliged to respond. If the suggested changes were perceived as a threat against the policy, they were dismissed with the motivation that they were against the policy of learner-centred education, assessment, or any of

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27 From post-observation interview, O3.
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the framework statements in the Broad Curriculum. In connection with such controversies it was often mentioned that the nineteen goal statements in the Broad Curriculum had stayed the same since the start of the reform. This was given as proof of that the policy was untouchable while its implementation could vary.

These and similar requests in writing from the colleges that were not considered by NIED created a feeling of lack of power amongst the college staff that lead to the questioning of the participatory and democratic approaches.

I don't want to politicise the issue. But there were a lot of differences between people. Some people had a greater input to give and a stronger voice because of advantages. But because of political reasons their voices were not welcomed always. That created a passiveness from their side. There was also a little bit of reluctance from time to time to take part.  

NIED had the task to spearhead the reform and as a newcomer on the arena it encroached on the territories of others and became the threat that it was meant to be.  

The policy was an untouchable area and part of the imperative framework. When the most outspoken opponents critiqued the programme, a reservation was often added that the BETD policy was acceptable. This acceptance was often expressed in terms of "nobody is questioning learner-centred education". When such expressions came from the previously (and still) privileged strata it could be seen as a way to gain an entrance ticket to the reform arena and the war of position.

All along the reform process there was a difference in the presence of voices from the two opposing blocs. The voices from the counter-hegemonic bloc conquered the preferential right of interpretation at an early stage. The voices of the hegemonic bloc were often silenced in the

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29 Swarts (ed) op. cit.
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public debate as representatives of the past regime. It also become obvious at an early stage that carriers of hegemonic identities adopted a less confrontational survival strategy. Disengagement became the order of the day with the effect that the voices of the hegemonic bloc were not heard too often except at strategically important occasions like in connection with the Presidential Commission in 1999.31

There was a general problem connected with the two phases in the process to establish a reform framework. This problem related to the contradiction between the ambitions to create a national agenda and the expectations of decentralisation as an expression of democracy.32 NIED as the central power demanded a conditional participation by the colleges as a matter of urgency to create a national agenda out of the previous ethnic authorities. There was force involved in this process, as no college would be allowed to remain mentally or practically in what was already known to everybody, i.e. the traits of the apartheid system. Therefore, the national agenda took preference over participation and democracy.

The first documents were developed by the CCG although we consulted. If one is very honest it was more like consultation after the fact. Certain decisions were taken. In order to make progress at that time it was necessary to start in that way otherwise it had taken us up to this point to come up with the programme.33

This force created problems. It was used as an argument against the intentions. Teacher educators did not feel that they were listened to: "From the beginning they claimed that we were involved but we did not know how".34 This was calculated by the organisers as the price that had to be paid to avoid a new type of merger between ethnicity and class

32 Dahlström, L. (2000:c) op. cit.
33 Interview F1, 2001.
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under the guise of participation and democracy. There was a fear to give the colleges too much power to direct the development of the BETD programme early in the reform process. This fear was based on the view that the cultural and social capital of the different colleges could create disparate developments resembling the past.

The dilemma was that within this imperative policy framework there was a need to create degrees of freedom for participation and ownership. The appraisal process was an attempt in this direction, even though still under the direction of the CCG at NIED.

From the beginning we just heard somebody was going to attend a CCG meeting. We did not know what they were going to discuss and afterwards what they had discussed. Today proposals are discussed with the people to see if it is suitable for us. We are involved now.35

The college network for syllabus development was a way to involve the teacher educators in the formulating of the steering documents for their own practice. The multi-layered process was introduced as a means to keep track of the broad vision as it filtered through the layers of reinterpretations. Sometimes the broad ethos of the philosophy got lost when it was transformed to identifiable entities of content.

The war of position over subject content became in many ways a symbolic struggle between the opposing views of teacher education. The echoing calls from one side read: more traditional subject content. These calls sometimes coincided with a symbiosis between new and old traditional intellectualism. BETD students and graduates, who had social aspirations beyond being teachers in basic education, together with university scholars and some foreign teacher educators at the colleges, who adhered to a traditional academic disciplinary paradigm, found a common basis in the advancement of subject content. From this perspective, the BETD programme needed a stronger focus on subject

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knowledge that could more easily be translated into the traditional knowledge paradigm. This was contrary to the intentions of the BETD and to the policy under the slogan Education for All. Therefore, the common call from the other side was about the deeper understanding of learning about the learning of subject content placed within a view of teacher education that included a critical literacy of pedagogy. Intellectual alliances were also observed in this camp between teachers, teacher educators and foreign advisors, who saw themselves as intellectuals in pursuit of the expressed policy. However, their position as the supporters of the new policy in making placed them often in a defensive position, as the tools to transform the new policy into practice were not available as ready-made formula but had to be created along the road.

This resulted in a dichotomised war of position over subject content that translated and simplified the new policy to general methods that in an odd way were thought of as something that could work without subject content. The effect was a weakening of the policy by the changed balance between the foundation and specialisation blocks and the furtherance of competencies in the programme. On the other side, the attempt to trace the broad policy through the multi-layered process and the introduction of programme imprints like critical inquiry, school-based studies, and continuous assessment worked as an intellectual counter-force in pursuit of the new policy. These imprints are attended to in the next chapter.
Chapter Nine

Altering programme imprints

The national reform framework that was established through the steering documents had its practical equivalence in programme imprints. *Critical Practitioner Inquiry* was introduced as an attempt to break with the traditional model of theory-into-practice and as a way to enhance students' analytical skills related to their own practice.¹ *School-based Studies* was introduced as a way to broaden students' relationship with practice and to include reflective practice as an integrated part of professional training. And finally, different *assessment* practices were introduced that would carry the BETD further away from the rigid control and selection mechanisms exercised through the assessment practices followed earlier in Namibia.

These programme imprints were reflected in the work of TERP both through its initiatives and the 'support themes' in the Plans of Operation for the project.² These programme imprints also became contested areas in the reform discourse and subject to the war of position over teacher education. From a counter-hegemonic perspective they became the means to redefine practice in teacher education. From the hegemonic perspective they became a threat to mainstream common sense and therefore subject to a different redefining process that tried to shuffle the new ideas on to the old pre-independence educational terrain.

² See Appendix 7.
From theory-into-practice to critical practitioner inquiry

Critical Practitioner Inquiry (CPI) became an umbrella concept. It attempted to develop a different view on the relation between educational practice and inquiry within teacher education in Namibia.

Historically, an approach that suited the maintenance of the ritualised coulisse-school had been applied in teacher education. It meant that teacher education was a matter of learning piece-meal study guides by heart and to reproduce this information in two ways. During training it was a matter of reproducing facts during test and examination sessions. After training it was to reproduce these piece-meal abstract, so-called theoretical texts, into practice. This was a tradition based on "religious metaphysics and Anglo-Saxon empiricism" according to Callewaert. Through this process academics (traditional intellectuals) manifested their dominance and preferential right of interpretation over the teachers and their practice. It was in this educational climate that CPI was introduced.

CPI was a concept developed and used in the education sector in Namibia to establish a new relation between educational practice and inquiry. It

- attempted to break with the common reductionist view that educational practice was applied theory.
- challenged the preferential right of interpretation which academics had assigned to themselves over educational practice.
- acknowledged the development of theories about practice as an academic area in its own right, but did not recognise the reduction of

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3 Callewaert (1999) op. cit. p. 228.
4 Other concepts like school projects and action research were used before and in parallel with the term Critical Practitioner Inquiry that was coined in 1995. Meyer has carried out a thorough analysis of different perspectives on action research and related concepts within a social reconstructive paradigm with reference to Namibia. See Meyer, H.M. (2000) Creating A Namibian Definition of Action Research: A Case Study from One Namibian College of Education. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation. Madison: University of Wisconsin-Madison.
these theories to technical dogma that practitioners were expected to follow.

- supported the development of a theory of practice based on practitioner inquiry.
- supported the documentation of accounts of educational change, which collectively contributed to a written knowledge base of education.\(^5\)

Critical Practitioner Inquiry was characterised as a planned intervention by practitioners into their own practice. It followed a critical research approach including contextual and situational inquiries as preparation for practical interventions and further inquiries. Along with these inquiries, practitioners were expected to develop their inquiry skills by adopting different ways to carry out inquiries and analysis. An important aspect of this approach was to make the inquiries available to other practitioners and to other communities. This represented an attempt to develop a written knowledge base of education that acknowledged practitioner inquiry as a basis for the development of systematic knowledge of practice for social change.

The introduction of CPI in the teacher education reform could be traced back to the experiences of the transition period of 1986 - 1992.\(^6\)

There were two features that in combination affected what later developed into CPI. One was that teacher education should respond to the constant lack of relevant learning material and, second that it should contribute, as an emancipatory feature, of its own intellectual and material base. At an early stage, student teachers were introduced to the view that they themselves should be involved in productive activities beyond what is

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\(^5\) This is based on a display at a Sida/SAREC Conference titled *Development of National Research Capacity*, 6-7 June, 2000, at Aula Nordica, Umeå University. The conference included representatives from Namibia. The display was based on material developed at the National Institute for Education Development (NIED) in 1998 and a TERP document. See Dahlström, L. (ed) (1998) op. cit.

\(^6\) See Chapter Five, pp. 91 - 109.
normally the case, when student teachers produce merely for the teacher educator’s eyes. The other feature was that each student should carry out a piece of individual development work that was called a school project. Most of these school projects addressed classroom issues. Some developed beyond the classroom like building a school toilet. All school projects ended up in a written report that was presented and discussed in a public seminar. When the national teacher education reform started, these experiences were brought into the reform as relevant experiences made by both Namibians and some of the staff employed by TERP. These experiences contributed to an application of critical practitioner inquiry practices in different ways adapted to the situation at hand.

In the BETD pre-service programme CPI was called Critical Inquiry (CI). The BETD In-service programme developed Practice-Based Inquiry (PBI) as an adapted form for in-service training of teachers. In postgraduate courses for teacher educators the CPI concept was used in connection with research at Higher Diploma and Master levels. Here the discussion is limited to Critical Inquiry in the BETD pre-service programme.

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8 Another factor that boosted these developments was the contacts that were established at an early stage with Tabachnick and Zeichner at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA and their involvement and broad experiences from teacher education and action research. Both Tabachnick and Zeichner became short-term consultants employed by Umeå University and worked on many occasions together with the permanent project staff in Namibia. Elliott and colleagues from the University of East Anglia became engaged at a later stage in our activities in Namibia.
9 For an analysis of the application of CPI in the BETD in-service programme see Ebbutt and Elliott op. cit. Some of the material developed for the BETD in-service programme in Namibia can also be found at www.uea.ac.uk/fdl/depts/edu/namibia.
10 CPI in the staff development courses is attended to under the heading ‘Shaping institutional agency’, p. 207 ff. A description of the other practices of Critical Practitioner Inquiry in the BETD in-service programme and staff development courses for teacher educators is found in Dahlström (1999:b) op. cit.
Critical Inquiry (CI) was identified as one of the eight professional themes in the BETD pre-service programme. The BETD Broad Curriculum stated that student teachers should develop "a critical inquiry approach into one's own practice and context".\textsuperscript{11} In the foreword to the first publication of reports from BETD student teachers the role of critical inquiry was further emphasised.

Critical Inquiry is one of the professional themes in the BETD, which permeates the three years of study. Students are expected to develop a critical practitioner inquiry perspective during their studies, which will equip them with the necessary critical, proactive and democratic professional skills, and an extended professional understanding needed by teachers in the future.

Critical Inquiry is also running through the BETD as a 'methodological and pedagogic project' with focus on the learner, the learning environment, and educational practice for change and improvement.\textsuperscript{12}

The methodological and pedagogic project started during the first year with observations focusing on individual learners in schools. This was carried out as an introduction to the subject or phase specialisation that the students had selected. It was also expected to create a basis for further studies in their subject areas as well as in the professional studies carried out in the subject area Education Theory and Practice (ETP). Second year students focused on learning environments and contextual issues affecting teaching and learning in basic education. The data from year 1 and 2 formed part of the basis for the students' major action research during year 3. The project was carried out as an integrated part of the students' SBS and was reported through seminars, in the students' SBS portfolios and other written reports.

\textsuperscript{11}MHEVTST and MBEC (1998:a) op. cit. p. 6.
Variations between colleges were observed within this general framework for Critical Inquiry. Meyer, a former employee of TERP, reported on internal development at one college where an initial allowance for broader community related action research reports of BETD III student teachers were later on "all confined to classroom issues".\textsuperscript{13} The School-based Studies Handbook from OCE expressed Critical Inquiry in the BETD as "a three-year process of observation, data collection, reflection and action, which provides a bridge between college and school-based studies and forms an integral part of the BETD programme".\textsuperscript{14}

The potential for critical practitioner inquiry as applied in the BETD pre-service programme was expressed by a Namibian teacher educator in her elaboration of the Namibian experience of inquiry and reflection.

...there is a need to build a bank of indigenous local knowledge in Namibian education. The pre-service teachers' reports are a beginning in that direction and although most of them may be described as amateurish, they contain much valuable information. Through their availability to a wider audience we hope that new insight will be shared, new theories will emerge and a better collective understanding of the forces underlying and shaping Namibian education will develop.\textsuperscript{15}

Critical Inquiry in the BETD carried also a broader message to student teachers. It was a message of empowerment and rethinking of the construction of knowledge. Previously schooling and teacher training programmes in Namibia were part of the technocratic paradigm and Critical Inquiry became one of the challenges to this paradigm. An analysis of the twelve action research reports by BETD student teachers referred to above show that student teachers were able to carry out

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{13} Meyer op. cit. p 319.
  \item \textsuperscript{14} Ongwediva College of Education (1999) SBS Handbook, BETD Years 2 and 3. Ongwediva: SBS Department. p. 10.
\end{itemize}
planned inquiries, to affect classroom practices, and to develop their own knowledge about practice.\textsuperscript{16}

The case study reported by Meyer, looked into the student teachers' understanding of action research during their studies in the BETD programme. Meyer's thesis confirms the potential of Critical Inquiry in the BETD.

In interviews, the student teachers spoke highly of the power of action research. They felt personally empowered. They could solve problems. They felt action research was a powerful tool for national development. It could be used to evaluate change in schools and it created a Namibian knowledge base about schooling in Namibia.\textsuperscript{17}

Meyer also acknowledged the conservative influences in the development of critical inquiry. She pointed to the tendency to limit the third year action research activities to a kind of hypothesis testing exercise of narrow classroom improvement through problem solving based on a tendency of problem identification through a deficiency perspective on learners. Very little critical thought about the student teachers' own assumptions were noted. This is all confirmed by the collection of reports published by NIED and Colleges of Education referred to above and needs to be thought about in the future, otherwise Critical Inquiry will be reduced to its technicalities.

A case study at a different college carried out by Mbamanovandu, another Namibian teacher educator, looked into attempts to develop a critical pedagogy in pre-service teacher education through Critical Practitioner Inquiry. Mbamanovandu confirmed the tendency to focus on the technical aspects of classroom improvements and report writing at the expense of the critical aspects related to student teachers' underlying

\textsuperscript{16} NIED and Colleges of Education op. cit.
\textsuperscript{17} Meyer op. cit. p. 322.
assumptions and considerations of ethical, moral, and political principles in education.\(^\text{18}\)

Another aspect of Critical Inquiry was its function as a professional theme permeating the practices of the teacher education programme beyond its development into a methodological and pedagogical project. There was evidence that student teachers in the BETD programme develop a reconceptualisation of teaching and learning, a consciousness of their own thinking, and reflective teaching practices.\(^\text{19}\) These broad aspects could be further developed through a more integrated view of Critical Inquiry as a professional theme in the BETD programme.

A final note: Student teachers were able to carry out classroom inquiries and to act on the results of these inquiries to broaden their knowledge and understanding about schooling, and to improve their own practice. This is a long way from what happened in teacher education just a few years ago before the reform started. At that time concepts like practitioner inquiry and students' construction of knowledge were alien to both the educational discourses and practices in Namibia.

Critical Inquiry as it was introduced in the BETD programme was closely linked to another central feature of the programme, i.e. School-based Studies.

From teaching practice to school-based studies

Before the reform started and during its initial stage 'teaching practice', alternatively called 'practice teaching', were the concepts used to describe the relation between pre-service teacher education and schools. Practicum


was used as a collective concept for all practical parts of teacher education. The concept School-based Studies (SBS) was introduced in 1992, when the first draft versions of the Broad Curriculum were produced. It was stated that SBS was to be organised in "a progression of a three week period of project work and field studies in Term 3, six weeks group practice in Term 6, and individual practice for the whole of Term 8 (13 weeks)". This was in contrast to the previous pre-service programmes where teaching practice was normally minimised to two weeks per year. In previous programmes it could also happen that teaching practice was abandoned all together, because time was needed for the 'basics'. The SBS Handbook from OCE summarises SBS in the following way:

School-based Studies (SBS) in the BETD programme is more than "teaching practice". Besides teaching in the classroom, the students are expected to produce teaching and learning materials; carry out a learner study and classroom observations; explore the school administrative system; learn about rules and regulations, registers and records; practise remedial teaching, counselling and vocational guidance; arrange parents meetings; and take initiative for different school development projects.

SBS in the BETD was further elaborated in the final version of the Broad Curriculum. Its relationship to other parts of the programme was explained.

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21 Ibid. p. 18.
22 Cohen op. cit.
23 This was communicated to the author before the reform started. The reference to 'basics' was a way to say that the time was needed for subject content at the college.
24 OCE (1999) op. cit. p. 4.
School-Based Studies in Year 1 will be an introductory project which is shared between Education Theory and Practice and the major option. As far as possible, School-Based Studies in Years 2 and 3 should include community-orientated activities, e.g. parental involvement in school, and parents' meetings.

School-Based Studies is integrated in Education Theory and Practice and in the major and minor subject specialisations. The minimum number of periods is a framework to be shared between subjects, beginning with observation in Year 1 and building up to a full independent teaching load by the end of School-Based Studies in Year 3.\(^\text{25}\)

It was also stipulated that the SBS should be organised through a co-operation between the college and a selected number of what was described as partnership schools. It should also follow a whole school approach over a number of years based on a suggested contractual agreement between the college and the school. This system was based on the belief that student teachers needed ample opportunity to relate their initial practical understanding to an informed contextual analysis created and supported through teacher education. This could only be provided under prolonged co-operative conditions between schools and colleges. The partnership approach was also seen as a way to broaden the teacher education reform by extending it to schools in a more systematic way. By reducing the number of schools involved the partnership approach was also a response to the logistical problem of transporting groups of student teachers to scattered schools on a daily basis.\(^\text{26}\)

Each college developed its own SBS Manual/Handbook for students. The SBS Handbook elaborated further on the local conditions and was revised continuously as conditions changed from year to year. The Handbook became the document that created a formal basis for the student teachers' SBS as well as the partnership arrangements between schools and colleges. It also informed all stakeholders about these


\(^{26}\) Dahlström (2000) op. cit.; OCE (1996) op. cit.
arrangements, including regional offices, inspectors, school and college staff. The Handbook usually included a description of SBS in the BETD and the reasons for the partnership system with reference to the appraisal process and information about the national policy and relevant instructions from NIED. The partnership system was further elaborated with respect to the schools involved, the role and training of support teachers, and the administrative infrastructure. The Handbook also included guidelines about the student teachers' tasks during SBS, assessment, and reporting.

A comparative analysis of SBS Handbooks from 1996 and 1999 showed changed emphases.\(^2^7\) The 1999 Handbook showed more structured and focused information about the different components of SBS. It also contained more clear and guiding instructions concerning the assessment and evaluation procedures, including band descriptors for the assessment of the student teachers' teaching skills and performances in year 2 and 3 of the programme. It also gave thorough instructions to the students' collection of evidence in their portfolios over the School-based Studies in year 2 and 3. The significance of the portfolios in the BETD programme was further emphasised as they turned out, from 1995, to be an important source of information for both the annual external moderation of the BETD programme and for the BETD III student teachers' performances.\(^2^8\)

Findings from the National evaluation of the BETD showed that at an early stage in the reform process a majority of both teacher educators (86%) and student teachers (84%) had a positive attitude towards SBS. It also demonstrated that discrepancies were found between the intentions with School-Based Studies and their practical application, between the

\(^2^7\) This comparative analysis is based on the SBS Handbooks from OCE. OCE (1996) op. cit.; OCE (1998) op. cit.

\(^2^8\) See pp. 230 - 231 for an analysis of the annual monitoring and moderation exercises and its role in the controversies over the BETD programme.
attitudes of teacher educators and student teachers, as well as between different colleges.  

One of the first groups of BETD students were encouraged to report about their experiences from SBS in the Reform Forum, the journal for educational reform in Namibia, published by NIED. This report included a catalogue of deficiency problems related to overcrowded classes, misbehaving children, shy girls, lazy teachers, corporal punishment, lack of proper English lessons, and bad management styles. The student teachers also made a list of what they had learned from SBS. This was related to different teaching methods including creative classroom activities, co-operative attitudes and positive behaviours amongst teachers, the strong interest amongst both teachers and learners in the English language, and good relations between the school and the community. Student teachers also emphasised that there was a need to improve the preparations for SBS at the college.

Reimers, a teacher educator involved with SBS at one of the colleges, concluded that SBS had been successfully implemented despite some initial scepticism and that the partnership model was beneficial to the college as well as schools involved. Reimers further concluded that student teachers regarded the new assessment approach as more realistic and conducive to their development.

The level of performance of student teachers during SBS was in most instances acceptable to the moderation teams and in line with the broad curriculum as indicated in the annual moderation reports during the period 1995-1998. The moderators also reported successful learner-
centred teaching. It should be noted that observations by moderators were based on selected student teachers representing different levels of achievements. From this followed that the moderators were confronted with all kinds of performances, i.e. even the weakest. Weaknesses were noted in the absence of student teachers' self-reflection after lessons taught, absence of developed questioning techniques, teaching that could rarely be described as learner-centred, problems with subject contents especially in Mathematics and Natural Sciences in junior secondary grades, and the narrow scope of critical inquiry reports. A notable change occurred in the 1998 moderation where it was noted that the moderators focused their exercise around the professional themes of the BETD programme. In that way the broad professional aspects of teacher education came to the fore.

The partnership relation between colleges and schools successively improved over the years. One such area was the preparations and training of support teachers. Each college developed its own model with the effect that the partnership relations existed at different levels. There was an attempt at an early stage in the reform process to develop a more formalised and nationally accredited training programme for support teachers. These ideas followed a strategy to establish school-based teacher educators as an attempt to create a cadre of practitioners in schools who were prepared for their specific role as support teachers. Such a system could create a more equal and dynamic partnership relation between colleges and schools, and be developed into a recruitment base for
Chapter Nine

teacher educators at the colleges. However, these ideas were never developed in a systematic way.

From assessment as control to assessment for development

Assessment was at the core of the whole reform process more than anything else. It also became the area for the prolonged war of position between the hegemonic power and the new view on assessment.

A new assessment policy followed with the new educational ideas. Education was not seen as a process to weed out the failures, but to educate a larger portion of the population under the banner *education for all*.\(^4\) This called for a different assessment and examination emphasis geared towards ideas such as continuous and portfolio assessment for diagnostic purposes, as opposed to the previous examination-oriented assessment policy designed for exclusion.

We need to re-educate ourselves in this regard...our commitment to education for all requires us to re-think what we have been taking for granted...And we need to show them [students and parents] that we are improving the quality of our education system, not lowering its standards.\(^5\)

The assessment guidelines were given due attention in the Broad Curriculum all through the reform process as indicated in the different versions from 1992, 1994, 1996, and 1998.\(^6\)

\(^4\) See previous pages under the heading 'Education for All - the Namibian way', pp. 120 – 124.

\(^5\) MEC (1993:a) op. cit. p. 128.

Concerns over the assessment procedures in the BETD programme surfaced during the data collections for the pre-study of the national evaluation in 1993.

The most controversial part of the programme seemed to be the assessment and evaluation system, where there were different opinions. Some liked the new system with continuous assessment. They also recognised the problems, risks for subjectivity, that the system can be abused, etc., but thought they would be able to handle these problems. Other expressed more of a "wait-and-see" attitude. One respondent rejected the new system in favour of an external examination system. Everyone is in agreement with one thing: that the guidelines were received too late.\(^\text{37}\)

The negative attitudes of the assessment policy often appeared in the official discourse about the BETD programme. Teacher educators as well as student teachers often showed a more balanced and positive attitude in the beginning of the reform process in 1993 and 1994. There was however already at this stage a marked difference between the attitudes of teacher educators at WCE, who were more negative to the new system, compared to their colleagues at the northern colleges. The same differences were observed in interviews in 1995 with teacher educators.\(^\text{38}\)

Parallel to the continuation of the reform process the discourse about assessment changed rather dramatically especially amongst student teachers. From having shown positive interests in the new assessment policy, seen as a symbolic effort to leave the previous practices behind, assessment turned out be perceived as the main obstacle for the climbing of the societal ladder. This became accentuated when graduates realised that the BETD diploma did not give them any recognition when they


\(^{38}\) Frykholm (1997) op. cit.
applied for BEd studies geared towards senior secondary education.\textsuperscript{39} The main reason for this was that UNAM did not want to acknowledge three years of studies at graduate level that did not, according to them, followed a proper examination system. This situation was further aggravated as the raising of a person's salary level followed his/her academic credentials. The strong relationship between salary and further studies meant that a BETD graduate could raise his/her salary significantly through post-BETD diplomas and degrees. Thus, the ideological struggle over teacher education between the ministries and colleges on one side and UNAM on the other led, through new alliances, to calls for a return to a more examination-oriented approach.

The struggle in the official discourse over the BETD programme was at its height during the Presidential Commission on Education, Culture and Training that was in operation during the period March - October, 1999.\textsuperscript{40} The commission traced the main complaints from members of the public about the BETD to the poor quality of work done in many of the primary schools. However, the Commission did not carry out any deep analysis of such relations beyond stating that BETD graduates might have found a milieu in schools that was hostile to the implementation of their newly acquired teaching skills.\textsuperscript{41} A deeper analysis would have acknowledged that the number of teachers graduated from the BETD programme still constituted a very small portion of the total teaching corps at that time. The total number of teachers in Namibia was 17,085 in 1998 and the four colleges had contributed with a maximum of 1,125 BETD graduates (i.e. 6.5\%) since its inception. This

\textsuperscript{39} BETD students received a government scholarship that in principle gave them a free education to become basic education teachers. However, graduates were bonded and had to work for the government for three years after graduation. Therefore, many BETD graduates took up part-time studies after graduation parallel with their work as teachers. This had the effect that the problem with accreditation soon surfaced as a major problem as from 1996.

\textsuperscript{40} Government of the Republic of Namibia (1999) op. cit.

\textsuperscript{41} Ibid.
small portion of BETD graduates could neither be blamed nor praised for the quality of basic education.\textsuperscript{42}

The Commission further pointed out the inconsistency in placing a high value on the process of teaching learners how to learn while continuing to place the greatest importance on the outcome of traditional examinations as a plausible reason for the lack of quality in schools. The Commission also stated that analysis of this inconsistency had not received the attention it deserved.

Historically, the assessment and evaluation guidelines in the 1992 and 1994 versions of the BETD Broad Curriculum were the same with only marginal editorial differences. In the 1996 version the assessment guidelines were more or less still the same but were separated from evaluation and received their own headings. It was not until 1998 that major changes took place in the assessment guidelines for the BETD programme. A representative way to compare the 1998 version of the Broad Curriculum with the previous ones is to look at the headings, subheadings and concepts highlighted in the text.\textsuperscript{43}

The most notable difference was that the catchword for the introduction of the new assessment policy, \textit{continuous assessment}, disappeared not only as a heading, but also as a concept, in the final and approved Broad Curriculum of 1998. The focus was shifted to \textit{criterion-referenced assessment} as a way to assess the student teachers' achievements in relation to the professional themes and competencies. In previous versions criteria were only mentioned in connection with the different grades that were specified in the subject area syllabuses. These criteria were to be related to the three main areas of (1) personal growth and professional development; (2) subject knowledge, understanding and

\textsuperscript{42} Ministry of Basic Education and Culture (1999) \textit{1998 Education Statistics}. Windhoek: Education Management Information Systems (EMIS); Data collected from colleges by the author.

\textsuperscript{43} See Table 17, Appendix 14.
skills; and (3) application to school-based activities. Criteria got a far more central role in the 1998 version.

Assessment in the BETD is criterion-referenced. This form of assessment is used to measure each student's personal and professional growth against a set of explicit criteria developed for each competency and professional theme. The way instructions were written under the heading Assessment for formative purposes indicated that learning tasks had to be accompanied with criteria "by which the achievement of the competencies will be measured" and that these had to be "made explicit to the students before they begin the task".

Under the heading Assessment for summative purposes explicit criteria were identified as a means to provide a summative description of the student's performance and progress within a subject area or across subject areas at the end of a teaching unit or a term.

What were the reasons for a fundamental shift in emphasis from a general policy-related description of intentions to a rather technical description centred around the expression ‘explicit criteria’? A possible answer is that it could be seen as a way to meet the calls for a return to the pre-reform examination practices through a more elaborated criteria-referenced assessment without accepting a conservative turn in full.

The whole issue of assessment and control did affect the expected result of the teacher education reform since these issues re-entered the reform arena as a backlash from basic education.

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We are talking about education for all and learner-centred education but it is actually false. The examination and assessment system negates and destroys all the nice things we want to achieve. It is not education for all when you have these examinations that sort out and discriminate against people in the way they do. This was the negative spin off of teacher education because these things were not dealt with in basic education. Our colleges now claim that they must go back to examination because this is what is happening in the schools.\textsuperscript{46}

Shilongo, a Namibian teacher educator, concludes in her study of the assessment system of the BETD programme that examination systems and academic achievements in any society are closely linked to the social stratification of the very same society. The educational history of Namibia is a good example of this conclusion. Shilongo also adhered to the view that the assessment system of the BETD programme originally was an expression of an attempt to support the upward movement of lower strata in society.\textsuperscript{47}

**Annotation: forces at work at programme level**

Three selected aspects of the BETD programme have been used to look into its programmatic imprints. Both Critical Inquiry and School-based Studies challenged the previous theory-into-practice model. Continuous assessment and other assessment models like portfolio assessment challenged the view of assessment as a tool for selection and the weeding out of failure.

Critical Inquiry became an established concept in teacher education in Namibia. It became foremost acknowledged in connection with the students' analysis of their own practice and action research in the third year of studies. Setbacks were related to the tendencies of transforming

\textsuperscript{46} Interview F1, 2001.
critical inquiry to fit the mainstream common sense about research through hypothesis testing and a deficiency perspective on learners.

School-based Studies was another contested imprint. The prominent position of SBS in the programme moved the focus of teacher education closer to its central object of study, i.e. schools and classrooms in basic education. It was in combination with Critical Inquiry and the partnership system that SBS became part of the move away from the theory-into-practice model and towards a social reconstructivist model of education. Problems identified in relation to SBS were in most cases of administrative and practical kinds. The full potentials of SBS were not developed with the effect that restrictions were called for.

Assessment became the hottest issue in the BETD. Issues like critical inquiry and school-based studies did not surface in the same way in the official discourse. Much of the previous education policy had been operationalised through its assessment policy and as the reform proceeded it turned out that the tail continued to wag the dog, i.e. assessment became the focus of the reform. Assessment in the BETD started off with broad goals that were connected with professional judgement. It was soon drawn back into the control and differentiation thinking as an effect of the drawbacks in the war of position over the preferential right of interpretation mainly due to the urging tendencies of upward social movements through certification.

People are too worried about a situation where you have open-ended results, because of the past. In a way people think that you need to measure in what areas people grow and I think that is the major problem. There is a kind of process of infiltration of old thinking that is eroding the system in different ways. One crucial issue is the whole assessment policy because it is central to the mindset of people in Namibia, because of the historical context.\textsuperscript{48}

\textsuperscript{48} Interview M2, 2001.
The official discourse about teacher education reform and the BETD programme in particular became to a large extent centred around assessment both as an integrated matter of the programme and as a backlash from the 'false reform' in basic education. As such, the hegemonic thinking of the past shuffled the new assessment policy on to a neo-conservative terrain disguised as criterion-referenced assessment. Assessment was a well-known concern related to common sense. It was also the means through which the climbing of the social ladder towards modernisation was accomplished.

The prominent position of assessment came from its implications for stratification beyond the classroom. Critical inquiry and school-based studies were not perceived as educational issues with the same social potentials and implications beyond the classroom. These practices were more of an internal interest for teacher education, even though still contested.

Good practices in critical inquiry and school-based studies became part of the counter-hegemonic efforts connected to the BETD programme and the colleges. It contributed therefore indirectly to the shaping of the institutional capacity and the role of the colleges as tertiary institutions that is attended to in next chapter.
Chapter Ten

Shaping institutional agency

The reform in teacher education called for a comprehensive strategy. The third seam of a counter-hegemonic reform – institutional agency – attempted to tack together the institutions involved in the reform, especially the colleges, with the rest of the reform patterns. The building of institutional agency was aiming at staff development to upgrade the knowledge and experiences of teacher educators. Institutional agency was also envisaged through technical support for institutional building combined with local assistance in the form of college-based facilitation. Lastly, an institutional agency was hoped for by strengthening the tertiary image of the colleges through the modelling of participatory evaluation activities. These were some of the important beacons for the way towards institutional agency.

Staff development for empowerment

Relevant staff development for black teacher educators was more or less non-existent before independence. The three northern colleges were by and large sources for patronisation by the Academy and were looked upon with disdain by their white counterparts in Windhoek. It was because of this marginalisation that the new leadership in education at an early stage realised that staff development had to be integrated in the reform process as a parallel development for teacher educators at the northern colleges. The teacher educators sitting in the ivory tower in Windhoek also needed staff development albeit for different reasons. Therefore, staff development was encouraged and took place in many different ways.

Many individual teacher educators attended distance in-service academic courses offered by universities in South Africa and UNAM. This was a phenomena that took place also amongst the majority of
teachers in schools as a response to the new situation after independence when formal qualification as opposed to ethnicity became the standard for salary increments and upward social movement. With a few exceptions these courses were not geared towards the post-independence educational value system as expressed in the broad reform policy in Namibia, but towards the traditional approach of theory-into-practice with remaining traits of the transferred version of Anglo-Saxon empiricism.\(^1\) In spite of these shortcomings many of the courses contributed to the academic subject knowledge of teacher educators and to their possibilities of retaining their positions and a higher salary. However, the two most influential activities were organised in other ways. These were informal and formal staff development activities organised by NIED and support projects as joint ventures that subsequently encouraged local initiatives and the strengthening of local institutional capacity beyond individual ambitions.

**Informal staff development through seminars and workshops**

The many seminars and workshops that were organised as an integrated part of the reform process, mostly with external support from donor projects like TERP and ELTDP, became a major source for informal staff development. These activities were organised on national, regional, and local levels and became occasions for development work on specific aspects of the teacher education reform as well as places for debate and consolidation. The majority of these activities were directly related to the development of the steering documents for the BETD programme attended to above, but were organised also to accomplish other things.\(^2\)

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\(^1\) In 2000 one of the in-service teacher education courses offered in Namibia by a South African university was evaluated by the Namibian authorities and found totally invalid as a teacher education course to the dismay of thousands of Namibian school teachers who had paid heavy fees to get an accredited professional training.

\(^2\) See Chapter Eight.
In principle, the reform process went through two overlapping phases.\(^3\) The first phase was the *national agenda* through the phasing in of the BETD programme during 1993 - 1995. The second phase was the *decentralisation* that started with the appraisal process after 1996. Both phases put participation high on the agenda, but for different reasons.

The *national agenda* had as its objective to create a wholeness among the previously ethnic and separated colleges. The participatory aspects were geared towards a national reform agenda. National and centralised seminars and related activities became the hallmark for this cycle. The content of these seminars was more than often prepared and introduced by staff from NIED, including project staff from TERP. The positive effects of this cycle was that it started and created a national agenda for teacher education reform that was supported by the overwhelming majority of teacher educators. Criticism against the activities during this phase was in most cases geared towards the felt lack of democratic involvement by the college staff and the related feeling that everything was directed by a small group of Namibians and foreigners. This was true, as a reflection of the necessity of creating a national agenda.

In view of the prevailing mindset, which had been there as a result of background and training, brainwashing and the isolation, I think it would have been impossible for Namibians totally on their own to have done what we have been trying to achieve through the reform. We had dissatisfaction with the previous system and we talked about it and we thought of alternative ways but we had not been exposed enough to other ways of thinking and to look at things critically was not at all encouraged. We were in minority and sidelined.\(^4\)

The *decentralisation* cycle coincided with the start of the appraisal process that was organised with a different type of involvement from the colleges. Previously there had been seminars with centralised inputs on

\(^3\) For a related analysis see Dahlström (2000:a) op. cit.. This issue has also been attended to above in Chapter Eight from a different perspective.

\(^4\) Interview F1, 2001.
broad issues of teacher education reform. These were replaced with workshops, still administratively organised from the centre, but based on preparations made at the colleges, and on sessions when groups of teacher educators worked on issues related to their own areas of responsibilities at the colleges. It was also during this phase that the college network for curriculum development was established. The overwhelming positive effect of this phase was the fact that college staff developed a broader feeling of ownership of the programme. Criticism during this phase was usually related to the workload of teacher educators to act in their normal role and at the same time develop the steering documents for their own work. This sometimes led to the call for external curriculum experts to do the job even by foreign teacher educators working at the colleges. Another criticism, in retrospect, was that calls for changes during decentralisation that were not in line with official policy affected the development process as the centrally positioned guardians of the policy were weakened.\textsuperscript{5}

From a staff development perspective the two phases could also be seen as two periods of on the job training starting with a period of introductions to the components of teacher education and a second period involving hands on curriculum development for teacher education. These were two aspects of teacher education reform that the majority of teacher educators in Namibia never had been involved in previously as subaltern implementers of instructions from elsewhere. Some of the recent worries expressed by Namibian educators about the lack of understanding of the new policy by newly recruited teacher educators can be related to this massive involvement of the teaching staff at the colleges during the two phases described here.\textsuperscript{6} Such massive involvement by teacher educators in shaping important conditions for their own work created an understanding and dedication to the new policy that could not be matched by a few days of introduction that newly recruited teacher educators received after these

\textsuperscript{5} Interview M2, 2001.
\textsuperscript{6} Data collected during interviews in 2001.
phases. These fears were among the reasons for calls from teacher educators that the formal staff development courses organised with support from TERP should continue.\textsuperscript{7}

**Formal staff development for teacher educators**

Namibia is no exception to the general rule that senior secondary teachers are a recruitment base for teacher educators, even when it comes to the education of teachers for basic education. The way teacher education developed after independence in Namibia made this part of what still seemed to be the global educational common sense even more questionable as teacher education for basic education was separated from the university as a matter of policy. Very little thought was given to the fact that future teacher educators continued to be recruited from university classrooms that were not considered appropriate for the training of basic education teachers.

The overall aim with the courses organised by NIED in co-operation with TERP and Umeå University was to challenge this common sense. Therefore, these courses were designed to respond to the underlying policy considerations of the teacher education reform for basic education and to introduce its participants to some of the pedagogical consequences of this policy.

The first course started in September 1992 and was based on a course curriculum approved by the Department of Education, Umeå University, Sweden, as a 20 credits course at B-level according to the Swedish academic system.\textsuperscript{8} This course was preceded by baseline study visits to the colleges in 1991 followed by a seminar for a group of teacher educators and regional officers from the northern regions in November,


1991. This course became known as the *B-level course* but its official name was *Academic B-level Course Programme in Education, 20 p., for Teacher Educators in Namibia*.

The programme is a one year part time academic course conducted in Namibia by the University of Umeå, Sweden. It is organised in three intensive training periods (modules) of 2-3 weeks full time face-to-face studies each, with two periods of self studies, development work and independent research tasks.

The content of this course was organised under broad headings related to the reform: Educational reform, Teaching methods and learning processes, and Management, assessment, evaluation and research. Already at this stage course participants were asked to carry out research projects related to their own professional practice. This had the twofold ambition to give teacher educators experience of what later became known as critical practitioner inquiry and to improve the practice of teacher education at the colleges. The first course intake was followed by two more in 1993-94 and 1994-95 with a total of forty-two participants going through the three course occasions.

In 1996 the B-level course was developed into a 40 credit *Higher Diploma* course including extended modular contents and a 20 credits research project following a critical practitioner inquiry mode of research. A *Master's Degree* course along the same lines was introduced in the beginning of 1999 and run in parallel with the second Higher Diploma course in 1999 - 2000. The Master's degree course concluded the course package geared towards teacher education and created a way for teacher

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9 Dahlström (1991) op. cit.; Dahlström (1992) op. cit.
educators with mainly previous subjects studies at university level to go through a course programme designed in line with the post-independence education policy.

All courses followed the same layout with intensive face-to-face study periods (institutes) three times a year, usually during the vacation periods, with periods for course assignments and inquiry in between supported through individual face-to-face or distance tutoring through fax and e-mail.

A position paper outlined the underlying educational assumptions of the courses, as developed through the years. Some of the central assumptions were:

- Two types of educational knowledge, practical and theoretical, are recognised. Each of these types of educational knowledge is a form of knowledge in its own right and contributes something important to the development of education. Conventional academic programmes view practical knowledge only as an application of academic knowledge and not as a form of knowledge in its own right. Hence the importance of a dual emphasis on reflective practice and theoretical content.

- Educators want to believe that schooling and curriculum are only about scientific truth to be learned by all. In order to cope with schooling in a realistic way, educators have to integrate into their perspective the fact that knowledge is a social construction and that a constant struggle ensues concerning which knowledge is legitimate and who are the legitimate learners. Hence the importance of a curriculum theory looking at the curriculum as a social construction.

- The basic problem of schools in Africa tends to be that the previous teaching was a system of delivery that did not take into account either a critically thinking teacher or student, or previous experiences and learning of the student out of school. Hence the importance of a
pedagogy which includes critical and experiential perspectives on education.

- Tertiary education has to take a drastic turn and a lead in inventing a new humane way for schooling out of the confrontation between tradition and modernism. This new way shall acknowledge collective solidarity and the social construction of meaning as a foundation for a just society. It shall involve community and bring back to community the knowledge that tertiary education generates through a more accessible knowledge base and by that also demystify tertiary education as a place for alien knowledge production for an elite.¹²

Howard, a TERP employed adviser at NIED, accompanied a selection of B-level reports published by NIED with a description of the course and some of the background to the inquiry reports. Howard noted that "research as reflection on experience is a consciousness raising activity which enables one to see differently; to see through different lenses all that we have come to take for granted"¹³. Howard elaborated further on the inquiry approach chosen in Namibia and concluded that it was more of a critical inquiry than an introspection on one's practice as it encouraged the posing of questions to understand the immediate situation within a broader socio-cultural context.¹⁴

Zeichner and a group of course participants published an article about the same course. They conclude that within the supportive political context created by the goals of the education reforms the course participants "conducted research which uncovered gaps between the rhetoric and the reality of the reforms, shed new light on the complexities and meaning of implementing the general reform principles in real schools and colleges under less than ideal conditions, and contributed concrete

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¹⁴ Ibid.
ideas about how to address some of the problems" in areas selected by the course participants themselves.\(^\text{15}\) Zeichner et al confirmed some of the official ambitions with this staff development when they said that the course was a vehicle that help teacher educators to assume and model the same active roles in the learning process that they want their own students to achieve. Equally important was that the model of research applied in these courses would over time decrease reliance on external expertise and contribute to the demystification of expertise and lessening of hierarchy. The approach was also an example of a democratic view of the educational research enterprise that rejected the idea that research is solely for an exclusive elite group of researchers who disseminate findings to educators throughout the country.

Walker, who at that time was a scholar working in South Africa, participated in one of the Higher Diploma Institutes in Namibia and referred to that experience as one out of three examples of practitioner research studies.

> These are examples of subaltern professional work embodying local struggles which recuperate a language of practical hope, which pay attention to politically situated perspectives and which raise issues around the democratic construction of professional and other knowledge about our society.\(^\text{16}\)

In their search for an updating of promising practices in teacher education in the third world Craig, Kraft and du Plessis included the Basic Education Teacher Diploma (BETD) and the support through TERP as one of the case studies. The staff development courses for teacher educators were identified as one of "the more important and innovative ways of providing development assistance to teacher education".\(^\text{17}\)


\(^{16}\) Walker (1996:b) op. cit. p. 407.

\(^{17}\) Craig, Kraft and du Plessis, op. cit. p. 37.
A recent appraisal of the Higher Diploma and Master's Degree Courses also included data on the participating Namibian educators in the three B-level, Higher Diploma, and Master courses during the period 1992 - 2000.¹⁸ The total number of Namibian teacher educators serving at the four colleges of education were 132 in 1998 and did not go through any dramatic changes until the end of 2000. Fourteen teacher educators attended two of the courses and eleven left the colleges after they had gone through the B-level course. Fifty-three (53) teacher educators or 40 percent of the staff at the colleges went through the courses that were specially designed for teacher education in Namibia if calculated on the 1998 data.

It is worth noting that three of the other participants, who at the time of their attendance in the Higher Diploma course worked as Support Teachers at SBS schools, were subsequently recruited to the colleges of education as teacher educators.

In their appraisal the course participants were asked to give their opinions about the aims of the course. The overwhelming majority of students said that the courses definitely supported the policy of learner-centred education. Many related this to their research projects but also to other parts of the courses.

We have been exposed to the theory of learner-centred education by the provision of a number of relevant and updated literature. Most of the topics dealt with are in line with learner-centred education. We have been participating in the various lessons and we have been trying new methods that are supporting a learner-centred philosophy. We have been dealing with our study independently.¹⁹

¹⁸ Dahlström (2001) op. cit. This appraisal report was based on the course participants' and the tutors' appraisals of the courses during 1999 - 2000.
Some students expressed their concern over the lack of modelling of learner-centred lessons as they experienced that there were many different perceptions of learner-centred education.

The positive influences on their practices were in many cases related to their critical practitioner inquiries into their own practice. The course participants thought that the courses improved their reflective skills, critical thinking, and self-confidence that also had a positive impact on their practices and beyond.

As an educator I have been empowered to be critical on issues not only related to the classroom situation but also to those which are outside the classroom situation.20

In addition to the most common constraints related to workload there was also an individual worry expressed about the closeness between the inquiries and the inquirers' own practices as an inhibiting factor for drawing proper conclusions.

All participants thought that the courses contributed to the strengthening of teacher education in Namibia beyond individual capacity building by improving the status of the colleges as institutions of higher learning. There were many calls that the courses should continue and not only for teacher educators as the opinion was expressed that many people in influential positions remained uninformed of these new thoughts. The revisiting and analyses of Namibian policy documents played an important role in the Namibianisation of the course work as expressed by one participant.

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20 Dahlström (2001) op. cit. p. 11.
Chapter Ten

The major achievements in this course in what I call the Namibia teacher education are the evaluation of ministerial papers, the use of Namibian articles and Namibian literature to back up my studies, and at the same time the revisiting of certain policy documents to see if evaluated in group discussions people are going in the right direction.\(^1\)

Some of the course participants noted that there are already a number of publications available in Namibia that are seen as examples of an emerging knowledge base of education geared towards the Namibian situation and based on Namibian inputs and experiences. Some of these are the periodical journal *Reform Forum* with 2 - 3 issues published per year by NIED\(^2\); *Critical Inquiry and Action research in the BETD* - a collection of reports from BETD III students 1997 published in 1998\(^3\); and *Namibian Educators Research Their Own Practice* containing a selection of reports from the 1996 - 1997 Higher Diploma course and published in 2000.\(^4\) There were fears that the continuation of building such a knowledge base might be hampered in the future. Serious efforts needed to be made by people in influential positions in the basic and teacher education sectors to safeguard funds and other resources to edit, reproduce and publish genuine Namibian educational material for a broader audience.

Support to colleges is needed to regularly publish reports of this nature. Libraries should be full of the reports for students and other lecturers to use in their own analysis.\(^5\)

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\(^1\) Dahlström (2001) op. cit. p. 5.
\(^2\) The Reform Forum was started on an initiative from TERP.
The list of reports from the latest Higher Diploma and Master's courses shows the relevance of the inquiries to the prevailing reform efforts and the need for making the reports more widely accessible.\textsuperscript{26}

The critical practitioner inquiry approach used in the staff development courses developed skills in systematic inquiries and relevant research that never happened previously at this level in Namibia. Educational research was demystified and the language and tools of power that goes with scholarly work were made available to teachers and teacher educators. It was through a combined effort to marry the two types of practical and theoretical educational knowledge that critical practitioner inquiry developed as a basis for a new type of empowering educational knowledge for practitioners.

In his graduation remarks to the Higher Diploma Graduation in 1997, the Minister of Education referred to the development of professional knowledge amongst teachers and teacher educators. He said that this might well rest on our understanding of how best to combine decades of formal knowledge with the personal and practical knowledge that teachers develop themselves. He concluded his address with the following words:

I believe that the Higher Diploma Course in Teacher Education has given its recipients deep insight and understanding of this problem...This will build up your capacity as custodians of values of professionalism. I believe you will apply your professional knowledge to the development of teacher education and the production of new teachers for the new educational paradigm in Namibia.\textsuperscript{27}

Zeichner, who talked on behalf of the tutors at the same occasion, concluded by saying that,

\textsuperscript{26} See Table 21 and Table 22, Appendix 16.
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For many years, I have supported practitioner inquiry by teachers and teacher educators in my own and in several other countries. The practitioner inquiry that I have seen here in Namibia since 1994 is truly impressive and is among the best work that I have seen anywhere in the world.28

The tutors' composite appraisal of the 1999 - 2000 courses pointed to the different epistemological assumptions that the courses have operated with. They emphasised the course participants' accomplishments in respect of the quality of critical practitioner inquiry comparable to work at internationally acknowledged institutions for higher education. They also acknowledged the possibilities these courses will create for the continued development of a Namibian knowledge base of education.29

In addition to the TERP supported activities addressed above, other donor financed formal staff development programmes were carried out with Canadian and British support. Nine Namibian teacher educators received Diplomas in Education or MEd degrees through the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)-supported programme at University of Alberta and the University of Botswana. A number of teacher educators enrolled for B.Phil.Ed and MEd courses with the emphasis on English at the university of Exeter in England with the assistance of the ELTDP.

An emerging trend of institutionally based staff development

Throughout colleges organised local workshops and seminars in a number of areas as part of their efforts to develop a culture of internal staff development. Many of these workshops and seminars were organised as a response to local needs and not as part of a strategic plan for staff development. Strategic plans for staff development emerged later in line with college mission statements like the following one from OCE.

29 Dahlström (2001) op. cit.
We will, furthermore, endeavour to promote the growth and development of Ongwediva College into an institution which encourages innovation and applied research and is actively involved with the local, national and global learning communities.\textsuperscript{30}

Nyambe and Griffiths, who respectively worked as Vice-Rector and Reform Facilitator (TERP) at OCE, addressed among other things the development of a staff development programme at college level as part of an effort to deconstruct educational dependency.\textsuperscript{31} They described how the fortnight staff development session was restructured in 1998 to model a learner-centred approach and how this initiative developed into a structured institutional plan for staff development at the college for the rest of the year. Ever since then staff development at OCE culminates at the end of each year in the annual \textit{OCE Education Conference} for the regional education community. During these conferences papers produced by college staff are reported and discussed. These conferences are also followed and reported by the media, which further supports the efforts to develop the colleges into acknowledged institutions of higher education.

\textbf{Towards a tertiary institutional position}

The three northern colleges of education went through impressive institutional development after independence. The physical development was most obvious at the colleges in Rundu and Katima Mulilo. In the beginning of the 1990s these two colleges were physically part of secondary schools and in many respects treated like secondary schools. At that time the college library at Rundu College of Education consisted of a running-metre of old encyclopaedias in the Afrikaans language. These two colleges got new campuses build with a government loan from the

African Development Bank. The exterior of Ongwediva College of Education did not change much after the beginning of the 1990s, even though a continuous physical upgrading took place. Windhoek College of Education started more or less on a new footing after its move from the previous campus to Khomasdal and improved its physical infrastructure continuously after that. However important as they are, physical infrastructures per se are no guarantee for other developments but should be looked upon as one of the many facilitating preconditions.

It is necessary at this point to recapitulate some of the most important contextual features for teacher education in Namibia to fully understand both the constraining and facilitating forces in the attempts to develop the colleges into tertiary institutions in a proper sense. Historically there were no attempts to create independent institutional development, especially at the northern colleges, prior to the reform. The most important contextual feature was that the colleges of education were officially removed away from the jurisdiction of the university contrary to the development at many other places both in the Southern African region and elsewhere. This disengagement was not unique, as some opponents wanted to claim. With no tradition of institutional development and a split with the university there were very little initial potential for institutional development available. This situation did not improve when the only ministry of education was split into two ministries in the beginning of 1995, with the result that the colleges were left in between. In a commentary on the split of the ministry one of the respondents said: “The colleagues who were brought to general education did not have the full understanding of what we were trying to do….but many of the things that should have been done were left unfinished”.

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32 Windhoek College of Education (WCE) as the former college for white students with the Rand Afrikaans University in South Africa as its guardian was a different case altogether and had developed a unique and askew kind of excellence based on segregated policies of the previous regime.

33 Interview, MO.
their programme development activities the colleges remained attached to NIED of MBEC and in their administrative functions they became attached to the new MHEVTST. The Faculty of Education at the university continued to oppose itself to both the BETD programme delivered by the colleges and to the fact that the colleges did not fall under its academic and professional control. However, the university faculty participated in the annual moderation of the BETD programme and the signing of the diploma for the graduates.

Another important contextual feature was that the northern colleges were not properly staffed at the outset. The tradition had been that both South African soldiers and their spouses were involved in teacher education with the effect that the end of colonialism also meant the end of white soldiers as teachers in the college classrooms and an urgent need for new teacher educators. Years after independence visitors to OCE could still be reminded of the previous period through the gun-rack in the staff room. The neglect of the northern colleges in many instances developed a kind of a laissez faire tradition amongst many black teacher educators that could well match the negative effects of the ideological displacement that many white teacher educators at WCE experienced when the reform started. Both situations contributed to the constraints at the colleges.

While most contextual factors created obstacles for the reform, there were also some facilitating factors. For example, there were groups of teacher educators who actively acknowledged the new political leadership and the new educational and philosophical underpinnings of the teacher education reform through their actions and serious commitments to the reform efforts. Another facilitating factor was the priorities that the government made towards education. It was against these contextual factors that institutional development became an important imprint in the teacher education reform.

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34 Nyambe and Griffiths op. cit.
The creation of Education Development Units (EDUs) at the colleges was outlined by Andersson, Callewaert and Kallos in 1991. The EDU was suggested as a pedagogical centre responsible for ETP, SBS, and the staff development for teacher educators and support teachers. It was also suggested that the EDUs should be directly responsible to NIED. All did not develop according to these suggestions. The EDU became an important concept and a symbol for the new efforts especially in the early stages of the reform. The EDU became the home base for the Reform Facilitators employed by TERP and the outreach of NIED before more formalised connections were established between NIED and the colleges. The EDU also housed a reference library for teacher educators, copy machines, fax machines, computers, email facilities, and other material needed at the colleges. It was also through the EDUs that local staff development of both teacher educators and support teachers initially were organised.

The operation of the EDU was initially strongly linked to the work of the Reform Facilitators and identified as the place from where much of the new developments were initiated. In that sense the Reform Facilitators took a prominent role in the reform. The guidance, assistance, and backup carried out by the Reform Facilitators were in many instances directed towards the college management. This contributed significantly to the institutional and organisational development on local levels that did not always result in grand reports but more as continuous and organic changes. This had effects on the way staff meetings were held, the reorganisations of committee structures, and local staff development activities. The support to college management was recognised as an important strategy to avoid the development of competitive power centres at the colleges.

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35 Andersson, Callewaert and Kallós op. cit.
36 Marope and Noonan op. cit.; Craig, Kraft and du Plessis op. cit.; Swarts, (ed) op. cit.
Through the years the EDUs developed in different directions when the Reform Facilitators became more involved in national activities and started to be withdrawn in 1997. In this sense the development of the EDUs also reflected the development cultures of the colleges. The EDU at OCE remained a meeting place and a resource centre for teacher educators. When the new colleges were built at RCE and CCE there was even a specific building created for the EDU, but the full potential of this building as a centre for education development was never realised. The EDUs at these two colleges became a combination of offices for teacher educators and a room for small group meetings with some technical backup. The EDU at WCE totally disappeared as a functional entity and was replaced with a computer room and a room for formal staff meetings. Symbolically these developments represented the collective development culture at OCE, the more individualistic cultures at RCE and CCE, and the technical or even hegemonic culture at WCE. A serious attempt to develop the EDUs in line with the initial intentions was never made. Formal posts attached to the EDU were never developed within the college structures.

You remember the intention with the EDUs that were staffed with expatriates. There were no replacements when the expatriates left. The colleges might have reverted to the old way of doing things in the sense that there was no professional arm to promote a certain ethos and to give orientation when a new teacher came in. The EDU was never mainstreamed and it was a critical unit as it was the one that was going to give the orientation to the programmes.\(^{37}\)

Under the support theme *Organisation and Management for Educational Development* an attempt was made by TERP to support the institutional development of the colleges on a broader and national level. A general Strategy Document was developed that included a suggested process on

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\(^{37}\) Interview 2001, M0.
how to develop a college development plan. This process was set off in 1996 and resulted in a base line study partnership report the same year. This report included suggested guidelines for internal college evaluations that would lead to a college development workshop with the ultimate goal to establish a college development plan. The envisaged development did not take place beyond the distribution of the report to the colleges together with a letter from NIED in March 1997. The reasons for the disruption of this national attention on institutional development were related both to the situation at the colleges and the phasing out of project staff in TERP. However, further institutional development at individual college level, like the one at OCE, was based on the work leading to the base line partnership report.

It was not until the beginning of 1998 that this thread was taken up again at another end through a request from NIED that TERP should give further support to the development of a college manual.

The work on the college manual was organised with involvement of the MHEVTST, college management, and NIED. It was decided in a Rector's Meeting at the MHEVTST that the college manual should not be restricted to rules and regulations but also include references to the philosophical policy framework and development prospects of the colleges. The manual was assembled as an indexed filing system and handed over to NIED and the ministry at the end of 2000 for them to finalise what was left to do on the manual. There was a concern that many documents included in the manual were still in draft form. That could create uncertainties about responsibilities and rights in relation to decisions and duties in the future. It was therefore suggested that formal

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40 Nyambe and Griffiths op. cit.
decisions had to be taken on these draft documents if the manual was going to play the expected role as a document that gave a proper framework not only for college development but also for the operations of the colleges in a broad sense.

In summary, the attempt to develop the colleges toward a tertiary institutional ethos was hampered by contextual factors. After the split of the ministry of education in 1995 the colleges found themselves serving two masters with differing tasks and following a different logic. NIED was officially concerned with the software, i.e. the BETD programme and related issues. MHEVTSTST was geared towards the hardware, i.e. physical infrastructure, staffing, and management. At times these responsibilities overlapped with the result that staff at the two institutions communicated opposing conceptualisations and understandings to the colleges. For example, while staff at NIED supported the colleges in their view that SBS was an important part of the programme and should be kept at the present level, staff at MHEVTST expressed the view that the SBS should be shortened due to financial reasons. The MHEVTSTST staff also supported the view that the assessment system in the programme should be more examination oriented, while NIED representatives maintained the view that the weighting between examinations and other assessment procedures should remain. Uncertainties over the procedures to formulate job descriptions for college staff left colleges and the production of the college manual in a state of limbo. The EDU played initially an important role as the place symbolising the new ideas in teacher education. The different ways in which the EDUs developed over time was a result of the war of position in the sense that it represented different degrees of influence from the counter-hegemonic reform process.

The preferential right of interpretation through evaluation

The discourse about the teacher education reform was centred around concepts like democratic participation, learner-centred education, equity,
etc.. These concepts and the rhetoric around them could be seen as a post-independence outgrowth of the liberation agenda into the area of education that for long had been a central battleground for the ideological struggle over the minds of the people. During the liberation struggle education was loaded with political overtones that was carried over to the post-independence reforms as educational policy incentives.\textsuperscript{41}

The formalisation of education reform and the strong influences from international donor agencies after independence brought in a specific tradition of educational evaluation. This tradition relied on the view that evaluation was to be carried out by outsiders to guarantee scientific objectivity, and to be applied by following an input-output model. This type of evaluation was seen as a necessity, especially in relation to donor financed development projects.\textsuperscript{42}

The maintenance of participatory and empowering principles in the reform agenda created another contested imprint, when it was acknowledged that these aspects also had to enter the field of evaluation. Contradictory ideas and practices of evaluation appeared on the reform arena that represented different generations of evaluation, to use the language of Guba and Lincoln.\textsuperscript{43} This situation will be exemplified with different evaluation exercises.

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\textsuperscript{41} In retrospect, the engagement by staff from Umeå University in the educational endeavours of a liberation movement was in some cases an effort to combine the official role of educators with that of political activists. However, the role of ‘political activism through education’ changed after independence. Since 1993, this role became, to some extent, locked into bureaucratic structures of official administration and lost by that its partisan power.


To start with an example is given of the type of evaluations that was a common feature in connection with donor financed activities. This example is drawn from an external evaluation of TERP carried out by two evaluators during three weeks in March 1995. This evaluation was preceded by discussions between NIED and Sida representatives around the set up of the evaluation. NIED expressed the view that the review, as NIED preferred to call it as the time framework set up by Sida - three weeks - was considered too narrow for an evaluation, had to rely on three prominent features. First, the review team had to be composed by one internal and one external person, both with a broad knowledge of the situation in Namibia. Secondly, the involvement of the review team should be such that the internal Namibian representative should gain new knowledge and skills about making reviews of donor projects as an example of competency development. Thirdly, there should be a Namibian reference group continuously involved in the review to give inputs and to validate findings on a regular basis. However, these concerns were never considered and the evaluation did as a consequence turn into something totally different.

It became a typical example of an external fly-in-fly-out expert evaluation that stirred up a lot of concerns and worries about the role of evaluation and evaluators. A letter addressed to the Councillor at the Swedish Embassy, Windhoek, from the Acting Director at NIED indicated that NIED was far from satisfied with the evaluation report and its lack of profound balance and that issues and matters were not placed in context. The staff of TERP added a sixteen-pages commentary under the following main headings: (1) Carriers of (contradictory) educational perspectives,
(2) The format of evaluation reports, (3) The use of language for specific purposes, (4) A lesson of distortion through omissions and disregard of context, and (5) Evidence of contradiction and irrelevancies. This evaluation had marginal effects on the reform process beyond the efforts to avoid similar evaluations in the future.

The annual monitoring and moderation exercises had a different evaluative character as compared to the above even though traditional in many respects. The monitoring and moderation followed what Franke calls a product-oriented evaluation aiming at the control of quality, with some traits of process-oriented structures.

There were three monitoring exercises carried out by the members of the CCG during 1993-1994. The monitoring exercises were guided by the aims and objectives of the BETD and carried out through classroom observations both at colleges and partnership schools, interviews with student teachers and teacher educators, and discussions with different groups at the colleges and regional offices. The broad aim with the monitoring was to collect data that reflected the implementation of the BETD programme as a continuous assessment of the reform process. During 1993 the monitoring teams looked at attitudes towards the reform, curriculum and subject area syllabii, school-based studies, assessment and promotion, and the colleges' future planning. In 1994 the focus was on flexible timetabling, school-based studies, and assessment.

The first group of BETD student teachers finished their studies at the end of 1995. The monitoring of the BETD was then replaced with a moderation exercise. The moderation was carried out through inspection-oriented approaches by a moderation team that visited the colleges twice a

47 Teacher Education Reform Project (1995) op. cit.
48 Franke op. cit.
year to look into the performances of students in their last year of studies. The formal focus of the moderation was, according to the guidelines and the terms of reference, to review the process, procedures and quality of the final summative assessment of students' achievement and, by that, to certify the final grading and determine whether the colleges had applied equal standards. The external moderation team was composed by representatives from UNAM and NIED and supplemented with representatives from an international consortium of universities.

The moderation reports from 1995 - 1998 showed that even these exercises were affected by the different generations of evaluation by involving the teacher educators more systematically and the expressed ambition that the moderation should in the future also include peer evaluations carried out between the colleges.

In contrast to the above, the National Evaluation of the BETD programme, was process-oriented and included participatory and empowering traits. The national evaluation was an integrated part of the support from TERP and collected data from the colleges during the period 1994 - 1996. The national evaluation was an ambitious exercise including extensive and intensive data collections carried out by TERP staff in cooperation with NIED and the colleges. It included a staff development component through the college evaluation groups, composed by teacher educators and Reform Facilitators at each college. These groups participated in the constructions of instruments, were responsible for the local organisation of evaluation activities, and participated in the collections and analysis of data. The plan was to involve NIED staff in all activities generated within the national evaluation, but that never materialised as intended. The participation of research officers at NIED was restricted to marginal involvement during 1994 and some involvement

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51 The Consortium of international universities included the University of Wisconsin-Madison, University of Copenhagen, and Umeå University during 1995 - 1998.
in the data analyses and report writing related to teacher educators' journals in 1996. The national evaluation produced a number of reports that were distributed to the colleges and to NIED for their considerations in the continuous development of the programme.\footnote{52}{See Appendix 17.}

The national evaluation was organised such that the data collections had different focuses, as indicated in the titles of the reports. Thus, the evaluation focused successively on broad curriculum, subject area, and professional issues and by that tried to follow the logic of the programme expressed through broad policy issues, the actual teaching and learning process during the programme, and the graduated students' performance as teachers in schools.

The \textit{Critical Self-Evaluation} of teacher education and support was another attempt to break new ground in evaluation. The terms of reference expressed a critical view on the tradition in donor driven evaluation exercises.

There is a strong tendency that such evaluations become routine exercises carried out by a small group of international experts with preconceived ideological perspectives, which are important contextual factors, but seldom considered,.....it is also true that alternative models have seldom been allowed to develop mainly because of the subjectivity-objectivity dichotomy inherited from a conservative academic paradigm, the expert syndrome which goes with it, and a simplistic quantification perspective usually limited to a focus on pre-ordinate objectives, decisions, or effects.\footnote{53}{Swarts (ed) op. cit. Appendix 1. p. 1.}

The critical self-evaluation was carried out by a group of educators from the colleges of education, NIED, and TERP, who had participated in the reform process from the start. Two peer evaluators were recruited based on the criteria that they were knowledgeable about the reform but had not participated in it and that they were available in Namibia. A plan for the
critical self-evaluation was drawn up in a series of meetings with the full evaluation team before the data collection started. The data collection period ended with a Stakeholders' Seminar in June 1999, when the preliminary results were discussed and further data was collected from the participants of the seminar. The stakeholders' seminar assembled a cross-section of representatives from the two ministries of education, regional education offices, teachers' and students' unions, student teachers' representatives, teacher educators, school principals, and teachers graduated from the BETD. It is notable that the Critical Self-evaluation also included a commissioned desktop appraisal of the BETD steering documents that was carried out by a group of South African scholars. The findings of the Critical Self-Evaluation were reported in 2000. That report concluded an exercise that created a different kind of experience and a different kind of view on evaluations.

In summary, the evaluation trade connected with international development projects has developed into a messy business with hegemonic traits. It has developed a strata of international evaluation experts and some with self-interests connected to consultant firms that bid for both evaluation and development contracts from donors. This can of course create doubtful loyalties. It is only at rare occasions you find evaluators who openly express their own frame of reference and educational preference as it will undoubtedly affect the objectivity and expert aura. Participatory and empowering principles are surely a threat to this mainstream evaluation practice that at a broader arena represents the struggle over the preferential right of interpretation. From the above it is evident that at least some successful attempts to move evaluation in a participatory direction with empowering traits were placed within the field of teacher education reform.

54 Swarts (ed) op. cit. Appendix 2.
Annotation: forces at work at institutional level

The counter-hegemonic efforts at institutional level became a prolonged war of position against the prevailing common sense about the teacher education reform. Even though significant impacts on a personal and individual level were accomplished mainly through staff development activities, there are doubts about the sustainable accomplishments at institutional level because of the still prevailing influences from the past.

The retrospective data that was collected through interviews in March 2001 confirms this scepticism. Four of the six respondents expressed their worries about the future. At institutional level a philosophical bleaching process was taking place and a parallel re-entering of old practices. This process emanated from the area of assessment but influenced the programme and the institutions on a much broader level. One significant problem was related to the induction of new teacher educators. As one respondent expressed it: “The induction of new teacher educators is not what it should be”\textsuperscript{56}. Another respondent mentioned that the workshops they organise for their colleagues are not sufficient to understand e.g. what critical inquiry is all about. The expressed scepticism did not mean that the reform had failed. It was rather a sign of worry about the future war of position that might be staged on a less favourable ground.

We cannot expect fundamental change to take place in view of the relatively short time since the reform started. We also have to acknowledge the time and effort it took to create the first vulnerable traits of a basis for individual and institutional agency in pursuit of the human and social values of the reform policy.

Today, there are pockets of counter-hegemonic agency combined through human, programmatic, and institutional capacity. This agency needs to be nourished in the future. In view of the contemporary

\textsuperscript{56} Interview M2.
globalisation forces operating at all levels a sustained counter-hegemonic agency in education need strategic support on a global arena that can continue to build blocs of organic intellectualism. In the Namibian case this would encounter continued support to some of the strategically important imprints of reform that have been addressed in this part of the thesis.

The reform provoked a fierce war of position on the educational battleground in Namibia. International intellectuals and educators took part in this battle on both sides. The efforts in staff development, institutional support, and evaluation practices to strengthen the institutional agency were examples of such intellectualism attempting to move the position of the counter-hegemonic policy forward. The holistic analysis that follows from a retrospective viewpoint will hopefully generate a broader understanding of the forces that operated in the teacher education reform and also some hints of what can be expected in the field of teacher education in Namibia in the future.
Ongwediva College of Education

PART FOUR: THE VIEW
Chapter Eleven

Explaining teacher education reform

We have now come to the terminus of this African tour. At the outset you were promised a journey through the historical, social and educational landscape of a new-born nation state. This journey has exposed different characteristics of the landscape in an attempt to give some explanatory answers to the two main questions of the inquiry:

- What structural forces influenced the teacher education reform in Namibia?
- What consequences of reform could be identified on structural levels?

The chapter starts with a review of the highlights along the road that implicitly will lead towards answers to these questions.

A summative travelogue

The journey started on the premises of a participatory, pre-judicious, and critical site. The initial bridging to the African landscape took place when the spectacles were picked up. These spectacles were going to assist in explaining the view along the road through hegemonic and counter-hegemonic lenses.

The first outlook presented the broader landscape and its constraining global and historical layers played out through the globalisation trends, the market of development business, and the illusory hopes of the African version of the modernised school as played out through the ritualised coulisse-school. The outline of a conflicting landscape emerged after the first euphoric hopes at independence. This outline had been composed around hegemonic ideas about development that furthered the already askew distribution of wealth and prosperity. At independence the Namibian borders were opened up for international
influences in a time when development was marked by consumerism, accelerated individualism and global financial speculation in an uncontested and expanding global capitalism. Independence created the hope and the illusion that everyone could participate in this development. A redefinition of the conditioned Western design of the modern state slowly started to emerge as a survival strategy for the new elite following the example of other African nations. However, the Namibian version of the modern state remained within the parameters of a law-governed society, but with internal flaws related to the marks of the gravy train, the utilisation of a two-third political majority for party interests, and a growing lack of acceptance towards divergence and critique. Representatives from all camps in the development business soon started to swarm the country. Donor projects landed in almost all areas of education based on diverse ideas about what was needed on the ground. Very few, however, had a critical perspective that challenged the common sense about development and education.

The second outlook exposed the origins of the historical residues into the common sense about education that maintained the ritualised coulisse-school. Here we passed through traditional, missionary, and colonial education before we landed in the classroom of the liberation movement. The historical luggage that remained as residues after this part of the journey had three interrelated and overlapping compartments. They contained the view on authority and gender that could be traced back to traditional education. This was further engraved under colonial education together with the discursive, mental, and social dichotomies of inferiority and superiority that maintained an askew distribution of prosperity. The liberation struggle introduced an authority with a different foundation that at times also furthered a constrained view on democratic development and education. The traits of a layered society and its effects on education reform started to be visible before a detour was made in a different direction.
An embryonic counter-hegemonic bloc was emerging as a challenge to the prevailing common sense about education. This bloc was initially small in size but had an impact on the war of position over the preferential right of interpretation when the national teacher education reform started. This impact was created through the joint efforts by the emerging organic intellectuals and intellectual defectors during the years in exile, and in northern Namibia before the reform started. However, the battleground for the intellectual war of position had many other actors and many skirmishes were expected. Therefore strategic positioning and alliances were created in support of the new policy.

The recurrent international outlook placed the reform at the critical and transformative end of the education spectrum as a conscious attempt to break with the prevailing education traditions. This break was legitimised by the political will and expectations of change. The international philosophical and practical connections were aiming at an acknowledgement beyond the vulnerability of a homebrew alternative brand. However, these international connections also created reasons for criticism from home-based nationalistic and conservative perspectives that further accentuated the intellectual war of position over teacher education reform in Namibia.

The last stop before we entered the reform arena presented the situational conditions for the war of position. It gave an overview of the main institutional actors and their positions. Contradictions and conflict existed both between and across institutional boundaries that formed the war of position and the imprints of reform. It was a combination of institutional belonging, position, and external intervention that created the conditions for a counter-hegemonic teacher education reform.

There were three levels of contested reform imprints within the reform arena. These levels were to sew the seams of a democratic counter-hegemonic teacher education reform. At policy level a struggle over opposing educational standpoints was identified. This struggle took place as a contradiction between the national agenda and decentralisation and as
a struggle over subject content and a critical literacy of pedagogy. At the programme level critical inquiry, school-based studies, and assessment practices were identified as important parts of the contested reform imprints. Assessment became a contested area that to a large extent was drawn back into control and differentiation thinking in education, while critical inquiry and school-based studies were more successful as programme imprints, even though still vulnerable and in need for further nourishment. At the third, institutional level the ambition was to create a basis for individual and institutional agency in pursuit of the human and social values of the reform policy. Efforts through staff development activities, infrastructural institutional development, and participatory evaluation models were identified. Staff development had the largest recurrent and acknowledged impact as it indirectly supported and maintained the philosophical outlook of the reform, but under constrained institutional conditions that eroded the reform policy.

The combined forces and their different reform identities staged an intellectual war of position from which a transposed reform emerged within a layered society.

The layered society

Usually we take it for granted that development is something that goes through a number of identifiable stages over a rather long period of time. Societies have been organised, sequentially, along pastoral, feudal, industrial and emerging post-industrial lines with appurtenant developments in the field of education. The African nation state is in a more complex situation where different types of societal structures operate in parallel, not only as identifiable historical remnants, but also as pertinent social fabrics contributing to the societal mesh that can be called the layered society.

A symbolic alternative to the previous and prolonged exposure of the Namibian landscape can be made in a day's travel across the country
to demonstrate the layered society. This society extends over the life of
hunters and collectors to inner-city climes of modern commercial centres.
The travel starts at the outskirts of Tsumkwe in the Kalahari Desert in the
communal family life of the Bushman (San) people still living their life as
hunters and collectors. The journey continues to a traditional Owambo
homestead outside Oshakati where the majority of the Namibian people
survive from subsistence farming and the trickle down effects from
modernist layers of society. Next the journey passes the fenced private
farmlands that cover the major parts of the central highlands. These farms
are inhabited by farmers of mostly German or Dutch-Afrikander descents
and by the farm-workers' families who have lived on the farms for
generations under what still can be described as feudal conditions. Next we
pass through the large mining areas in the Namib Desert and the industrial
sites outside the cities where generations of Namibians have toiled as
contract workers. Industrial workers are today working under better
conditions, supported by the workers' unions, but under constant threats
from the world economy and its in-built competitive logic. Before we
arrive at the end of the journey we pass through the shanty-towns or
locations, as the areas for blacks are often called. These areas are at the
outskirts of the urban communities and symbolise in many ways the
humanitarian failures of the capitalist order. Our journey stops in the
middle of Windhoek where we enjoy the inner-city comfort of air-
conditioned multinational business offices and shopping centres -
provided we have the requisite social, cultural, and economic capital.

What has been described here is a representation of the layered
society. What this instant picture fails to evoke is a view of the
complexity of the Namibian nation state and its multiple and parallel
social fabrics and their appurtenant social practices and common sense. A
broad historical grid exists over these parallel layers that inflicts on the
framing of people's perceptions based on the broader social fabrics of
colonial and liberating experiences from the nearest past time.
Children come from these layers and carry with them the aggregated common sense about education and schooling. The overwhelming majority sooner or later open the door to the ritualised coulisse-school where their common sense is verified. This entrance also promises a journey to the modern world as a false hope and illusion created by the ‘education for all-slogan’. However, the majority has always returned to the layers where they come from and usually not more competent for that situation. Others disappear from their original layer and turn up in the classrooms as formally qualified teachers from the BETD programme. These teachers have gone through a teacher education programme based on democratic and participatory notions and have started to return to the classrooms with a mission to transform the ritualised coulisse-school into something along the lines of the counter-hegemonic reform policy.¹

This was the agenda and the mission of the reform. It was complicated by influences from the historical and parallel engravings through identities formed out of the layered society.

**Identities in the intellectual war of position**

The people in charge of the reform expected a continuation of the liberation struggle by other means when the official overhaul of the previous parallel system was started after independence. This struggle was staged between the social and mental engravings that remained as detached and real common sense conceptions, and the new ideas that were expressed in the reform policy. When the BETD pre-service programme started in 1993 teacher education was placed in a prominent reform position as being the only part of the education system that started off on

¹ See e.g. Storeng (2001) op. cit; Shinyemba (1999) op. cit; A major research project started recently with funds from the US-based Spencer Foundation to look into how the counter-hegemonic reform policy landed in the classrooms of basic education with the work of BETD graduates. Zeichner, K. (2000) Action Research and the Reform of Teaching and Teacher Education in Namibia. A proposal to the Spencer Foundation. Madison: School of Education, University of Wisconsin-Madison.
Explain teaching education reform

a totally new footing. As from the beginning of 1993 all previous programmes aiming at teachers for grade 1-10 were replaced by the BETD pre-service programme. Other parts of the system, like basic education, went through a more prolonged and phased reform process that started at junior secondary level and expanded downward as well as upward in the system. Teacher education got a prominent position on the national reform arena. It took the lead in the struggle for a different educational experience within the framework created by the reform policy as a counter-hegemonic force against the prevailing hegemonic views on education with their attached engravings into common sense.

The national teacher education reform engaged all teacher educators in the country during a period of six years and more. Among these and the invited outsiders a number of identities developed, i.e. intellectual positions in relation to the reform policy. These identities reflected the competing engravings in the war of position. To illustrate these positions an extrapolation of a representative gallery of identities is offered within two major and competing blocs: the traditional hegemonic bloc and the counter-hegemonic reform bloc. The identities are a retrospective and explanatory construction and not necessarily identities that were carried consciously by the actors in the reform process.

In the traditional hegemonic bloc three major types of traditional identities were identified.

The subaltern traditional identity supported the new political order and people who adhered to it felt that the reform was part of the needed shifts with replacement of white by black rather than an actual restructuring process. The carriers of the subaltern traditional identity saw themselves as important actors in this regard and were suspicious of new foreign influences. They were not always comfortable with the parts of

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2 Organic and good sense are concepts restricted to the official reform policy while traditional represents the prevailing ideas that were related to common sense.
the reform that called for participatory democracy as it sometimes created threats against their own position and common sense.

Individuals with the traditional intellectual identity had served the system for years before and after independence. They had strong beliefs in their own individual capacity and cultural capital backed up by the remains of the administrative culture from the pre-reform situation. They did not consider their capacity or capital misplaced but as an under-utilised resource. They had strong doubts about the reform, which they saw as a lowering of standards. Their engraved self-confidence was their strongest asset as it created the necessary basis for being able to stay in the system and at the same time being able to oppose it.

The traditional intellectual with an outside identity was found in the group of foreign advisers who saw their work in Namibia as rather unproblematic if it was not for the lack of understanding that they often met. The traditional intellectuals with an outside identity originated either from the affluent countries in the North or from other African countries. They carried out their duties strictly according to their job description. They were usually well educated and did not worry much if their knowledge and skills were needed or relevant to the reform policy. Through their position as prominent advisers and scholars they usually delivered their goods without much worry about policies as long as their work was acknowledged from a technical point of view.

In the counter-hegemonic reform bloc three types of organic identities were identified. These identities corresponded to the opposite identities in the hegemonic bloc.

Carriers of the subaltern organic identity had usually worked for long inside the system as subaltern professionals who saw the opportunity created by the reform. They believed that they had very little capital through which they could contribute to the reform, thus trusting that most if not everything needed to be initiated from outside. In reality, they actually contributed a lot as concerned practitioners loyal to the reform policy.
Individuals with the *organic intellectual identity* were the official carriers of the reform policy because of their position, background and commitment to the reform. They stood by the reform even when the hegemonic pack counter-attacked. They did not mind the foreign influence as long as it carried the reform further. They had a concerned critical view on the reform that it would take time to accomplish real changes and that it was a matter of changing people's fundamental views about education that could take generations to accomplish.

The foreign advisers in this bloc were *intellectuals with an outsider-within identity*. They had in most cases worked in Africa before, even though not always within mainstream development co-operation. They considered themselves to be committed educators who based their ideas on solidarity and tendencies in education that were aiming at social justice. They belonged to a rare species and had a strong commitment to the reform process as intellectual defectors. They also had strong ideas about how this process should be carried out. Part of that was the need to introduce new structures and new ideas that had to be initiated with outside involvement and further developed from inside.

The two blocs of identities had also principled relations to two other concepts from Gramsci, namely common sense and good sense. The hegemonic bloc was permeated with common sense while the counter-hegemonic reform bloc was influenced by the good sense of the reform policy. However, this dichotomy was not complete. The transfer of good sense into the hegemonic bloc created a possibility for change. The corresponding transfer of common sense into the counter-hegemonic reform bloc created an internal inertia amongst the people who were carriers of the organic identities. These overlapping influences contribute to the complexity of the change process and complicate the deconstruction of common sense and the reconstruction of good sense even at instances when it was facilitated by categories and frameworks from critical theories. Further on, the prefigurative role of the counter-
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hegemonic reform policy was also affected by this constrained conversion of common sense into good sense.

The identities appeared on the reform arena as multiple variations of the main positions expressed here. These identities were not restricted to certain institutions but appeared across the institutions involved in the reform and certainly both at the colleges and at NIED. It also happened on an individual level that borders were crossed in the sense that somebody from the hegemonic bloc moved over to the counter-hegemonic side and vice versa as a result of the war of position. The carriers of these identities had a function in the intellectual war of position either as active participants who positioned themselves on the reform arena or as participants who marked their position by more subtle means in the process that led to a transposed reform.

A transposed reform in a layered society

Education takes place in social and political contexts. A reform is officially supposed to reflect the political will to accomplish certain changes in the social structural basis of society. For example, by emphasising Maths and Science in schools you might want to meet the need for engineers and computer technicians. By emphasising a participatory and democratic education you might want to create active citizens who are able to contribute to the future society. However, educational systems are seldom what they portray themselves to be if seen from a critical perspective. This makes real change a problematic struggle that includes an intellectual war of position even beyond the educational arena. At times it is a partisan activity whose struggle over common sense can be apprehended as subversive by its opponents.

Teacher education reform in Namibia took place within the framework created by the structural basis of a layered society as illustrated in Figure 1. People entered the reform arena, i.e. the social and intellectual space where the reform took place, with residual engravings
from the layered society carried as identities of traditional or organic origin. Traditional engravings from historical and parallel layers met the reform engravings based on the counter-hegemonic reform policy and the conceptual basis of a visionary society. As a consequence, a war of position was staged over the preferential right of interpretation in teacher education reform between carriers of good sense as an expression of the reform engravings, i.e. the implicit intellectual emancipatory visions in relation to the structural basis of the layered society, and carriers of common sense with enduring historical and parallel engravings.

THE CONCEPTUAL BASIS OF A VISIONARY SOCIETY

Counter-Hegemonic Traditions

Organic Identity

Good sense with reform engravings

THE REFORM ARENA

Transposed sense of reform

Transposed reform

Intellectual war of position

Common sense with historical and parallel engravings

THE STRUCTURAL BASIS OF A LAYERED SOCIETY

Traditional Identity

Hegemonic Traditions

Figure 1. The reform process
The result from the intellectual war of position was a transposed sense of reform. The counter-hegemonic reform ideas influenced the common sense notions about education in a transposed way. Common sense did not remain the same nor did it adapt totally to the good sense of the reform policy. A similar transposition process took place with the good sense that was affected by the common sense engravings in the war of position. Thus, new conceptual positions with stronger or weaker reform engravings were created. This was an effect of the situational strength of the competing engravings carried over from the layered society and the conceptual basis of the counter-hegemonic tradition.

The transposed sense of reform created reform practices with traits from both the hegemonic and counter-hegemonic traditions played out as a transposed reform. This continuously fed back into the competing blocs from instances when it affected the structural basis of the layered society. This feedback manifested the transposed reform through practices in line with the hegemonic tradition that drew the reform closer to status quo. The feedback also influenced the conceptual basis of the counter-hegemonic tradition at instances when the practices were interpreted as expressions of a counter-hegemonic reform effort. At other instances did the carriers of organic identities recognise the transpositions of the reform. This further fed the intellectual war of position. The reform became neither a paradigm shift as some hoped for nor an improvement of what had been in place as others wanted, but created - if presented in musical terms - a sampled composition with an adapted keynote beat. This was the result of the transpositions that took place in the passages of distortion created by the war of position. As one of the respondents in retrospect expressed it: "The reform did not take root at systemic level".  

The reform created a new situation where counter-hegemonic reform ideas became part of the official knowledge through the changed political power. However, these reform deposits into official knowledge were

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3 Interview F1, 2001.
vulnerable because of the hegemonic engravings that still existed at this level through the derived power. Because of the enduring power of the historical engravings the reform policy had its strongest effects on the discursive level, i.e. in the way people talked about education. The hegemonic common sense about education continued to reign but with a modified labelling at conceptual and practical levels as expressions of a transposed reform.

A few explanatory examples will be given from the contested reform imprints of how the reform intentions were reinterpreted in the transposing reform process that is illustrated in figure 1. This figure is an instant picture of a fluid process, including the problems of representation that comes with such pictures.

In the attempts to create an imperative reform framework a balance between a critical literacy of pedagogy and conventional subject knowledge was aimed at. This could be observed in the original weighting between the two blocks in the programme, the foundation and specialisation blocks. These blocks corresponded to the foundation and specialisation subjects, while the core subjects were taught in parallel through the whole programme. From a reform perspective the foundation block was seen as a way to introduce students to a critical literacy of pedagogy related to the teacher profession as an integrated part of good sense. However, many tended to see the foundation block as a possibility to remedy what they perceived as students' subject knowledge deficiencies. This was an effect of the common sense that (teacher) education was a matter of transferring subject content. The sincere understanding and common sense was that before anything else could be taught, i.e. more advanced subject content to create a subject content cushion, the basics had to be known. The view that subject content could be treated from a different perspective that was concerned with a critical literacy of pedagogy on how the learning of school subjects takes place as

\[4\] See p. 254 - 256.
an alternative to more of the same, was sidelined in the reform process.\textsuperscript{5} As a result the common sense about subject knowledge changed the balance between the foundation and specialisation blocks because of the worries about the learning of school subjects, in spite of the fact that the BETD syllabi were packed with subject content.\textsuperscript{6} One of the respondents, who in retrospect is placed in the group of organic intellectuals, expressed the following view:

At the beginning we were able to face the resistance we received from some quarters of the Namibian public, but it seems now that we have failed to educate people [teacher educators] over time.\ldots A lot of strange ideas were proposed in the BETD Forum in January [2001].\ldots You heard people suggesting: the specialisation block should start from the first term, the foundation block should go, there should be more content in the programme, and we should have more examinations.\textsuperscript{7}

Another issue related to the reform policy was the conceptions about learner-centred education. It was part of common sense that everything had to be defined in definite terms. The rule in the ritualised coulisse-school was to use the mechanical learning of definitions as a substitute for understanding.\textsuperscript{8} Therefore, when learner-centred education arrived, people started to look for its definition. Group work started soon to develop into an accepted operational definition.\textsuperscript{9} This had the effect that you only needed to organise the learners in groups to accomplish learner-centred education. As one of the respondents who was a carrier of a subordinate organic identity expressed it:

\textsuperscript{5} A critical literacy of pedagogy is broader than subject didactics as it is based on the critical dyads of why-to, why-how, and why-that. See p. 45.

\textsuperscript{6} van Harmelen (1999) op. cit.

\textsuperscript{7} Interview M2, 2001.


\textsuperscript{9} See also Shinyemba op. cit.; Storeng op. cit.
When the reform started I misunderstood it. I thought group work was learner-centred education. I put them [students] in groups and then what else? You discussed. Gradually I started to understand that I did not need to put the students in groups.\textsuperscript{10}

The reduction of learner-centred education into group work even hindered its implementation in other ways. The overcrowded classrooms together with the misinterpretation of learner-centred education as equal to child-centred education became a reason to challenge learner-centred education as an unrealistic reform policy as overcrowded classrooms did not allow for the rearrangements of desks or individualised instruction unless learner-centred education was reduced to neo-behavioural programmed learning.

Another example comes from the programme imprints where the reform policy challenged the common sense that practice is applied theory. The introduction of critical practitioner inquiry was an attempt in this direction that introduced inquiry-oriented practices in the BETD. Many students developed their way of thinking about education beyond deficiency explanations. However, certain aspects of critical practitioner inquiry were drawn back into the theory-into-practice domain for example through the use of hypothesis testing. By that, the common sense about education as a handing over of true answers at times transposed the intentions of critical practitioner inquiry into an expression of traditional hegemonic intellectualism.

The shaping of institutional agency was a way to create support for the reform in an indirect way through the fostering of a collective material and intellectual basis for the reform policy. For example, a practice-related good sense of the reform policy was aimed at by placing teacher educators in staff development situations where they participated in creating the conditions for their own practice and to make inquiries into this practice. These attempts were challenged in many ways. The residual common

\textsuperscript{10} Interview F3, 2001.
sense about expertise as something distanced from practice threatened the participatory agenda. This view could be traced back to the common sense about hierarchy that made the majority of Namibians think that they themselves did not have much to contribute with in the reform. The common sense that position overrules performance was well established during the apartheid period and played general havoc in the reform process, as a signal for passivity in waiting for instruction.

There were other and more general conditions in the structural basis for the layered society that all along influenced the development of a transposed reform in a broad and political sense. These conditions have been intimated all along in this thesis and are related to derived power and constrained modernity.

The exercising of derived power has a long history in Namibia that goes back to the traditional societies and has been further engraved into common sense in all other historical and parallel layers. The power structure of the traditional African society put the chief in the highest position. His power (the chief is usually a man) is derived from the previous generations and the Gods in Heaven. Colonialism arrived through the missionaries. Their power was also handed down from above, but from a singular God. The apartheid system became the ultimate version of a derived power that even allowed for serfdom and human oppression in His name and executed by a chosen people. Under this system people were taught that the power exercised in education was also a derived one. The power of teachers over learners, principals over teachers, and departments over schools, was derived from elsewhere. The assumption was that nobody was to challenge this power, even when they were excluded from the system. Eventually, the heavenly-sent power was soon joined by a secular financial power from an askew

11 It should be noted that the chief is usually not seen as an authoritarian leader and that a good chief listens to his people. However, the authority of the chiefdomship is seldom questioned.
12 Swarts & Dahlström (1998) op .cit.
modernity that together created a strong hegemonic bloc with similarities to Apple's conception of authoritarian populism.\textsuperscript{13}

In the attempts to fight this system a different derived power developed that was exercised through military rule and handed over to the Leader by the legitimate Cause of the liberation struggle. Scholars who originate from a supporting position to the liberation struggle have recently forwarded their critical analyses of the relationship between the derived power in a liberation struggle and the power of political office bearers after the liberation.\textsuperscript{14} In combination, Abrahams' and Melber's analyses question the relevance of experiences, based on discrimination and exploitation together with the staging of a liberation struggle against such experiences, for changes in pursuit of democratic reforms.

Suffering, exploitation, discrimination do not confer special wisdom and understanding. They only teach how to do it to others; how to be racist; how to brutalise the weak and the vulnerable. In the same way, beating a child or a spouse only teaches the victim how to become a child or spouse abuser when he/she becomes a husband, a wife, a parent, a policeman, a teacher or an occupation soldier. Brutalisation of any kind is a 'How to' lesson. It does not deepen anybody's humanity.\textsuperscript{15}

If Abrahams' analysis holds true and if it is combined with a military rule of a liberation struggle we should not be surprised about the results.

\textsuperscript{13} See p. 40.
\textsuperscript{15} Abrahams (2000) op .cit., pp. 21-22.
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...the anti-colonial war was hardly a suitable environment to instil and cultivate the internalisation and implementation of democratic values and norms. The organisation of a serious liberation struggle had much in common with the authoritarianism and hierarchical organisation reflecting the totalitarian structures inherent to the colonial system opposed.\textsuperscript{16}

Thus, the remnants of derived powers in the layered society as analysed here, became another constraining factor on a more general level for a reform policy building on participatory and democratic notions of social justice.

Modernisation was heavily constrained before independence by the political system of exclusion exercised by the colonisers.\textsuperscript{17} After independence, modernisation was promised and became the main strive for upward movement and a symbol for prosperity and success. Education became the first step on this newly hoisted social ladder for all. Promises of opportunity were created by the reforms but worked out as transposed promises in a competitive fashion. It was not on a par with a reform policy that emphasised participation and inclusion. All in all, the slanted reality of opportunity disallowed personal growth that could not be measured or translated to figures on a test with a competitive value. Therefore, the competitive race for position and the attached prosperity accelerated the calls for a hierarchical view on education that worked in favour of highly selective systems. As a consequence, the BETD was among other things criticised for being of low quality as too many students succeeded in their studies.

With these constraining factors at hand it became almost self-evident that the reform did not follow the anticipated score. Occasionally, with a good ensemble it did sound close to the original tune. At other

\textsuperscript{16} Melber (2001) op. cit., p. 24.

\textsuperscript{17} A related historical fact is that big business in South Africa/Namibia at an early stage opposed the apartheid system, not because of its inhumanity, but because of its restrictions on the commercial markets.
occasions the sampled melody could resemble the original score when conditions were favourable. At other times it was almost unidentifiable. This was the transposed result of a war of position staged between common sense and good sense over the preferential right of interpretation of the reform policy. This transposition was neither a defeat nor a victory, but a result of human agency played out in the intellectual war of position.

It is very difficult to change habits. Old habits remain. At least we have been able to uproot the past kind of thinking and to come up with things that are closer to promote a society with democratic participation. In that regard we have made some progress.18

**In summary**

When the teacher education reform started in the beginning of the 1990s it was part of an expected and general change process in the Namibian nation state that was based on perceptions of liberation from colonial rule. The official reform policy in education was based on cornerstones of democracy, access, equity, and quality that were to be strengthened through learner-centred education. These aims were extensions of the perceptions of liberation expressed through educational reform policies. The teacher education reform policy received massive support at the outset, especially from the majority of blacks who saw the BETD as the first qualifying teacher education programme for black teachers. Together with the broader political policies of independence it signalled a new type of life that was both beyond what the majority was used to and beyond a life based on white exclusiveness. It signalled an egalitarian society for all brought inside Namibia by a victory in the liberation struggle.

However, things did not work out as expected due to a number of reasons that moved Namibian society and its education reform along a

18 Interview M0.
different route. The combined effects of historical and parallel engravings in the Namibian society, played out as specific conditions in education and beyond, affected the reform process. They resulted in a transposed reform in a layered society.

In this analysis the teacher education reform in Namibia has been portrayed as an intellectual war of position over the preferential right of interpretation. This intellectual war of position was staged in the reform arena as a struggle between different reform identities. Competition among hegemonic and counter-hegemonic blocs led to a transposed reform that was neither a defeat nor a victory. The transposed reform had elements of a counter-hegemonic reform policy that, with further nourishment, can place teacher education in Namibia within an even stronger position in a critical and transformative field of education in pursuit of social justice.
Chapter Twelve

Reflections and a pedagogy of hope

When I got the opportunity to write this thesis about something that has been part of my life and mind for almost twenty years I had to face the contradictory pedagogic engravings in my own common sense about educational inquiry. I was brought up within the prevailing positivistic view during my first university studies in pedagogy in the mid 1960s. It was a growing political awareness that directed my interest towards alternative education practices in the 1970s and that made me leave a mainstream pedagogic career for solidarity work in Southern Africa in the 1980s. Now, twenty years later when I am back in the ‘research world’, my mind is still struggling with the earlier engravings from human sciences that portray educational research as hard facts. In that sense, my own history is an example of the intellectual struggle between opposing forces and that this struggle can have far-reaching consequences for a person’s preferential sense. The following reflections are influenced by these previous struggles.

Methodological reflections

If I look back at the result of my work with this thesis I believe that I have managed to paint a defensible picture of a constrained teacher education reform. My first methodological worry was related to the fact that I had been a significant actor in the reform process. Therefore, the participatory perspective was placed within the critical action research tradition with reference to Kincheloe.¹ The participatory perspective

combined with the narrative approach provoked concerns about validity of findings. Triangulation and respondent validity were supplemented with other validation concerns related to narrative inquiry.

Triangulation, if applied to this thesis and the broader arena of national teacher education reform, is related to the different sources of data from own documentation, texts by other authors, and retrospective interviews at different levels combined with my individual experiences. The retrospective interviews are also related to respondent validity as these interviews were based on themes in the preliminary findings of the thesis that are still sustained. The 'large narrative' of the teacher education reform process is at times illustrated with 'narrative incidents' in an attempt to increase the plausibility and fidelity of the plot.

The thesis had no ambitions to create a model that could be generalised to other reform efforts. It is up to readers to judge the relevance of the perspectives in this thesis to other situations and whether hegemonic perspectives, conceptions of layered societies, and related influences on change efforts can be applied to these contexts.

Reflections over teacher education reform

When I started to work with the national teacher education reform in Namibia in the beginning of 1990s I had already ten years of experiences from school development and teacher education in Southern Africa. I carried with me an optimistic view of possibility based on these experiences. I thought it was possible to change the enduring pain that formal schooling had turned out to be, not only for children in Africa.\(^2\) I also embraced the view that symbolically you had to break through the wall of schooling that history had created as the coulisse-school. It was

\(^2\) My previous work, as a teacher of special education for disaffected children with very little support from the ordinary school system in Sweden, had told me that an emancipatory education worth its name had to operate beyond the mainstream practices of schooling.
with this type of pre-judicious and partisan engravings that I entered the reform arena.

In my retrospective analysis I identified the layered society as the initial stumbling block for teacher education reform. The layered society created a social structural basis that complicated change, even when the bearers of these ideas sympathised with the need for reform. It was the multiple engravings from different historical and parallel layers in the society that formed the common sense. The derived authority was unquestionable. This accumulated a hesitation towards critical practitioner inquiry that tried to move authority over knowledge production closer to the learners. In the same way, this view of authority made teacher educators uncomfortable with the calls for their participation in the reform process as novices in the trade of curriculum development. This uneasiness followed the assumption that if you have no derived authority you should avoid taking responsibility. Responsibility is not for sharing, it is with those in powerful positions. This type of outlook had a strong impact on the aggregated common sense about the teacher education reform.

I expanded my analysis of the influences from the layered society to the extrapolated reform identities that placed the actors on the reform arena in two blocs of identities, the traditional hegemonic bloc and the counter-hegemonic reform bloc. Representatives of the two opposing blocs were identified at all levels. Reform policy had initially an upper hand on the discursive and political level as official knowledge based on the notion that change was almost inevitable after independence. The opposing bloc had its base in the retention of common sense conceptualisations about education that were reinforced by experience and observation from the ritualised coulisse-school. Together these formed the ideological basis of the traditional hegemonic bloc.

A war of position was ensued between the opposing ideas of hope for something different amongst the organic identities and that of maintenance with an improved efficiency amongst the traditional
identities. The intellectual zone for this war of position included three identified levels: the reform framework, the programme imprints, and institutional agency. New conceptions were introduced by the counter-hegemonic reform policy. These conceptions became reinterpreted as they worked themselves through the teacher education system as part of the reform process. In this process the good sense of the reform policy met the common sense of the traditional bloc. There was a struggle over the preferential right of interpretation. It created a transposed sense before it hit the practical ground as a transposed reform. It was the practical reform imprints that affected the social structural basis in the layered society, in the first instance in the college classrooms. It actually changed the conditions for reform, but not always for the better. An influence took place also within the counter-hegemonic bloc when the conceptual basis for a visionary society faded out within a general ahistorical framework and as an effect of the transposition process.³

The question remains whether good sense can survive a transposition process such as the one experienced in Namibia and avoid to become part of the aggregated common sense? It could even be claimed that good sense becomes part of common sense when it is accepted as official knowledge. However that happens only at instances when good sense has lost touch with its moral basis of a visionary society and by that become transposed into a technology distanced from its social basis. The teacher education reform in Namibia deserves a brighter and more hopeful future.

The prolonged piloting process, from the initial production of steering documents, extended over a period of seven to nine years. At the beginning the reform was criticised for being rushed too much as there were less than nine months available to produce the first round of national steering documents. This criticism was based on the view that staff in teacher education could not be prepared fully for the reform. However, 

3 See p. 265ff.
this initially criticised starting point created the conditions for the two complementary processes of a national agenda and decentralisation. It became accepted, reluctantly by some, and with enthusiasm by others, that the reform could not be reduced to a once and for all-exercise. This represented a victory for the counter-hegemonic reform policy that embraced the view that change with participation was a time consuming exercise. The reform followed a process that included both the continuous opening up of new terrain and the revisiting of old tracks. This process also included risk taking as the terrain changed its shape continuously as it evolved around the generative reform at the levels of the reform agenda, the programme imprints, and the institutional agency.

The cyclic process that developed created considerable tension and uncertainty in all camps. The reform was perceived by some as untidy in the sense that it opened up new operative avenues that did not follow a linear development logic. Some aspects were disrupted while others were continuously altered in shape and focus. This dynamism also blurred the reform policy even at instances when it was maintained that the policy was untouchable and perceived as an invariable constant. It opened up a zone of approximation where the hegemonic common sense could forward its preferential right of interpretation with transposed effects on the reform. It was also through this cyclic process that reform fatigue appeared on the reform arena with the effect that important reform positions became affected by traditional intellectualism. This was the case with the CCG as testified by respondents in the retrospective interviews. The intellectual life-line of the policy became weakened when individuals in important reform positions started to doubt the essence of the reform. Traditional intellectualism and common sense started to encroach on the interpretations of the policy with further transpositions as a result.

In the light of the policy the cyclic reform process also created more positive opportunities. The different reform imprints worked their way into teacher education. They were based on a participatory process, even if constrained by engravings from the layered society, and they embraced
the notion that there were no predefined solutions to many of the specific aspects of teacher education. The prolonged process facilitated an approach that followed the ambition to create a 'Namibianised' reform. The Namibian educators who remained in the reform arena gradually became the bearers of the reform. These educators constituted the core group of organic intellectuals who carried the reform forward. This organic intellectualism was grounded in conceptions about liberation and was further engraved through the opportunities the reform process created. The bearers of this organic intellectualism usually seized the opportunity to participate in informal and formal staff development activities as a means to strengthen their individual agency in pursuit of the reform, whether through engagement in curriculum work or critical practitioner inquiry. They also became active in the attempts to develop institutional agency through locally organised meeting points in line with the reform policy. However, contrary influences from traditional intellectualism of newly recruited teacher educators, continued to feed the war of position over the preferential right of interpretation in teacher education. This further emphasised the need to sharpen the ideological underpinnings of the reform policy by combining a critical literacy of pedagogy with that of a pedagogy of hope.

Towards a pedagogy of hope

When I compiled my report in 1983 after the first visit to the education centre at Kwanza in Angola I included the following lines as a preface:

The educator is a freedom fighter
Her enemy is mental slavery
And her weapon emancipation
The victory is a free mind


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These lines reflected the general political rhetoric of that time but also the hope for a different future. At that time I was often encouraged by the optimism that I found amongst Namibians in spite of the war that raged. In a way, this optimism and the humour as well as laughter that came with it developed into a kind of survival strategy in the midst of misery. The pedagogical practices developed together with our Namibian colleagues and students received a similar kind of sanctuary status. They were human mobilisations for an uncertain but hopeful future. They became, in embryo, a *pedagogy of hope* that included emancipatory and liberating practices within a radical democratic framework of restructuring that also aimed beyond the classroom door.

Soon after independence the hopes for a different society and a different education system were transformed to a range of national policy documents of which the most important became the development brief *Toward Education for All.* Teacher education reform became the strongest proponent of the expressed policy, yet the most contested field of education after independence as it encroached more than anything else on the prevailing common sense about education. However, this reform was not accompanied by a collective agenda for an egalitarian society building on a radical democracy in the broader political arena as post-independence history has shown.

This contradiction created a condition for a policy backlash over teacher education that resulted in a transposed reform by allowing common sense to remain intact on a broader societal level mainly through the reconciliation policy. Constraining effects set by the international community indirectly hindered a more radical development. For example, the reconciliation policy allowed for internal contradictions that talked the language of the hegemonic powers through the transposed reform. The

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5 One of the editors has told me that this document is No. 2 on the unofficial 'Best-seller list' in Namibia. No. 1 is The Bible.
reconciliation policy had the effect that independence was turned into a new start with no history.

Both the new government and the previous rulers had self-interests in covering up the past. Instead of dealing with previous atrocities in a way similar to what happened in South Africa through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission the perception was that independence was a matter of starting afresh by forgetting the past. A telling example of apprehension about what reconciliation meant was the conversation I had when I visited a Teacher Resource Centre in Windhoek not long after independence. The white centre manager showed me around and after the visit I handed over one of the booklets that students in the ITTP had produced. This booklet had the title, *Stories from the Struggle*. The only comment the centre manager had to the booklet was that he questioned if the title was not against the reconciliation policy. This person was later employed by NIED and had for some time an important position in the teacher education reform.

The most significant and official example of the unwillingness to deal with the past was the debate that was sparked off by the publication *Namibia, The Wall of Silence*. This book attended to some of the atrocities made in the name of the liberation struggle and was officially condemned by the government. SWAPO's response was to publish a list of names of people who died in the liberation struggle. This publication included a total of 7,794 individuals with their real or combat names but with no explanation of the real causes of death beyond that the majority died in combat or because of diseases (75%), others because of unknown reasons (14%), and others who simply went missing (12%). The ahistorical turn after independence did not merely bury old atrocities, it

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also buried the achievements made under the constrained conditions that led to independence.

Even though Namibia got a new and democratically elected government at independence and new national policies including the furtherance of human rights, a lot remained the same within a fragile modern state framework. Whatever was present of human agency and mobilisation for the common good went missing in the transformation of the liberation agenda to the market-driven and individualised capitalist mode of social development based on ambitions to become part of the illusionary global village.

Thus, even though officially inscribed in policy documents, a human mobilisation towards the values of the policy that had grown out from a liberation perspective was disrupted after independence and replaced by a transposed reform. Critical reflection can also be made concerning the transformation of hopes into the institutionalisation of national policy documents. Such processes can run the risk of compartementalising policy at a rhetoric level with common sense prevailing at the practical level. A pessimistic interpretation of the situation with a transposed reform is that it could be the beginning of a serious defeat following the agenda of a conservative restoration in the international arena. The consequence could be that the reform policy would remain at the discursive and conceptual level as official knowledge, but with transposed meanings and detached practices.

From a more positive perspective the present situation can be seen as a recess, a time-out to gain strength. This intermission can be used for a critical reflection amongst the organic intellectuals and as an opportunity to reorganise the forces of reform and the organic intellectualism. The values behind the reform policy can be revived through a pedagogy of hope and a more radical democratic praxis starting from the degrees of freedom available in the field of education. The first step towards a pedagogy of hope is to recognise the effects of the post-apartheid policy by placing it in a critical historical perspective. Independence brought
with it a new kind of ahistorical thinking that excluded the present from critical thinking much due to the reconciliation policy. Therefore, an important issue is to revive from the past as historical critic of the present what Giroux has called "dangerous memory". Dangerous memories of suffering and the combat that followed were integral parts of the liberation policies. The euphoria of political independence led dangerous memory astray in the official knowledge as if history ceased to exist with the coming of independence. Groups of organic intellectuals will, through a critical appraisal, be able to "advance both the language of critique and the language of possibility and hope".

It is within the "language of critic" conception that critical literacy of pedagogy, as introduced earlier, should be placed. The methodological dyads in critical literacy of pedagogy can be further elaborated in relation to the moral purpose of schooling that are implicated in a pedagogy of hope that acknowledges dangerous memory. Such critical educational practices would move schooling beyond the ritualised coulisse-school and break out a new way for a future of a different conceptual understanding of school knowledge, learning, and teaching, as well as assessment and evaluation. A pedagogy of hope would find its initial outgrowth from the organic intellectualism of reform practices, like critical practitioner inquiry. A pedagogy of hope would also need to free itself from the historical common sense about formal schooling as a parallel to a necessary partial de-linkage to the present destructive global expansion of capitalism.

Further research into teacher education reform should follow along the participatory and critical lane. It follows from the above that such research should aim at the furtherance of an understanding of teacher education reform to unveil common sense and hegemonic perceptions

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10 See Chapter Two, p 45.
Reflections and a pedagogy of hope

hindering radical democratic practices in pursuit of social justice. As Walker expressed it in relation to the needs for educational change in South Africa:

One can either retreat from the enormity of educational and social problems; or pretend that there is no connection between shocking inequalities and what goes in schools; or take a stand through our actions and our words to further the interests of the poor and the oppressed by connecting issues of social justice and equity, however imperfectly, to our work as educators.\(^\text{11}\)

The reform managed to alter many of the conditions for teacher education in Namibia, but failed to eradicate some of the prevailing common sense, a conjuncture, that ultimately created a transposed reform. However, the reform attracted international interest. In a commentary to an article in an international educational journal about teacher education reform in Namibia,\(^\text{12}\) Kohl expressed the following view.

I think that societies where democratic ideas are alive and vibrant rather than limping and in disrespect, as in the United States, can teach us about democracy and be sources of inspiration. The struggles in Namibia have to do with finding ways to throw off colonial and authoritarian educational systems that have been internalized by some Namibians who have power. The paper represents an attempt to create what Paolo Freire called a teacher formation centre based in community knowledge and culture. A bottom-up teacher education program make sense, not merely in a society in the process of building a democracy out of a revolutionary struggle, but in a tired democracy like the US where listening to local voices is often considered irrelevant.\(^\text{13}\)

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\(^{11}\) Walker (1996:a) op. cit., p. 2.


Chapter Twelve

Kohl concluded with a visionary statement that can also be taken as a promising vision for the future in Namibia in line with Serpell’s notions of a radical redefinition of modern schooling.\(^{14}\)

Teacher who cannot relate to the communities in which they work cannot survive for long and the work in Namibia provides hope for a time when teacher education and community development are part of the same process.\(^{15}\)

A narrative about a reform in Namibia should be rounded off with a Namibian voice. In his concluding remark one of the respondents noted:

> At the end of the day, to get anywhere with any reform you need some kind of dedication, some kind of vision or commitment. If you don’t have that, nothing is likely to happen. And you should be prepared to take risks!\(^{16}\)

This thesis has shown that there was dedication, vision as well as risk-taking involved in the initial years of teacher education reform in Namibia. This part of the reform journey stops here. There is a continuation of that journey and with that a continued struggle: A Luta Continua!

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\(^{14}\) See p. 62.

\(^{15}\) Kohl (1999) op. cit., p. 308.

\(^{16}\) Interview, M0.
References


References


Cohen C. (1994) Administering Education in Namibia: the colonial period to the present. Windhoek: Namibia Scientific Society


References


References


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References


References


References


References


South West Africa People’s Organisation (1981) SWAPO Political Program of the South West Africa People’s Organisation. Lusaka: SWAPO Department for Publicity and Information.


References


References


Appendices

Appendix 1

Sources for my inquiry

Table 1. Project documentation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Form (examples)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Field reports</td>
<td>• Field memoranda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Internal reports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Official project documents</td>
<td>• Plans of Operation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Bi-annual reports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Official documents</td>
<td>• Letters on policy issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Position paper about staff development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Papers prepared for international conferences</td>
<td>• AERA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• WCCES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Publications</td>
<td>• Zeichner &amp; Dahlström (eds), 1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Dahlström (ed), 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Refereed research articles</td>
<td>• Dahlström, 1995</td>
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<td>• Dahlström, 1999</td>
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Table 2. Namibian documentation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Form (examples)</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Working documents</td>
<td>• CCG working documents</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Draft versions of BETD Broad Curriculum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Local institutional documents</td>
<td>• SBS College Manuals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Critical Inquiry Instructions to students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Minutes from meetings/workshops/Seminars</td>
<td>• CCG Minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Seminar and workshops reports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Research reports</td>
<td>• Mbamanovandu, 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Nyambe, 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. National official documents</td>
<td>• BETD Broad Curriculum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• BETD Moderation reports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Publications</td>
<td>• Toward Education for All, 1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Sguazzin &amp; van Graan (eds) 1998</td>
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</table>

CCG Curriculum Co-ordination Group
SBS School-Based Studies
Appendix 2.

Interviews and observations carried out in Namibia, March and December, 2001

Table 3. Interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High rank politician</td>
<td>M0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central position</td>
<td>F1</td>
<td>M1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College management</td>
<td>F2</td>
<td>M2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher educator</td>
<td>F3</td>
<td>M3</td>
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Table 4. Classroom observations at colleges

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>College</th>
<th>ETP</th>
<th>Mathematics</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alpha</td>
<td>O1 (female)</td>
<td>O3 (male)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beta</td>
<td>O2 (female)</td>
<td>O4 (male)</td>
</tr>
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### Organisation of the Integrated Teacher Training Programme

**Table 5. Organisation of ITTP, 1986 - 1989.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Year 1 (1986-87)</th>
<th>Year 2 (1987-88)</th>
<th>Year 3 (1988-89)</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sep-Dec</td>
<td>Jan-Jun</td>
<td>Sep-Dec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kw</td>
<td>Umu</td>
<td>Kw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sep-Dec</td>
<td>Jan-Jun</td>
<td>Sep-Dec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kw</td>
<td>Umu</td>
<td>Kw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jan-Jun</td>
<td></td>
<td>Umu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Umu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Umu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kw = Education Centre, Kwanza-Sul, Angola; Umu = Umeå University, Sweden

**Table 6. Organisation of ITTP, 1990-1992.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jan-Dec</td>
<td>Jan-Dec</td>
<td>Jan-Jun</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jul-Dec</td>
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<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td>UmU</td>
<td>OTRC</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>OTRC</td>
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OTRC = Ongwediva Teacher Resource Centre, Namibia
UmU = Umeå University, Sweden
Appendices

Appendix 4.

Initial panels for the BETD syllabi

Table 7. BETD Subject area panels and convenors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject area panels</th>
<th>Convenor from</th>
<th>Co-convener from</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Languages</td>
<td>Academy / UNAM</td>
<td>MEC/NIED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>Academy / UNAM</td>
<td>WCE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>Adviser, OCE</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>Academy / UNAM</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education Theory &amp; Practice</td>
<td>Adviser, NIED</td>
<td>Adviser, NIED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Studies</td>
<td>Academy / UNAM</td>
<td>MEC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Vocational Subjects</td>
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<td>Curriculum Orientation</td>
<td>School, Windhoek</td>
<td>School, Windhoek</td>
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<tr>
<td>Physical Education</td>
<td>Regional Office, Windhoek</td>
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</table>
### Staff at colleges of education and NIED

Table 8. Teacher educators at the colleges of education in 1998.\(^1\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>College</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total 1998 (1990)</th>
<th>Expatriate</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WCE</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>52 (57)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCE</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24 (7)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCE</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>27 (6)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCE</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>59 (36)</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>162 (106)</td>
<td>30</td>
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Table 9. Educational Personnel at NIED (1998)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Namibian staff</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Project staff Advisers (Female)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>Curriculum Dev.</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language Dev.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Dev.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Director</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>33</td>
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</table>

\(^1\) Figures for 1998 from Swarts (ed) op. cit.
Appendix 6

TERP staff 1993 – 1998

Table 10. TERP educational staff at the colleges of education and NIED, 1993 - 1998.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WCE</td>
<td>Fac.</td>
<td>M (Nam)</td>
<td>F (Swe)</td>
<td>M (Nam)</td>
<td>****</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCE</td>
<td>Fac.</td>
<td>M (Swe)</td>
<td>F (US)</td>
<td>F (Swe)**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCE</td>
<td>Fac.</td>
<td>F (Swe)</td>
<td>M (Eng)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCE</td>
<td>Fac.</td>
<td>F (Eng)</td>
<td>F (Swe)*</td>
<td>M (Swe)</td>
<td>F (Eng)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>F (Swe)</td>
<td>F (Swe)</td>
<td>M (Swe)</td>
<td>****</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIED</td>
<td>Adv.</td>
<td>M (Swe)</td>
<td>M (Fin)</td>
<td>M (Swe)</td>
<td>M (Swe)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M (Nam)</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>F (Eng)</td>
<td>F (Aus)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Co.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M (Swe)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Codes:  
M = male  
F = female  
Aus = Australian  
Eng = English  
Fin = Finnish  
Nam = Namibian  
Swe = Swedish  
US = American (USA)  
Fac. = Reform Facilitator (placed at college)  
Adv. = Adviser in Teacher Education (placed at NIED)  
Co. = Project Co-ordinator

* The post was vacant during 1995 and covered by the Reform Facilitator at WCE on a part-time basis.

** A temporary post combined with the work as Course Organiser for the first academic course for Teacher Educators.

*** Vacant post

**** Posts phased out.
Appendices

Appendix 7.

TERP support areas 1993 - 1998

Support areas 1993 - 1994

- Developing Subject Area Curricula for years 2 and 3 of the BETD programme
- Establishing Educational development Units (EDUs) at colleges
- Training of Teacher Educators and Management Staff
- Monitoring and support to the implementation of the BETD
- Implementing School-based Studies in the BETD programme
- Evaluation of the BETD programme
- In-service teacher education
- Technical assistance to NIED

Support areas 1995

- Intra-college support (including seminars and the EDUs)
- Support to School-based Studies (incl. training of Support Teachers)
- Inter-college support (through seminars and workshops)
- University Course for teacher educators
- BETD National Evaluation
- NIED co-ordination, monitoring and support

Support themes 1996 - 1998

- Learner-centred education and curriculum development
- Critical Practitioner Inquiry
- Professional programme development and School-based Studies
- Organisation and Management for educational development
- Educational Development Units
- An integrated staff development programme
- BETD National Evaluation
- TERP project evaluation
- National co-operative network
- International co-operative network
- ETP material for BETD In-service
- Teacher Education for marginalised groups

---


Appendices

Appendix 8.

Members in the Task Force

Table 11. Members of the Task Force for Pre-service Teacher Education Reform

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institutions</th>
<th>No. of representatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NIED</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advisers placed at NIED</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEC</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNAM</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colleges</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unions</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance Education</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Undated MEC Document

Members of the Curriculum Co-ordination Group

Table 12. Members of the Curriculum Co-ordinating Group (CCG) 1993 - 1996.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Namibian Officials</th>
<th>Advisers</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Namibians</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign nationals</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Minutes from CCG meeting 8 December, 1994.

Table 13. Members of the Curriculum Co-ordinating Group (CCG) as from September 1997.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Number of representatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NIED</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colleges: Broad Curriculum Co-ordinators</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MBEC: EPI</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MHEVTST: Directorate of Higher Education</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNAM: Faculty of Education</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>15</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


5 This is an approximate and averaged distribution of members during 1993 - 1996. The exact number fluctuated during the period when individual foreign advisers disappeared from the scene and Namibians entered as new recruits to NIED.
Appendices

Appendix 9.

The Basic Education Teacher Diploma (BETD) programme

Table 14. Number of applicants and students admitted to the BETD in 1998.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>College</th>
<th>Applicants</th>
<th>Admitted</th>
<th>With Grade 12</th>
<th>With lower grade and/or teaching experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WCE</td>
<td>1760</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCE</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCE</td>
<td>4730</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCE</td>
<td>3239</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10679</td>
<td>709</td>
<td>678</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15. Subject Syllabuses in the BETD pre-service programme.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Core Subjects</td>
<td>Education Theory and Practice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arts in Culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Human Movement Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Basic Information Science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English Communication Skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Handwork and Technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foundation Subjects</td>
<td>Mathematics Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Science Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social Science Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Language Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialisation Subjects</td>
<td>Lower primary Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English language Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Namibian Language Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social Science Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Integrated Natural Science Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mathematics Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agriculture and Life Science Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Commerce Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Home Ecology Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Technical Studies Education</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendices

Appendix 10.

National Seminars

Table 16. Content areas during National Seminars 1-3, 1993 - 1994. (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Content areas</th>
<th>1st (2 weeks)</th>
<th>2nd (1 week)</th>
<th>3rd (4 days)</th>
<th>Total time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BETD pedagogical themes</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning (subject &amp; college groups)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assessment issues</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General programme evaluation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BETD document</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other related issues</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total time</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BETD structures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year 1</th>
<th>Year 2</th>
<th>Year 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common Foundation</td>
<td>Grade 1 - 7</td>
<td>Grade 1 - 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 5 - 10</td>
<td>Grade 5 - 7</td>
<td>Grade 8 - 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2. BETD Structure 1993 - 1995.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year 1</th>
<th>Year 2</th>
<th>Year 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common Foundation</td>
<td>Grade 1 -4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grade 5 - 7</td>
<td>Grade 8 -10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3. BETD Structure 1995/96 - ff.
Appendix 11.

The Multi-layered Process

![Diagram of the multi-layered process]

In a written commentary to this presentation Nyambe suggested that there should be a direct link between tasks and the general BETD competencies to guarantee a circular feedback through the general competencies. This circular feedback is symbolised by the dotted line.

---

6 In a written commentary to this presentation Nyambe suggested that there should be a direct link between tasks and the general BETD competencies to guarantee a circular feedback through the general competencies. This circular feedback is symbolised by the dotted line.
Appendix 12.

Extracts from the BETD Broad Curriculum

Table 17. Relation between BETD Aims and Competency areas (based on National Institute for Educational Development – NIED (1996:b) op. cit.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Competency areas</th>
<th>Related Aims of the BETD[^7]</th>
<th>No. of related Aims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teaching skills</td>
<td>2,3,4,7,9,10,11,13,14,15,16,17,18</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionalism</td>
<td>4,5,6,9,17,18,19</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsibility</td>
<td>1,2,3,6,7,8,12</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication Skills</td>
<td>4,5,10,13,14</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpersonal and Social Skills</td>
<td>2,3,5,6,7,10,12,18</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Competency areas

Teaching skills: The student should be able to teach their subject(s) through a learner-centred approach.

Professionalism: The student should demonstrate professional behaviour.

Responsibility: The student demonstrates responsible citizenship.

Communication skills: The student should be able to communicate effectively, both in general, and in terms of teaching and sharing of knowledge in Basic Education.

Interpersonal and social skills: The student should be able to construct meaningful relationships in order to promote efficient teaching and learning.^[8]

[^7]: There are nineteen aims expressed in the BETD Broad Curriculum, which are numbered from 1 - 19. See MHEVTST & MBEC (1998:a) op. cit., pp. 4-5. A single aim can be related to more than one competency area.

Appendix 12.

Professional themes

In order to develop student teachers' abilities in all of the competency areas, eight different aspects of the teaching profession have been identified. In the foundation block these aspects are introduced as professional themes with a unifying function which integrates the whole curriculum and are the central focus around which the content of the study is organised. In the specialisation block these professional themes are further developed as specific competencies through the subject topics.

The professional themes/competencies are:

- The overall development of the knowledge, skills, and attitudes of the student teacher
- Planning for learning through themes, topics, and lessons
- Designing appropriate learning experiences
- Organising and managing learning environments appropriately
- Communicating the concepts of the subject/topic
- Assessing, recording and reporting learning in the subject/topic
- Evaluating the topic, the teaching, and the learning, and making improvements
- Developing a critical inquiry approach into one's own practice and context.\(^9\)

\(^9\) MBEC & MHEVTST (1998:a) op. cit., p. 6
**Appendix 13.**

**BETD appraisal**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Reported as NIED Document (focuses)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>25-27 October, 1995</td>
<td>BETD Broad Curriculum Appraisal Workshop</td>
<td>Report on the BETD Broad Curriculum Appraisal Workshop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1-4 July, 1996</td>
<td>Inter-college Workshop for the Development of National Subject Syllabuses</td>
<td>Summary of the Inter-college Workshop for the Development of National Subject Syllabuses in terms of Tasks Set, Outcomes Achieved &amp; Plans for the Continued Work at Colleges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>19-23 August, 1996</td>
<td>Inter-college Workshop for the Development of National Subject Syllabuses: Assessment</td>
<td>Summary of the Inter-college Workshop for the Development of National Subject Syllabuses: Assessment in terms of Activities, Outcomes Achieved and Plans for the Continued work at Colleges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>24-28 February, 1997</td>
<td>Inter-college Assessment &amp; Promotion Workshop</td>
<td>Summary of the Inter-college Assessment &amp; Promotion Workshop for the development of Shared Meanings and the Defining of Assessable Competencies in term of Activities and Outcomes Achieved plus Plans for the Continued Work at Colleges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Week</td>
<td>Dates</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>24-26 June, 1997</td>
<td>Inter-college Syllabus Development Workshop</td>
<td>Summary of the Inter-college Lower Primary Education &amp; Social Science Education Syllabus Development Workshops in term of Activities and Outcomes Achieved plus Plans for the Continued Work at Colleges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>22-24 July, 1997</td>
<td>Inter-college Syllabus Development Workshop</td>
<td>Summary of the Inter-college Arts in Culture, Language Education, Namibian Language Education &amp; English Language Education Syllabus Development Workshops in term of Activities and Outcomes Achieved plus Plans for the Continued Work at Colleges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>7-10 October, 1997</td>
<td>Block workshop</td>
<td>Included the editing of syllabi content according to the three blocks in the programme: Foundation Block, Core Block, and Specialisation Block.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendices

Appendix 14.

Assessment in the Broad Curriculum

Table 19. Comparison of headings in the 1996 and 1998 versions of the Broad Curriculum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Broad Curriculum, January 1996</th>
<th>Broad Curriculum, March 1998</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ASSESSMENT</strong></td>
<td><strong>ASSESSMENT</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Purpose of assessment</strong></td>
<td><strong>Assessment in the BETD</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive achievement</td>
<td>Criterion-reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Continuous assessment</strong></td>
<td>Positive achievement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategies and techniques for c.a.</td>
<td>Assessment for formative purposes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Products and performances to be assessed continuously</td>
<td>Assessment for summative purposes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written products</td>
<td>Assessment for evaluative purposes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written tests and exams</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oral performances</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artistic performances</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Products</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diagnostic purposes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Summative assessment</strong></td>
<td><strong>Modes of assessment</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Final assessment</strong></td>
<td><strong>Compensation for Incomplete work</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grading</strong></td>
<td><strong>Recording and reporting assessment</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete with Distinction</td>
<td>Subject records</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete with Credit</td>
<td>Progress tutorials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete</td>
<td>Progress files</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incomplete</td>
<td>Student portfolios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compensation for incomplete</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Promotion</strong></td>
<td><strong>Implementing assessment</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td><strong>Grading</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assessment and promotion</td>
<td>Academic promotion and referral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>committee</td>
<td>Attitudinal/disciplinary referral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Certification</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 15.

Table 20. Participants in staff development courses supported by TERP, 1992 - 2000.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education for Teacher Educators (20 credits)</th>
<th>Higher Diploma in Teacher Education (40 credits)</th>
<th>Master's Degree in Teacher Education (40 credits)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teacher educators</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher educators</td>
<td>Other educators*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher educators</td>
<td>Other educators*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher educators</td>
<td>Other educators*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher educators</td>
<td>Other educators*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Ministry Officials/Education Officers, Principals/Rectors, Advisory Teachers, Support Teachers, Teachers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10 Based on Dahlström (2001) op. cit.
### Appendix 16.

**Reports from Higher Diploma and Master Courses 2000.**

Table 21. Areas and Issues of the Critical Practitioner Inquiry Reports in the Higher Diploma Course.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Areas</th>
<th>Issues</th>
<th>Titles of reports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-primary education</td>
<td>Arts activities</td>
<td>Improving Art Activities in Pre-primary Education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower primary</td>
<td>Teaching materials</td>
<td>Enabling teachers to use manipulating teaching materials for grade 1 and 2 in Mathematics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English reading</td>
<td>Developing teaching strategies to teach reading in English at grade 1 and 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Learner-centred</td>
<td>Promoting Learner-centred education in lower primary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior secondary</td>
<td>Learner-centred</td>
<td>Teaching Mathematics in a learner-centred way in rural schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Why is it difficult to develop learner-centred education beyond group work?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special education</td>
<td>Handicaps &amp; schooling</td>
<td>Creating an improved school situation for a group of blind learners in grade 8 - 10.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Integration</td>
<td>Integration at Senior Secondary Level - a new dawn for visually impaired learners.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher education</td>
<td>Group work</td>
<td>Group work as a teaching technique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Map reading</td>
<td>Teaching and learning of map reading skills in teacher education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Human Movement</td>
<td>Students' interest and performance in Human Movement Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Materials</td>
<td>Some student teachers' relationship with designing and making of teaching and learning materials</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Table 22. Areas and Issues of the Critical Practitioner Inquiry Reports in the Master's Degree Course.

<table>
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<th>Areas</th>
<th>Issues</th>
<th>Titles</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Language policies</td>
<td>Mother tongue</td>
<td>Mother tongue as subject in formal education in Namibia - the case of Afrikaans</td>
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<td>African Languages</td>
<td>Namibia's new language dispensation: past, present and future trends</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>The perceptions of teachers and learners on English as a medium of instruction in learner-centred education in the junior secondary phase in the Caprivi region</td>
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<tr>
<td>School and college subjects</td>
<td>Human Movement Education</td>
<td>Perceptions of Human Movement Education at colleges of teacher education in Namibia</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Arts Education</td>
<td>Low performance and lack of interest in Arts Education during teaching and learning process in the North West regions of Namibia</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Physical Science</td>
<td>Concept development in Physical Science - in-school and out-of-school experiences of Physical Science learners in grade eight and their ideas on density as a Physical Science concept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assessment and examination</td>
<td>Assessment of BETD students</td>
<td>Tensions and anxiety in assessing students: the case of the BETD course</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Grade 10 examinations</td>
<td>Academic achievements of grade 10 in examinations in the Caprivi region: reasons and functions.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendices
Appendix 16.

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<tr>
<th>Reform conceptions</th>
<th>Critical Practitioner Inquiry</th>
<th>Critical Practitioner Inquiry: an analysis of some of the attempts to establish a critical pedagogy in pre-service teacher education in Namibia</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reflective teaching</td>
<td>Interpretation, understanding and practice of reflective teaching - a study among BETD graduates in Namibia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reflective teaching and learning</td>
<td>The development of the concept of reflective teaching and learning in a teacher education college for basic education in Namibia, with particular reference to the Basic Education Teacher Diploma (BETD) programme</td>
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<td>Subject integration</td>
<td>Subject integration in Namibian colleges: an attempt to reconnect the disconnected connectors - its limits and possibilities</td>
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<td>Learner-centred education</td>
<td>Learner-centred education in Namibia - its conceptualisation and implementation at the University of Namibia and Windhoek College of Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>Infrastructure</td>
<td>Multiculturalism</td>
<td>Challenging many cultures in one class</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>The career patterns of women teachers in the Caprivi education region, Katima Mulilo, Namibia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>School board</td>
<td>The role of the school board in the governance of the school - a Namibian perspective.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendices

Appendix 17.

Reports from the National Evaluation of the BETD

Åsemär, C. (1994) *Evaluation Plan & Pre-study*. Windhoek: MEC. (Data collected 1993; Observations, interviews);

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