TITLE: EDUCATIONAL BARRIERS AND EMPLOYMENT ADVANCEMENT AMONG THE MARGINALIZED PEOPLE IN NAMIBIA: The case of the OvaHimba and OvaZemba in the Kunene Region

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the relationship between educational attainment and employment advancement among marginalized people in Namibia. It attempts to identify the situational, institutional and dispositional barriers that have stifled the educational progress of OvaHimba and OvaZemba people based in the Kunene region and how these have limited their access to formal employment opportunities and/or employment advancement. Furthermore, it explores the potential of Adult Education to improve the formal educational qualifications of the OvaHimba and OvaZemba adults.

Namibia is often lauded as an example of a country which has successfully negotiated the perils of post-independent statehood to take its place as a model citizen in the community of democratic nations. Blessed with relative stability, an abundance of natural resources, and a liberal constitution, Namibia appears to be ideally placed to provide all its citizens with a decent life consisting of access to quality education, healthcare and economic opportunities. Despite this, Namibia education has failed it adult population because of numerous factors. This study identify these factors.

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CHAPTER 1: ORIENTATION OF STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This study is concerned with the relationship between educational attainment and employment advancement among marginalized people in Namibia. Specifically, the study attempts to identify the situational, institutional and dispositional barriers that have stifled the educational progress of OvaHimba and OvaZemba people based in the Kunene region and how these have limited their access to formal employment opportunities and/or employment advancement. Furthermore, this study explores the potential of Adult Education to improve the formal educational qualifications of the OvaHimba and OvaZemba adults.

This introductory section provides the rationale for the study, followed by a brief background and history of the OvaHimba and OvaZemba people in Namibia. It also introduces and outlines the research question which guides this study.

1.1.1 Brief outlook of the study

The purpose of this study was to examine the situational, institutional and dispositional barriers that have stifled the educational progress of OvaHimba and OvaZemba people and it explored the potential of Adult Education to improve their formal educational qualifications.

The first three chapters of this dissertation offer an introduction to the problem surrounding educational attainment and employment advancement among marginalized OvaHimba and OvaZemba in Namibia; a review of the literature surrounding the OvaHimba and OvaZemba communities; and the methodological design that was utilized for this study.

Chapter four presents the findings that emerged from the collected data and analyzed using the conceptual framework that was constructed for the purpose of this study. A qualitative study employing a case study methodology was conducted with data collected from observations, interviews, questionnaires and document collection/analysis. Chapter five concludes the study with a summary of the key findings followed by recommendations.

1.2 Rationale and background to the study

In many societies, as a result of social, economic and political inequality, individuals or groups of people get marginalized and/or excluded from the social 'goods' available in the society. These social 'goods' which are normally provided and guaranteed by the state include, amongst others: a quality formative education, equitable access to employment opportunities, participation in political processes which determine the direction of one's country, and reasonable access to public social, health and welfare facilities (http://www.namibian.com.na/news/full-story/archive/2012/february/article/himba-v).

Namibia is often lauded as an example of a country which has successfully negotiated the perils of post-independent statehood to take its place as a model citizen in the community of democratic nations. Blessed with relative stability, an abundance of natural resources, and a liberal constitution, Namibia appears to be ideally placed to provide all its citizens with a decent life consisting of access to quality education, healthcare and economic opportunities.

However, not all Namibian citizens have equal access to these social 'goods' and nothing could illustrate this reality more than the following account of the plight of one such community.

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1.2.1 The origin of the idea

The origin of the idea of doing a study on educational barriers and employment advancement among marginalized people in Namibia has just naturally come to me. As a lecturer in the field of adult education concentrating on lifelong learning and community education, as well a distance coordinator for the Adult Education Courses at the University of Namibia (UNAM), I developed a passion to dig deeper into the kind of barriers and hindrances that prevent adult learners to progress and prosper in various areas of their lives, particularly with regards to employability advancement.

The choice of the Kunene region was automatically registered in my mind because it is generally accepted in Namibia that this specific region is underdeveloped, especially the area where OvaHimba and OvaZemba tribes live.

1.2.2 The Kunene region

The Kunene region (also formerly known as Kaokoland) is one of the fourteen regions of Namibia. Compared to the rest of Namibia, it is relatively underdeveloped. This may be due to the inaccessible mountainous geography of the area and the dryness that does not allow any form of farming. Infrastructure such as roads hardly exists. Kunene is one of the last remaining truly "wild" regions of Southern Africa and boasts a diversity of wildlife including elephants. The biggest town is Opuwo with a population of probably less than 10,000 inhabitants (http://www.bushdrums.com/index.php/news/item/126-namibia-kunene-region/126-namibia-kunene-region?tmpl=component&print=1).

Its name comes from the Kunene River in the North of Namibia that forms the border to Angola. The Kunene region's western edges are the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. In the north, it borders Angola's Namibe province, and in the far eastern part of its northern edge it borders the Angolan Cunene Province. Domestically, it borders the following regions:

- ✓ Omusati northeast, west of Oshana
- ✓ Oshana northeast, between Oshana and Oshikoto
- ✓ Oshikoto northeast, east of Oshikoto
- ✓ Otjozondjupa east and
- ✓ Erongo south

The map below provides an indication of where the Kunene region is located in Namibia. As highlighted before, this region borders the Atlantic Ocean on the West and Angola in the North. The village of Opuwo is almost on the Angolan border as depicted in Figure 1.1 and Figure 1.2.

Figure 1.1 Opuwo town map



Source: http://www.southern-africa.arroukatchee.fr/namibia/towns/opuwo.htm

The picture below depicts a typical Namibian OvaHimba village.

Figure 1.2 A classic OvaHimba village



Source: http://www.kruger-2-kalahari.com/the-himba.html

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1.2.2.1 Unequal access to education, healthcare and economic services in Kunene region

The Kunene Region, as described in a local newspaper article from *The Namibian Newspaper* on 12 February 2012,

(http://www.namibian.com.na/news/fullstory/archive/2012/february/article/himba-v) has unequal access to all public services as compared to the rest of Namibia.

The Namibian Newspaper article explains that Otjomotjira is a village in the Omatendeka conservancy, which has had limited exposure to the outside world and hardly has had any social, physical and/or economic development. Schooling seems to have been a foreign concept in this village since "nobody in the village has ever been attending a government school" (ibid.). The primary situational barrier to social services seems to be distance as the "nearest clinic, shop and/or primary school is about three days' walk from the village" (ibid.). This makes it extremely difficult for the villagers to benefit from public services such as education and

healthcare. No mobile clinic visits the village, and as one of the OvaHimba woman who is approximately eight months pregnant said: "I am unable to see a doctor for my pre-natal check-ups," as a result of the physical distance to attend the local clinic (*The Namibian Newspaper* 12 February, 2012, ibid.).

Musutua, the village spokesperson, emphasized the implications of their isolation from government services and information about these services. He pointed out that none of the villagers have national identity cards nor are they aware that they can get access to primary education at a subsidized rate at government schools (Matura, cited in Menzel, 2012)

Although the Namibian educational policies encourage school participation through compulsory basic education (Ministry of Basic education and Culture, 2000), the OvaHimba and OvaZemba's access and success within the formal school still remains low. Limited access to formal educational opportunities is evident in the low number of OvaHimba and OvaZemba people who participate and successfully complete secondary schooling as well as the relatively low level of educational attainment amongst the adult members of these communities. The limited access to and promotion within formal employment situations can also be attributed to the low formal educational participation of the region (Hummel, 2010, p. 4).

The level of educational attainment of the OvaHimba and OvaZemba people therefore prompted this study. Accordingly, this study is guided by the research questions:

- What are the contextual and social factors that contribute to and impede educational success for the marginalized people in the Kunene region of Namibia?
- How can the provision of Adult Education enhance the educational qualifications of the adults within the Kunene region?

In order to contextualize this study, the sub-section that follows provides the background and history of the OvaHimba and OvaZemba and their involvement and participation in formal education.

1.3 Historical background of OvaHimba and OvaZemba origin

One narrative has it that the OvaHimba people originated from Okarundu kaMbeti, a hill north of Ruacana, a village located next to the Kunene River (Sherman, 2013). Several generations ago, their ancestors moved down along the river and settled between the hills on both sides of the valley. The memory of these ancestors is kept alive in praise songs, and the location of some of the graves of the early settlers is still known amongst the community. Early OvaHimba society was dominated by the *ovahona* (rich and powerful men), and the current OvaHimba elders can still trace their descent back to one of the *ovahona* that constituted the initial settlers.

Another narrative recalls that the indigenous peoples of OvaHimba and OvaZemba who lived in North West Namibia and South West Angola migrated into these countries centuries ago. The OvaHimba and OvaZemba speculate (HIPO Newsletter, 2009) that their origin lay in western Africa and that during their long migration through central Africa they interconnected with other people and adopted some of their traditions and lifestyles. Since entering Namibia, they lived in the remote, dry and mountainous areas of Namibia, which resulted in them not having frequent contact with the outside world. As a result of their isolation, they maintained their religion, their cultural practices such as ritual and dances, their beliefs, their ornaments, and the female attire also remained intact. However, with the changing modern world, the world's communication and technological developments have also reached these indigenous people, which are evident in the fact that the external global cultural forces have also started to influence the way of life of the OvaHimba and OvaZemba (HIPO Newsletter, 2009).

Although the OvaHimba and OvaZemba are basically the same people sharing most cultural elements including language and attire, they are not homogeneous (HIPO Newsletter, 2009). Towards the end of the 19th century, the neighboring Nama people ran successive raids on the OvaHimba, forcing many of them to flee to south-western Angola. At the time, the Portuguese administration had not as yet established posts in that area, but exchanges with the colonial economy were intense. The OvaHimba refugees worked on the plantations, became guides for professional hunters, or worked in the colonial army, combating indigenous rebellions. Certain OvHhimba and OvaZemba groups remained in the Kunene Region (Kaokoland) and retreated into the Northern Mountains where they became hunters (http://der.org/resources/study-guides/ovahimba-years-multiple-media.pdf).

In 1907, the German administration declared Kaokoland a natural reserve, hence avoiding settlement of white farmers. Towards 1910, pastoral-forager communities had settled anew in the plains from where they developed commerce with the Ovambo kingdoms that were settled in the east. Between 1910 and 1920, several OvaHimba families returned to the region and settled close to their ancestors' graves.

Another version of the OvaHimba history claims that this group of the dispersed OvaHimba group roamed freely with their cattle, visiting the widely scattered waterholes. In time they fell victim to other marauding tribes and most of their cattle were lost during raids by other tribes in the area. With the magnitude of dispersion, they found resistance very difficult and now impoverished they were forced to adopt a hunter-gatherer lifestyle. This subsistence existence was looked down upon by other cattle herders and it earned them the name Tjimba-Herero or Aardvarks. Large numbers of the Tjimba-Herero fled to Angola and now without land and livestock, they were called OvaHimba or beggars. Their stay in Angola was not for too long though as under the leadership of a prominent Herero named Vita, they resettled back in Kaokoland (www.himba-trust.org/publications/himba-info.pdf). With the help of the Portuguese colonists and their leader, they were able to seize many cattle and accumulate sizeable herds. In 1920 they re-crossed the Kunene River back into Namibia. They dispersed throughout the northern part of Kaokoland and some to this day have still remained in Angola (ibid).

The 1915 defeat of the Germans by the British and Allied forces during the First World War further encouraged their return. After the First World War, the newly mandated South African authorities classified the area a tribal reserve, obliging settler families to repatriate their cattle to the south. This reinforcement of borders was to create a frontier between the tribal reserves and the commercial cattle farming zone to avoid the spreading of diseases, a measure that prohibited any commercial exchange and movement between the OvaHimba and the exterior world (http://wremmele.wix.com/photography#!himbainfo/c23p09).

By 1927, the OvaHimba constituted the dominant group in Kaokoland. Modelled on the ovahona system, the South African administration appointed chiefs to create a system of indirect control. In an inspection report on the Kaokoveld Nature Reserve, dated October 10, 1949, an OvaHimba

chief is quoted: "We are in difficulty. We are crying. We are imprisoned. We do not know why we are locked up. We are in a prison. We do not have a place to live..." (http://wremmele.wix.com/photography#!himbainfo/c23p09).

Since the beginning of the eighties, the Kaokoveld has become known to the outside world which attracted an unprecedented number of tourists to the area. This influx of tourists in the region has naturally aroused new appetites and aspirations amongst the inhabitants which became evident in members of the OvaHimba who started to show a predilection for Western foodstuffs as well as substances such as sugar, coffee, tobacco and alcohol.

The Namibian independence in 1990 and the South African independence in 1994 heralded the dawn of a new era in Southern Africa. This new era promised democracy, self-determination and equitable access to social goods provided by the state. This new era was in contrast to the colonial period when the respective administrations, as policy, attempted to control the material resources of the land, and sought to dominate the minds of the indigenous peoples (http://wremmele.wix.com/photography#!himbainfo/c23p09).

1.3.1 Lack of social development and unemployment problems

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In the modern society, the formal or informal employment for a significant number of people is a central feature of daily life and the main source of financial independence, status, prestige, identity and social participation. Unemployment is therefore a worrying concern since not only is unemployment a waste of human potential, that is skills and capacity, unemployment can also lead to marginalisation and social exclusion. Compared to the rest of Namibia, the Kunene region is relatively underdeveloped (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kunene Region) amongst all political regions in the country.

Opuwo village is the main settlement of the OvaHimba and OvaZemba. This village, characterized by a lack of social development such as easy access to educational and employment opportunities, has resulted in the OvaHimba and OvaZemba people not reaching their optimal educational level and/or employment potential. For example, the 2001 Namibian National Population and Housing Census reports that the educational levels of adults living in

rural areas are lower than the educational levels of adults living in urban centers; more than 65% of the adults in the Kunene region were found to be non-literate. If one compares the high non-literacy rate of those living in the Kunene regions with the overall literacy rate in Namibia which, according to the 2011 Population and Housing Census, is 89%, one realizes the extent of the marginalization of those living in the Kunene region (http://www.namibiansun.com/education/literacy-project-benefits-half-millionnamibians.56749).

1.4 Summary

This study concerned itself with the relationship between educational attainment and employment advancement among marginalized people in Namibia. Though Namibia appears to be ideally placed to provide all its citizens with a decent life consisting of access to quality education and economic opportunities, not all Namibian citizens have equal access to these opportunities. Despite the educational policies in Namibia to encourage school participation and schooling, the OvaHimba and OvaZemba's access to formal schooling and education remains low, even after the country gained independence more than 26 years ago. Furthermore, those who have gained access still struggle to be promoted within formal employment situations. This might be attributed to the low formal adult educational participation of the region. The next chapter reviews the literature relevant to this inquiry.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2. 1 Introduction

This section reviews the literature relevant to the following questions:

- What are the contextual, socio-political and socio-economic factors that contribute to educational success for the marginalized people in Kunene region, Namibia? and
- What are the factors that act as educational barriers and/or prevent the marginalized people in Kunene region from reaching their full educational and economic potential?

Specifically, this chapter examines the relationship between education and employability. This is followed by a review of literature which explores the conceptions of marginalization as well as conceptions of 'indigenous people'. Furthermore, it reviews the scholarly literature that focuses on perspectives on adult education and its potential to contribute to the empowerment and liberation of the marginalized people.

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2.2 Adult Education Policy Framework and Institutional Structure

Namibia's commitment to universal education is responsive to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which is made up of basic international statements of the inalienable and inviolable rights of all members of the human family (United Nations 1993, p.2). Article 26, which is one of this declaration states that:

Everyone has the right to education. [...] [T]echnical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality. (*ibid.*)

In addition to the ratification of this declaration, Namibia has enshrined this commitment in its constitution. Article 20 (i) of the Namibian Constitution states that, "All persons shall have the right to education" (The Constitution of the Republic of Namibia 1998, p.12).

The Namibian government operationalised this constitutional commitment by expanding its primary, secondary and tertiary educational provisions, including adult education. Adult education received significant attention as a form of compensation for past injustices in the educational provisions of education which the Namibians suffered under colonial rule (Indambawa 2008). The focus on Adult Education became clear when the government established the Directorate of Adult Basic Education. It introduced the National Literacy Programme and inaugurated Regional and District Adult Literacy Centres to support the Literacy Programme (Indambawa, 2008 p. 5). The government also expanded its overall educational provisions to adults and the youth by its establishment of vocational training colleges which are managed by the Namibian Training Authority (NTA) (Shaleyfu, 2006 p.15).

The adult education policy initiatives were motivated by a concern to rectify injustices of Namibian colonial history. These injustices resulted in significant numbers of Namibians being marginalized from the social goods on offer to the Namibian citizens.

But how is marginalization understood? This is a critical question which is addressed in the section which follows.

2.3 Conceptions of marginalization UNIVERSITY of the

'Marginalization' is a socially contested concept. The United Kingdom's Global Monitoring Report (2010) defines marginalization as "a form of acute and persistent disadvantage rooted in underlying social inequalities". Marginalization, in this sense, is thus conceived as a form of structural disadvantage which results from social inequality that has become the norm. Marginalization and exclusion occur when people are structurally and systematically excluded from meaningful participation in economic, social, political, cultural and other forms of human social activities. Educational marginalization can be measured by the inequality between educational attainments of distinct social groups within a particular society.

With its focus on educational provision and its effects, the Education for All (EFA) Global Monitoring Report (2012) maintains that: *educational marginalization* denotes the status of an individual who has attained an educational level significantly lower than average to feel like being denied because of his/her educational gap in the society in general. Corresponding to this conception, the *European Journal of Educational Studies* (2012) perceives a marginalized person

as one who has not been given any form of recognition due to being socio-politically and economically stigmatized within the society. The common thread that links each marginalized group is that these groups are prominent at the lower end of the distribution for education access and achievement in their respective societies (*ibid.*, p. 2). Accordingly, reaching and providing a meaningful education to the most marginalized in society poses a distributive set of challenges that go beyond promoting equity in general.

Milbourne (2002) argues that the consequence of social exclusion is the social marginalization of people from societal resources such as education and employment. Milbourne (2002) explains that culturally and socially excluded groups and individuals "become isolated and prevented from participating in society in ways that other people take for granted" (*ibid.*, p. 287). For Milbourne (*ibid.*), therefore, marginalization has its origin and its continuity within social exclusion which is manifested in the excluded group suffering interlinked problems such as "low income, lack of employment, low skills, low self-esteem, poor health and housing conditions, high crime environments, family breakdown and mental illness".

Sharing the conceptions of marginalization above, the Report of the African Commission's Working Group of Experts on Indigenous Population/Communities (2005, pp. 13, 86) uses the term "marginalized" to describe their assessment of the indigenous communities in Africa to "assist them in calling attention to the situation of the indigenous communities".

Based on the discussion of marginalization, in the context of Namibia, it can be argued that the OvaHimba and the OvaZemba, who are regarded as indigenousness peoples, meet the criteria of being marginalized in the Namibian society. This study thus explores whether the OvaZemba and the OvaHimba meet the interlinked conditions that confirm that they are socially marginalized as cultural groups in Namibia as identified by Milbourne (2002).

The term marginalization must however be used with caution as some of the OvaHimba/OvaZemba people shun the concept in its usage since the term might be equated with "begging" and the OvaHimba, in particular, are inherently a proud people (*The Sun*, 14/05/2013). For this reason, this study uses social exclusion and marginalization interchangeably.

2.4 Relationship between education and employability

The scholarly literature assumes that employability is beneficial for all in society including adults who are socially excluded. It is assumed that increasing the employability potential of people will ensure less employment insecurity (Brown, Hesketh, & Williams, 2003) and will, accordingly, ensure greater social participation by all in society.

Since employability signals a level of 'development' in relation to a specific job, it is assumed that education has a substantial impact on employment prospects. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 2011) is convinced of the positive relationship between education and employability and argues that it is "desirable to complement early [educational] interventions with adult learning" (2004, p. 207). Furthermore, according to them, people with higher levels of education in general have better job prospects and the difference is particularly marked between those who have attained upper secondary education and those who have not (*ibid.*).

Accepting that a tertiary educational attainment has a positive impact on employment prospects, Chung (1993) warns that while lack of education may be a hindrance to development, educational expansion, which has not been integrated into the process of development, can equally be a source of frustration and an expensive waste.

Despite Chung's (1993) warning, it has been accepted that education is necessary for employment and development in contemporary society (OECD 2004; 2011). Therefore the critical point of concern is: What about those who are denied employment opportunities due to being excluded from educational opportunities? It is to this issue that we now turn to in the following section.

2.5 Adult education and social inclusion

Cranton (1994) defines 'Adult Learning' as a process of being freed from the oppression of being illiterate; as a means of gaining knowledge and skills; as a way to satisfy learner needs; and as a process of critical self-reflection that can lead to transformation. Adult Basic Education in South Africa is often described as a key vehicle in the reconstruction and development of the

country (*Journal of Education*, 2003). Namibia, sharing the same historical roots with South Africa of racial discrimination and its consequence economic disparity, fits within the "reconstruction and development of the country" concept as defined above. Adult Education in Namibia has to open up its content and process to the reality of the concrete power structures, concrete dominant relations of production and distribution of resources, and of all forms of inequality within the society. This opening up, in Freirean terms is a method which equips the oppressed learners (and the oppressors) to gain awareness of their dehumanizing situation. (www.col.org/)

Olufunke and Ademola (2012) maintain that the wide scope of Adult Education is able to care for everybody's needs within the society through its varied programs. In conceiving education as a way of preparing individuals for participation in the community they live, Wells (1929) states that:

adult education, [...] whether formal or otherwise, whether they prolong or replace initial education in school as well as in apprenticeship, [...] enrich [people's] knowledge, improve their technical or professional qualifications [...] bring about changes in their attitudes or behaviour [in order] to bring about balance and independent, social, economic and cultural development. (Quoted in Anyanwu 2002, p. 79, emphasis added)

In this sense, Adult Education can contribute to development. Adult Education has the potential to contribute to the democratization process as well as empowering individuals and social groups. If this is the promise of Adult Education, it is surely needed by those who are socially and politically excluded in society such as the OvaHimba and OvaZemba.

Olufunke and Ademola (2012) concur that Adult Education can empower the marginalized to become what they want to become and to bring the best solutions to problems besetting them in a bid to move them up the social ladder. This is precisely why Adult Education provision is regarded as critical by the Namibian Directorate of Adult Education (DAE) under whose responsibility Adult Education falls. In carrying out this responsibility, the DAE wants to ensure the availability of educational opportunities for all adults in Namibia in order that they acquire

knowledge, skills and positive attitudes to participate in the socio-economic activities of the country and improve the quality of their lives (www.moe.gov.na/).

2.6 Adult education and social liberation

Distinctively adult domains of learning involve emancipatory action which necessarily leads to *perspective transformation*. Perspective transformation, a concept used by Mezirow (1981), is the emancipatory process of becoming critically aware of how and why the structure of psychocultural assumptions has come to constrain the way we see ourselves and our relationships, reconstituting this structure to permit a more inclusive and discriminating integration of experience and acting upon these new understandings. He further postulates that it is indeed the learning process by which adults come to recognize their culturally induced dependency roles and relationships and the reasons for them to take action in order to overcome these dependencies (*ibid.*).

There are constant dangers of reinforcing marginalization or unwittingly colluding with the forces that create it (http://www.compsy.org.uk). This view is echoed by a vast body of work done by educators, community workers, social movements, and community psychologists who associate themselves with the Latin-American model of liberatory praxis (Montero, 1994, 1998; Quintal de Freitas, 2000; Sánchez. & Wiesenfeld, 1991; Freire 1974, 1994; Freire & Faundez, 1989; and Fals Borda 1988). This liberatory praxis model aims to re-theorise educational provision as a social practice that involves the active participation of oppressed groups in determining their own learning needs as well as finding answers to their social problems. A key theme in the perspective of education for liberation is that liberation is not a thing, nor can it be located in a moment in time. It is not something to be given. Instead, education for liberation should be conceived of as a movement and involving a series of processes. It has origins in the interaction of two types of agents or activists. Firstly, it requires external catalytic agents and secondly the oppressed groups themselves (http://www.compsy.org.uk). External agents might initiate and facilitate educational activities; however, ultimately it is the oppressed/marginalized groups in society that will find solutions to their social problems.

It is my contention that in the context of Opuwo, the external catalytic agents are those that were opportune to go and work in the major urban towns and cities. These include some who went to study and work overseas but came back with a vast reservoir of experience to plough back into their communities. However, even though the oppressed groups themselves never left the locales, they remain in a better position to know and understand their communities better than the external agents.

The community members bring their own commitment, their local knowledge and contacts, and their lived experiences of what life is like to their educational interaction. From the combination of these sources, action can emerge which has social transformation as its primary aim. Ideas from adult education and related fields can create a synergy with local knowledge to bring about liberatory change (Burton & Kagan, 2000; Choudhury & Kagan, 2000; Kagan, 1995; Mollison, 1988). One of the greatest challenges is to make such projects connect to contribute to broader social change in the interests of the marginalized people everywhere. (http://www.compsy.org.uk)

2.7 Recognizing traditional education and culture

Frequently, traditional education and culture are ignored when educating indigenous communities. Neegan (2005) maintains that residential schools and Eurocentric schools were and are still traumatic to indigenous communities such as OvaHimba and OvaZemba. Long before the arrival of Europeans, indigenous peoples had a highly developed system of education. Indeed, it was the duty and responsibility of parents, elders and members of the community as a whole, to teach younger people and to ensure that their education leads to a good life. Learning was for living and survival (http://earthpeoples.org/blog/?tag=guarani-kaiowa, Thursday, January 10th, 2013).

2.8 Educational barriers

By definition, an educational barrier can be described as any obstacle that obstructs or restrains educational progress or access (Fall, 2009). Adults are exposed to a variety of obstacles in their pursuit to access education or succeed within the educational system. These obstacles are viewed as educational barriers. Swanson and Woitke (1997, p. 434) define barriers as "events or

conditions, either within the person or in his or her environment, that make career progress difficult". This suggests that educational barriers are both intrapersonal (e.g., self-concept) and environmental (e.g., workplace discrimination). Though Swanson and Woitke (1997) focus on environmental barriers, the purpose of this study is to investigate educational barriers confronting rural adults.

In exploring educational barriers experienced by working class people in East End Glasgow returning to education, Natalie Sinclair (2011) found that the reluctance to enter the world of adult education was caused by a host of inter-related and complex issues which included family commitments, motivation, self-confidence, previous educational experience and lack of time. By far the biggest barrier was the learner's low self-esteem. Furthermore, she also identified motivation to learn as a significant barrier (*ibid*.).

2.8.1 Economic and skill shortages

High levels of unemployment are major barriers for economic growth that aims to benefit the poor. Lack of appropriate educational skills and qualifications seems to limit employment opportunities. This is further corroborated by the fact that 20% of employees in Namibia have no education for the profession they are in (esnam.org.). Furthermore, about 45% of those who are employed only attended primary school and the number of qualified, well-educated Namibians is very low (*ibid.*)

While the low educational attainment and lack of skilled workers are of course a legacy of colonial times, the question remains as to why independent Namibia has not managed to overcome these weaknesses since independence.

2.8.2 Distances

Distance to educational facilities is surely a barrier that prevents people in the Kunene district from reaching their real potential (http://www.namibiansun.com/education/literacy-project-benefits-half-million-namibians.56749).

Though opportunities for education and employment need to be local, a study conducted among Canadian aborigines found that aboriginal adults who have moved to urban communities have been successful in making the transition into education and employment (Brown, Fraehlich &

Debassige 2012). This finding has raised the perception that in order for aboriginal adults to succeed, they need to move outside their community boundaries to secure education and jobs. However, the question that follows this assertion is that; how realistic is such a strategy in general and in particular for the OvaHimba and OvaZemba in Opuwo.

2.8.3 Socio-cultural barriers

The OvaHimba leaders complain that the culturally inappropriate school system can threaten their culture, identity and way of life as a people (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Himba people). This complaint had its origins in the initiative by the governments of Norway and Iceland to fund mobile schools for OvaHimba children, which have subsequently been taken over by the Namibia Education Department since 2010. In this complaint it is clear that the OvaHimba and OvaZemba indigenous people still embrace their traditional way of life and view development changes as unwelcome.

2.9. Summary

This review of the literature focused on marginalization and the provision of education in general. It examined perspectives on how educational barriers impact educational access and success as well as employment prospects. It also focused on adult education as a vehicle for social liberation and emancipation.

The next chapter details the research methodology used to conduct this study.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of the research methodology used in this study. Flowing from the aims of the study, it begins with a brief narrative on the development of the research question and its theoretical underpinnings. It provides a snapshot of the research participants before elaborating the qualitative research methodology. It then turns to a discussion of data collection techniques utilized and gives an indication of how data analysis was conducted. It identifies the key themes emerging from the data. The section ends with some remarks on ethical considerations and a brief comment of the limitations of this study.

A qualitative research approach was found suitable for exploring the research questions:

- What are the contextual, socio-political and socio-economic factors that contribute to educational success for the marginalized people in Kunene region, Namibia? and
- What are the factors that act as educational barriers and/or prevent the marginalized people in Kunene region from reaching their full educational and economic potential?

According to Denzin and Lincoln (1994), qualitative research focuses on the interpretation of phenomena in their natural settings to make sense in terms of the meanings people bring to these settings. Qualitative research also involves collecting information about personal experiences, introspection, life story, interviews, observations, historical interactions and visual text which are significant moments and meaningful in people's lives.

The qualitative methodology employed in this study allowed me to draw boundaries for the topic and provide me with insights into how the OvaHimba and OvaZemba people talk about the subject under investigation.

Moreover, I chose to use a qualitative research methodology to explore aspects of learning that cannot be quantified since they reflect people's personal interpretations of issues such as marginalization, professionalism, employment opportunities and barriers. The drive behind my research project is my desire, as a learning-practitioner within the Adult Education field to

understand learning and knowledge. This method allowed me as a researcher to become subjectively immersed in the subject matter, whereas in a quantitative research approach a researcher tends to remain objectively separated from the subject matter. The qualitative approach provides more direct access to the phenomenon under investigation and adds context to a specific reality which social theories and the literature address in a general sense.

I decided to use questionnaires to collect the data for this study as well as interview key informants and these are discussed in more detail later in the sections which follow.

3.2 Philosophical theories underpinning this study

The aim of the study was to critically analyze the perspectives as mirrored in the literature that examine the contributions adult education can make to the liberation of people that are marginalized from educational and employment opportunities. The research questions underpinning this study were influenced by Paulo Freire's perspective; who drew a distinction between *critical awareness* and *critical understanding*. Freire (1988) states that *critical awareness* is a necessary but insufficient condition for *critical understanding*. Rather, he argues that "once man (sic) perceives a challenge, understands it, and recognizes the possibilities of response, he acts" (1998, p. 83). Critical understanding, therefore, implies the capacity for critical action or engagement to transform the world. Education has a subversive potential for social transformation since it is my contention that educational provision is not politically neutral. According to Paulo Freire (*ibid.*), education is a tool for social change and not only a means to become literate and/or successful as an individual. Instead, successes should be vested in capacity building and empowerment for all in society be they traditional leaders or the child in early childhood development initiatives.

3.3 Developing the research question

A research question is a statement that identifies the phenomenon to be studied. (http://theresearchassistant.com/tutorial/2-1.asp). As previously discussed in the introduction, the research question developed from an initial quest to understand persons as those individuals who are not accorded even a limited form of recognition due to them being educationally, economically and politically marginalized and stigmatized (*European Journal of Educational*)

Studies, 2012). In formulating the research question, I therefore, as a critical scholar and adult learning practitioner, made a basic assumption following Freire's perspective (1973) on critical understanding, that *critical consciousness* is a key variable in shaping how people respond to situations, issues and events. Again influenced by the work of Freire (1973; 1984) and drawing on Gramsci's (1971) conception of hegemony; Brookfield (2005) on 'the conspiracy of the normal' and Chomsky (1988) on 'manufacturing consent', I view critical consciousness as a precondition in determining transformative action and the process of how human beings make a transition from being objects to being subjects of history (Freire, 1970).

Adult learning in the context of critical theory must of necessity develop 'forms of reasoning' that question the status quo, unmask power and explore how power affects the lives of the marginalized communities and challenge the dominant ideology. This perspective is consistent with Brookfield (2005) who maintains that critical theory is concerned about how adults learn about the existence of hegemony as a set of ideas, practices and institutions that actually work against their own best interests and about their own complicity in the continued existence of this process of hegemony. Finally adult learning in the context of critical theory is about how, in the process of contesting this hegemony, adults learn to interpret their experiences in ways that generate and promote solidarity with others and collective engagement.

The theoretical underpinnings of the study therefore decisively influenced the aims of the study and my interpretation of the nature of the participants' understanding of the consequences of social exclusion - the social marginalization of people from societal resources such as education and employment that other people take for granted (Milbourne, 2002).

3.3.1 Answering the question of marginalization

Hampson (1990) proposes an inductive approach to the socioeconomic status of the rural elderly which, in the Zimbabwean situation, resulted in them being marginalized. This view of marginalization complements other perspectives on development that see the rural elderly, like other rural peasants, as victims of an undifferentiated process of modernization, in which all rural inhabitants are assumed to be disadvantaged in relation to urban groups. It further sees the rural elderly as no different to other groups because of their age, but like the whole population divided into classes that become disadvantaged when they lack control of the means of production (*The*

Journal of Social Development in Africa, 1990). Hence, as part of the methodology of this study, I outline further the importance of finding out how the situation of marginalization shows a difference between the rich and poor. Flynn, Brown, Johnson and Rodger (2009), supported by Flemming (2010), argue that despite robust inclusive education policies in place, in many societies there are still communities that are entangled in the education deprivation trap. MacKeracher (2006) agrees that in most countries adult literacy programs benefit the more already enlightened members of society, leaving out the marginalized poor, thus being exclusive rather than inclusive. MacKeracher (2006), accordingly, debates that the lack of vision and the need for educational provisions for the marginalized in society result in communities remaining illiterate and thus unable to join the society's mainstream and thus contribute to economic development. Sligo et al. (2005), MacKeracher (2006) and Flemming (2010) share the argument that without winning the hearts of all groups of society, (including the marginalized, poor and vulnerable groups) education remains exclusive rather than inclusive.

The Namibian President, Hage Geingob in his maiden speech at the United Nations General Assembly acknowledged the perpetual cycles of poverty and despair. He stated that "although Namibia is doing quite well as a maturing, stable, peaceful and democratic society, the country still faces the challenge of rectifying socio-economic deficits and entrenched poverty" (quoted in *The Namibian Newspaper*, Thursday 01 October, 2015, p.5). There is no doubt that poverty should be regarded mostly to be caused by the deprivation of elementary capabilities which are reflected in widespread illiteracy. According to Flynn et al. (2009), illiteracy denies people the skills, knowledge and attitudes needed for every day survival hence it perpetuates a syndrome of dependence. Therefore one cannot eradicate poverty in a society when some citizens are left out from the basic literacy education (Flemming, 2010). Consequently, the type of methodological research instruments used in this study engaged the research informants to confirm the issue of marginalization in the Kunene region.

3.4 Research informants

The informants in this study were participants from diverse residential, organizational and occupational backgrounds. They included school graduates and 'dropouts', teachers or education

administrators, adult education policymakers working in the administration, and volunteers. What was common with all of them was that they are all members of either the OvaHimba or the OvaZemba groups.

3.5 Research instruments

Both semi-structured interviews and questionnaires were used to collect data for this study. I conducted face-to-face interviews using open-ended questions. According to Alice Bloch (in Seale, 2004, p. 165) an interview is normally associated with qualitative research. A qualitative interview is generally non-standardised but is guided by a topic or themes. The order of the questions and the words may vary. This suggests that qualitative interviews make room for flexibility in order to reach greater depth and/or make provisions for changes in the context. I adopted this method as it allowed informants to raise what they believe is necessary.

Also, interviews allow both the interviewer to clarify complex questions or misunderstandings as well as allow the interviewee to request further clarity. But interviews generally take longer to complete.

Due to the distance from Windhoek to Opuwo, the researcher found it necessary to make use of an Opuwo based education officer (also Otjizemba speaking) as an assistant to disseminate half of the questionnaire and do half of the interviews. The researcher who is Windhoek-based handled a part of the questionnaires and interviews locally among those respondents who are from Opuwo but are based in Windhoek for employment or educational purposes.

3.4 Research focus, qualitative research strategy and research techniques.

The units of analysis for this research were threefold:

- the research interview materials and content:
- the responses, comments and perspectives of participants; and
- the emerging consciousness and understanding of the participants.

The research strategy was influenced by the fact all the data was collected through face-to-face interactions and focus group discussions.

The interview schedule, as a qualitative research technique, was designed to gather the meanings, understandings, and assumptions of participants. Semi-structured interviews were the most appropriate data collection technique as "[...] keeping structure to a minimum is supposed to enhance the opportunity of genuinely revealing the perspective of the people you are studying" (Bryman, 2008, p.389). Semi-structured interviewing, according to Bernard (1988), is best used when you will not get more than one chance to interview someone and when you will be sending several interviewers out into the field to collect data. For instance, the interviews explored concepts of human rights, tolerance, education, understanding, and the underlying values behind these as articulated by interviewees. Furthermore, it was important not to just focus on what messages were learnt, but how the learning took place, as well as to what end; in other words the outcome of learning. This strategy supported the interpretivist epistemological position adopted in this study.

The interview schedule was a guide developed over time with feedback and suggestions from my supervisors. It was tested telephonically with a few respondents and refined for clarity. Although the guide was in English, some of the respondents preferred to speak in Otjizemba and the questions had then to be actively translated on the spot staying as closely as possible to the figurative meaning of the original.

Face-to-face interviews were conducted with individuals at places most convenient to them. Each interview took on average forty five minutes. The interviews sought to gather information on all those practices and procedures that exclude or discourage adults from working and participating in educational activities. The interview sought to gather information on personal background and motivation to get involved in adult learning, values and the philosophy underpinning the situation. The focus in all interviews was on dispositional barriers related to people's attitudes and perceptions.

The interview schedule for the participants covered the following aspects:

- (a) barriers to education that exist for rural adults,
- (b) actions that are needed to provide adequate educational and employment opportunities for rural adults, and

(c) public opinions with regards to policies that are needed to reduce education barriers and/or improve educational and employment opportunities for rural adults.

Open ended questionnaires were given to the literate respondents who were able to complete in detail. The questionnaires were made open to avoid restricting respondents to the constructs of the researcher. Focus group discussions were conducted with groups at adult literacy centers and these were facilitated by adult literacy tutors.

Twenty one (21) questionnaires were initially sent to members of the OvaHimba/OvaZemba that were identified in the categories of adult learning. However, five were sent to programs that are not viable education alternatives.

Nevertheless, only 12 questionnaires were received back, and still only nine questionnaires were found usable and/or to be considered for this study. The other questionnaires were found not useful due to the fact that many of the respondents could not read or write properly, and as a result, one could not make any sense of what they had written about. However, as I started analyzing the nine questionnaires, I later realized that only seven (out of nine) were useful. Hence I decided to ignore two of the nine completed questionnaires, as I could not comprehend these at all in terms of what was written or meant in some instances. For example, in response to the question on what is their comment on various developments that are happening in Opuwo, two respondents just wrote 'good' without giving any explanations.

3.5 Data analysis

The approach taken for the purposes of data analysis involved an inductive process that emerged from thematic editing of data, informed by the research question, as well as in dialogue with the supervisor. There were four key thematic areas, under each of which the main question and themes emerged and were used as a framework for analysis:

These are discussed in the next section. In addition, at the end of each interview I made notes consisting of my own reflections. These were then interrogated in an on-going process in light of both Freirean and critical theory perspectives. This was also important from the point of view of moving consistently backwards and forwards between the data and the theory in a critical way.

Theme 1: Barriers to education

Theme 2: Being marginalized

Theme 3: Education and employment advancement

Theme 4: What adult opportunities of education would you like to have

As the data was analyzed, trends and patterns began to emerge and take shape. The next section on findings and analysis will deal with these.

3.6 Ethical considerations

At the stage of initial contact with the potential interviewee, I introduced myself as the researcher and explained how I got the contact details of the individual concerned and then proceeded to explain what I was doing, what was the purpose of the research, how it will be used and then I asked whether the individual was willing to participate in the research. (See Appendix A. consent to act as a human research subject format). At the interview stage, again I explained what the research was all about and how it would be used including respecting the confidentiality of participants and then I asked them if they were willing to proceed before asking them to read and sign a consent form. Once the consent was given, I proceeded with the interview. In presenting the findings and analysis, I have refrained from using actual names of participants and instead I used pseudonyms to protect the identity of interviewees.

3.7 Limitations of the study

This study had to be completed within a six month period since it formed part of my structured Masters Programme. The research was sequenced as the last component within the program. Added to this was the challenge of my research site which was located 709 kilometers from Windhoek where I resided. Furthermore, being located in a different country to my supervisor implied that we had to rely on a secure communication network. This I must confess was not reliable since the telephone and internet communication between my supervisor and I was often interrupted which placed a tremendous strain on this research task.

While this chapter looked at the research design and methodology, the next will focus on the research findings and analysis.

CHAPTER 4: DATA ANAYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this qualitative case study was to identify the situational, institutional and dispositional barriers that have stifled the educational progress of OvaHimba and OvaZemba people and explore the potential of Adult Education to improve their formal educational qualifications. This chapter therefore presents and analyses the findings of the study as investigated and emerged from the data collected and analyzed. It should be emphasized once more, that the qualitative study employing a case study methodology was conducted with data collected from observations, interviews and document collection. I have visited the Kunene region several times in order to fully investigate this phenomenon within its real-life context.

Hence the study found out:

- the contextual and social factors that contribute and impede educational success for the marginalized people in the Kunene region in Namibia; and
- whether and how the provision of Adult Education might enhance the educational qualifications of the adults within the Kunene region.

4.2 Data presentation and analysis of findings

This section describes the analysis of data followed by a discussion of the research findings. The findings relate to the research questions that guided the study. Data were analyzed to identify, describe and explore the relationship between educational attainment and employment advancement among the OvaHimba and OvaZemba adults in Opuwo, Kunene region and to determine the need to enhance a better life.

4.2.1 Findings from the questionnaires

The following table (Table 4.1) presents both the gender, age group and the highest qualifications of the respondents to the questionnaires.

4.2.1.1 Gender, age group and the highest qualifications

Table 4.1: Participants' demographic and social characteristics and level of education

Total number of respondents	Gender: Male	Gender Female	Age group	Highest Educational Qualification
7	5	2	4 between 30-34 3 between 34-39	All seven respondents have less than Grade 12 qualification

Looking at the level of qualifications (as in Table 4.1) of the respondents, it is clear that they would find it difficult to respond to the questionnaires; hence most of their answers were incomplete.

4.2.1.2 Themes: Education and employment

On the question if they would be prepared to go back to school again, three preferred *part time/after work* while one favored attending full-time 'classrooms' as forms of schooling. None of the respondents responded to the question as to how they have learnt their culture, child-rearing and cattle-rearing. To the question of whether there is an Adult Education Centre in their area, four respondents responded in the affirmative, and they further indicated that the OvaHimba and OvaZemba do visit the center, meaning that members of these communities do participate in the programs offered at the center.

In response to the question about the different languages spoken by the OvaHimba and OvaZemba other than English, they identified Oshiwambo and Otjiherero as the other languages they are competent in.

On the employment questions, all four indicated that they are employed [one is a literacy teacher and the other is a health worker, the other is a traditional cattle herder and the last one is doing one-on-one tutoring sessions with different individuals during drop-in sessions].

In response to the question about the similarities they share with fellow co-workers, all of them ticked each of the following responses as they were listed in the questionnaire:

- ✓ same gender as colleagues
- ✓ same race or ethnic background as colleagues
- ✓ same languages as colleagues
- ✓ same socio-economic background as colleagues
- ✓ live in same neighborhood as colleagues
- ✓ same or similar work background as colleagues
- ✓ same or similar educational background as colleagues (only two ticked this one)

In response to the question about challenges to job opportunities, all four indicated that qualifications are a hindrance for them to get permanent employment.

Looking at the situation as outlined by the respondents themselves, there is a serious educational and employment predicament that needs urgent attention from the Namibian government.

4.2.2 Findings from interviews

Interview took two formats: Individual interviews and focus group discussions

Seven participants were interviewed by the researcher between August 2014 and January 2015. Participants' ages ranged from 21 to 24 years. The males were in the majority which is inconsistent with international trends where most participants in adult educational provisions are females.

All participants described their experience of school in varied terms of educational achievement and the age at which they left school. The responses from the interviewees are as follows:

4.2.2.1 Profile of participants in the study

Informant one was a 23 year old male who lived with friends. He left school aged 16 with no formal qualifications after he failed his grade 10. After leaving school he tried to find a job. He has not returned to education since. At the time of interview, he had never been employed. He described his experience of trying to get a job as unsuccessful because of his limited educational qualifications. Participant one appeared comfortable talking about his experiences though he kept his responses concise.

Informant two was a 30 year old female who lived with friends. She left school at age 15 with limited formal qualification. However, with her limited schooling-leaving knowledge, she was able to enroll for a one-year Childcare certificate. Thus she successfully completed the course after a period of one year. However, even though she obtained the Childcare certificate, she failed to obtain employment in that field or any other field. Contrary to the first interview, this informant was confident, outspoken and she initiated the conversation. This suggests that informant two is empowered to express her perspectives and is not easily intimidated.

Informant three was a 32 year old male who lived with his parents. He left school at age 11. Even though he attended school, he did not obtain any formal school qualification. Despite this he was able to, over the next few years, work on and off as a casual laborer. However, these are precarious employment opportunities as he had to give up as a result of him being involved in an accident which left him partly physically challenged. He considered attending a training college, but due to his formative formal qualification, he was denied access. As I listened to his experiences, I could not help but feel both being shocked and saddened. There was a sense that his condition had prevented him from achieving his goals.

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Informant four was a 53 year old male. When he was in his matriculation year, he entered into a relationship with a girl which resulted in him having to leave school without him attaining his grade 12 qualifications. He then went into farming. Apart from farming, he also worked in a supermarket and a retail store for six years. Informant four engaged well with the interview, talking confidently and openly about his experiences.

Informant five was a 38 year old male who left school at age 16. This informant progressed well at school since he reached grade 10. However, due to his mother becoming ill and eventually dying, he had to leave school because he had to look after his siblings. His only experience of formal employment was being employed as a handyman at the local garage. But this was for a very short period. He is confident that if provided with the opportunity, he would make a success of his education and obtain a qualification which will allow him to gain employment. His is interested in completing a vocational qualification.

Informant six was a 45 year old female. She was unemployed and had never been employed in the formal economy other than a casual worker in a hairdressing salon. Different from the previous informants, informant six was still working towards the achievement of her life goals.

Informant seven was a 48 year female who was an Education Officer in the Ministry of Education, in Opuwo. After leaving school she attended three different institutions and obtained three qualifications which included Industrial Relations, Teaching, and Information Technology (IT). She was initially employed in an administrative position; after that she taught at a school and at the time of interview she was employed as an Education Officer.

4.3 Data analysis and emergent discussions

4.3.1 Contextual and social factors that contribute and or impede educational success

This study found that the Namibian Ministry of Education has contributed to creating the appropriate legislative and regulatory environment for educational access to adults and youth through its numerous education policy initiatives (see *Sector Policy on Inclusive Education*, 2013, Ministry of Education). These policy initiatives are equally meant to ensure that OvaHimba and OvaZemba have access to educational opportunities. The establishment of the Adult Education Centre in Opuwo is a testimony that the government is committed to ensuring the provision of adult education in the region. However, it must be stated that the process is very slow.

Furthermore, policies such as the National Policy Options for the Education of Marginalised Children (Ministry of Basic Education, 2000); the National Sector Policy on Orphans and Vulnerable Children (2008); and the National Policy on Inclusive Education (Ministry of Education, 2008) reinforce the Namibian government's commitment to inclusive and adult education. These policies commit the government to ensure that every Namibian citizen, including adults, have access to education and training. Adults are explicitly named in the Namibian Education for All (EFA) National Plan of Action which states that the Education Department must,

... ensure that Namibian children, out of school youth and adults ...

acquire knowledge skills and attitudes that will help them continuously to improve the quality of their lives and their community, and exercise their right and responsibilities... (Ministry of Basic Education, 2002, p.6).

Having made this commitment, the government came to the realization that the aim to achieve the goal of education for all was a challenge. The Ministry of Education identified and highlighted insufficient material resources and under-qualified teaching personnel, amongst others, as critical factors that inhibit the Government from reaching the goal of providing quality education to all its citizens (ibid., p. 12). Adding to these challenges, it became evident that the limited resources which were available were inequitably distributed. In particular, the government became conscious that the communities most affected by lack of access to educational opportunities and resources were the "OvaHimba" and "farm workers" (ibid., p.13). After realizing these challenges of the inaccessibility of education to these groups, the government introduced its Sector Policy on Inclusive Education (Ministry of Education, 2013) that focused on contributing to the achievement of the goal of Education for All through a holistic framework for learning and participation, with a specific focus on learners who are educationally marginalized (Sector Policy on Inclusive Education, Ministry of Education, 2013, p. 4).

The policies identified above recognized that community members needed to develop diversified skills which are important for everyday living as well as knowledge and skills development for specialized occupations. However the challenge has been the incompatibility of the intended skills to be developed with the cultural lifestyles of the OvaHimba and OvaZemba. Thus the National Policy Option for the Educationally Marginalized (2000) acknowledges that the OvaHimba and OvaZemba are pastoralists and accordingly also need knowledge and skills that will improve their pastoral practices specific to the environment within which they live. In addition, they require knowledge and skills that will give them access to employment opportunities beyond their immediate environments. Particularly, since these communities are dependent on the productivity of their small and large stock, they require education that will enable them to manage their livestock to survive in physical environments characterized by drought and water scarcity. This perspective is echoed by the Kunene Regional Administrator

who stated that "the local people need to be convinced to sell their livestock during droughts so that they do not lose. After selling the livestock they can bank the money and when there are better rains they can again purchase some cattle," (Kunene Regional Administrator, interviewed 12 August 2015). Conversely, an elderly Zemba male informant disagreed with the Regional Administrator by pointing out that "pastoralist OvaHimba and OvaZemba are generally reluctant to sell their cattle, as the animals' cultural worth exceeds their commercial value. Given their poor state, they will earn their owners only a pittance" (Informant in focus group discussion, August 2015). In other words, he reminded the focus group that cattle have cultural value and significance which cannot be compared with their monetary value.

The inclusive education policy is said to have enhanced strong support for adult education in all the 14 regions of Namibia. Special attention has been given to the regions where the majority of the socially excluded OvaHimba and OvaZemba communities live. According to Sherman (2013) this has resulted in an increase in adult literacy education programs, though attendance and participation of the adult learners at these programs remained low. Why is this so? We will explore this further in these pages.

The special commitment to provide educational opportunities for those marginalized in Namibia partly explains increased access to education in the Kunene region. This is evident in Table 4.1, that at least all respondents have gained some form of formal education. Before independence, it was very rare to see OvaHimba and OvaZemba people going to school. As they are a nomadic people (see 4.4.1), they move from one place to another, and that makes it difficult for children to remain in school. In order to ensure that children do attend school despite their nomadic lifestyle, the Namibian government introduced a mobile school program in the Kunene region. These schools are as nomadic as the communities they are supposed to serve. So, as the community moves in search of better grazing for their cattle and livestock, the school will follow and move with the community. (http://reliefweb.int/report/namibia/namibia-drought-hits-kunene)

The Education Officer (Focused Group discussant, August 2015) emphasized that "Adult Education in Kunene is a priority issue which is being attended to by the Ministry of Education and the Office of the Prime Minister". This commitment to establish Adult Education Programs that cater for the needs of the OvaHimba and OvaZemba communities are consistent with the

requirement in the Namibian Constitution, Article 20 as well as the Education Act, 2001 (No. 16 of 2001), section 63.

Now this study will focus on the incongruence of the educational curriculum and the Kunene region cultural practices.

4.3.2 Educational curriculum incongruent with cultural practices

One of the factors that contribute to the seemingly lack of participation in formal educational opportunities within the Kunene Region is the incongruence of the formal educational curriculum and the cultural practices of the OvaHima and OvaZemba communities. Responding to the challenges of educational provisions to the OvaHimba and Ovazemba communities, respondents to this study said that the curriculum was culturally insensitive to the local community's cultural practices, which resulted in a resistance to support the schooling initiatives. In the words of one of the community leaders: "The education system violates our local culture and imposes ways of dressing that are not compatible with the local culture thus teaching learners to abandon their local culture" (Informant 1, August 2015, translated assertion). This respondent further indicated that the children may want to attend school but the adults have "rejected" this, labeling the education as provided by the current curriculum as a "threat to the culture of our community" (ibid.).

On further probing why the education system is a threat to the indigenous culture, Informant One indicated that "the establishment of schools are meant to force us to stay in one area while our way of living requires us to move around looking for better pastures of our cattle" (ibid.). This is a similar point raised earlier, but in this instance the informant viewed permanent schools a treat to the nomadic culture of his community.

Another issue that was highlighted to support the claim that the curriculum is incongruent with the cultural practices of the OvaHimba and OvaZemba was the issue of girls of school-going age being discouraged from early marriage. An elderly (male) interviewee expressed dissatisfaction that girls of school-going age were being discouraged from early marriage. He argued that "young girls, when married, even though of school-going age, should ideally be at home and start child-bearing. However, the schooling system discourages girls to stay longer in school

which undermines their culture" (Informant Two, August 2015). The issue of early marriage became a point of conflict since the government's 'education for all drive', promoted school completion as opposed to leaving school prematurely to get married.

Some even thought that the school curriculum deliberately ignored the cultures of the OvaHimba and the OvaZemba. An elderly respondent maintained that "the children are being taught reading and other information which leaves out our cultural beliefs and religion. Such an education system will make our children forget and despise their own culture" (Elderly respondent, August 2015).

These views draw attention to the need for the education curriculum to recognize, include and respond to the culture and the cultural practices of the OvaHimba and OvaZemba.

Reasons for the low participation in formal educational provisions were not limited to cultural congruencies mentioned above. On the contrary, other situational barriers were also identified.

4.4 Situational challenges

4.4.1 The nomadic lifestyles of the OvaHimba and the OvaZemba

As already mentioned, the semi-nomadic lifestyle of the OvaHimba and OvaZemba has impeded the educational progress of these communities in numerous ways. These communities are cattle herders in constant search of quality grazing for their cattle, goats and sheep. And to ensure that their livestock is secure from environmental dangers, every member of the community must avail themselves to perform these critical tasks of herding and protecting cattle. Informant Two (August 2015) emphasized this point by the asserting that "Children of school going age are not excluded from the responsibility of looking after and caring for the liveestock". This results in many of the OvaHimba and OvaZemba children not completing a full year of attendance at school and subsequently failing academically on numerous occasions. However, when the learner reaches the age of 21, he/she is excluded from participating in the formal schooling system and is advised to join the adult education sector and non-formal education provisions (Namibian Education Act, 2001). This partly explains why less than 24% of the young men

between the ages of 20-24 in the region do not have a secondary and/or higher education (Barak & Urdal, 2009, p. 6).

The low percentage of school completion does not mean that the OvaHimba and OvaZemba do not value formal education. On the contrary, they would eagerly attend, however, their age may be the barrier: "I would like to go back to school, but at my age, [...] it would be a problem getting admission" (Informant Seven, August 2015).

Even though the Namibian education system does make provisions for the education of adults as discussed earlier, this study found that the semi-nomadic life of the OvaHimba and OvaZemba makes it difficult to even attend these adult classes. "The OvaHimba and OvaZemba move from place to place herding their cattle following areas where there are better pastures" (The Villager Newspaper, 4 March 2016).

The fact that formal education still remains an alien concept makes it even more difficult for them to make sacrifices to attend adult and/or non-formal education classes which are already based on "foreign skills" (Haihambo & Brown, 2015).

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4.4.2 Language of learning and teaching

The official language in Namibia is English. However, the languages of learning and teaching can be categorised into two main language groups, namely the Bantu group and the Khoe group (Brock-Urne 1997). Based on an assessment of language proficiency during the interviewing process, this study found that respondents could express themselves fluently in Afrikaans and their mother tongue. The language issue was confirmed by the local councilor (during focused group discussions August 2015) who said, "the neglect of the area during colonial rule with regards to education resulted in many people here not being exposed to English and therefore teaching is mostly done using the local language" (Local Councilor). The implication of this finding is that the medium of instruction in the region is mostly using the local language with English being practically ignored. Also the finding that locally based personnel who act as adult literacy promoters will ensure that students benefit from the use of local languages. However, if

students are not introduced to the official language of Namibia, which is English, then they are excluded from gaining access to employment opportunities in the public service.

Another problem with adult educational provisions is that Adult Education does not have an independent institutional identity. Even though the Deputy Minister of Marginalized Communities in the Office of the Vice-President, Royal /Ui/o/oo (Office of the Prime Minister, 2015) strongly supports the establishment of adult literacy education among the OvaHimba and Ovazemba, the Adult Education provision is still viewed as an appendage to the schooling system. The local Councilor (ibid), for example, argued that "the dream of realizing benefits of Adult Education can only be felt if adult centers can be established at schools so that school principals can assist in supervising the centers", which suggests that Adult Education is viewed as a subset of the schooling system.

4.4.3 Institutional instability

Institutionally, the Adult Education provision in the Opuwo region is limited and very unstable. This study found that there is only one Adult Education Centre in Opuwo town, which focuses only on literacy promotion and school improvement subjects. No provision is made for vocational education and training, nor for other subjects relevant to the lives of adults. The Regional Education Officer confirmed that institutionally, adult education is very limited: "The presence of only one Adult Education Centre is insufficient for the need of adult education in the region" (Regional Education Officer, August 2015).

Institutional instability is also evident in the practice that requires facilitators to move (trek) with the moving community. According to the Regional Education Officer: "Facilitators employed by the Ministry of Education (now Ministry of Youth, National Service, Sports and Culture) are constantly on the move ('trek') since they are expected to follow the targeted communities, who are, in this instance, cattle herders who constantly move as they have to follow and stay in areas with quality grazing" (ibid).

Noting the challenge faced by literacy promoters, Tueumuna (2010) notes that the Kunene region is not too hospitable as it is located in a rough terrain with mountains and valleys, which makes it inaccessible to vehicles. Literacy promoters accordingly must travel on foot to reach the areas

where the OvaHimba and OvaZemba reside. This contributes to the challenges of providing Adult Education to these communities (ibid.).

Institutional instability is also evident in the practices of students who do not view educational provision as primary. It was common for those who attend school to first complete some domestic work before school, irrespective of whether such activities would result in their late arrival for school. This attitude and practices have the consequence that students frequently arrive at different times, making it difficult for the teacher to adhere and follow the class according to one of the teachers. (Teacher, August 2015). This teacher further indicated that most students struggle to concentrate due to tiredness which is the result of first completing their domestic work responsibilities and then coming to school (ibid.). Another teacher confirmed the problem of adhering to the time table: "In Kunene region it is difficult to adhere to the school time table as students arrive at different times, making it challenging to cover the syllabus" (Teacher 2, August 2015)

4.4.4 Scarcity of jobs

Employment opportunities in the Kunene region are very scarce. Not only are the OvaHimba and OvaZemba living in small communities, they are also isolated from other communities.

The industrial, tourism and agricultural sectors are still underdeveloped in the Kunene region which results in limited employment opportunities. Even paid domestic work is almost non-existent since each family takes responsibility for its own domestic work. Due to the scarcity of employment, job seekers in Opuwo town often settle for any job offered because there is almost no prospect of getting another or better job offer. The difficulty to gain quality employment was expressed by one of the informants who said that, "the available jobs include selling traditional crafts and clothes and sometimes you may spend the whole week without selling even one item. You spend the whole day without food and the owner of the wares does not give you anything if you did not sell because payment is commission based." (Informant Four, August 2015)

4.4.5 The urgent need of vocational training centers (VTC)

A feeling of almost 'loss' occurred when a female respondent on the question on what to choose between academic training and vocational training and what they would study and why, responded by stating that: "I would rather work as a mechanic or become a hairdresser than work as a doctor or lawyer; because these professions take long. As a rural Himba woman I would like vocational training that can be done in a matter of months so that I can start to work and earn some money which will allow me to take my place in the community" (Informant 5, August 2015)

The view was echoed by two other female respondents who argued that "empowering young women with skills and competencies allows them to enter the male dominated world of work".

The lack of any vocational training centers (VTC) in the Opuwo region does hamper the education and skills acquisition potential of the youth. The Namibian Government, through its Minister of Youth, National Service, Sports and Culture, Jerry Ekandjo, revealed an ambitious plan to build vocational training centers (VTCs) and youth and sports offices in the country's 121 constituencies. He stated: "Having VTCs in all 14 regions will make a difference as they will equip the youth with the required skills" (New Era, June 24, 2015). The establishment of these centers is also supported by the youth. A youth respondent maintained that "the vocational training centers will help us to acquire skills which we can use to start our own businesses" (Youth informant, August 2015). Another youth welcomed the idea and indicated that the "establishment of VTCs will contribute to the development of skills in areas such as building and carpentry which enable the local youths to compete for building tenders" (Youth informant 2, August 2015).

4.4.6 Technical skills

The interviewees were in agreement that technical and vocational skills were needed in the Kunene Region, especially for the youth. A male youth said that he would prefer "vocational skills, as vocational skills will enable the youth to come together and use the acquired skills to become self-reliant" (Youth informant 2, August 2015). However, not all youth saw themselves doing vocation training. Instead, some wanted to pursue a tertiary education and thus they expected that the Department of Education would provide them with the formative education that would make that possible: "Once I manage to get enough points I would prefer enrolling at the University of Namibia so that I may train as a teacher and come back home to encourage other youths to attend school" (Youth informant 3, August 2015).

4.4.7 Access to higher levels of employment

The respondents in this study expressed their frustration with the expectation that they have to compete "unfairly" with better qualified individuals from other regions for high levels of employment. They maintained that financial constraints and the inaccessibility of educational opportunities in the Kunene Region have prevented many from gaining educational qualifications. Because of their limited formal qualifications, available jobs opportunities are taken by people from other regions who have the required qualifications: "all the personnel employed in government offices, in the Ministry of Health and the majority of the teachers are not from this region" (Informant, 7 August 2015). The respondent was expressing the disadvantages that the local people experience.

These findings show the link between education and the development of human resources. The indication by OECD (2011) that education is critical in generating qualified personnel is evidenced in this scenario, and as observed and highlighted by Chung (1993), a community where the majority of community members do not proceed with tertiary education remains behind in formal employment. The situation justifies the need for serious attention to convince the indigenous people of Kunene to embrace education. One of the education officers expressed similar views during the focus group discussions that: "there is a need to intensify the promotion of the OvaZemba and the OvaHimba children who have managed to pass Grade 12 to attend tertiary education and come back home to motivate other learners to embrace education." (Education Officer 2, August 2015).

4.4.8 Road network and electronic communication

Transport was one of the challenges identified as inhibiting the movement and coordination of education activities. Most of the local people travelled on foot and a few on donkeys. A female Education Officer reported that "most schools were far from each other and the walking distance to the schools was too long for young children. Parents accordingly refuse to let their children walk for such long distances because they regard such walking as too difficult" (Education Officer, August 2015).

Internet and access to electronic communication were also regarded as challenges for educational success in these communities. The internet was only available in the town of Opuwo. This means

that those pupils living outside of Opuwo town are effectively denied access to electronic information which might be critical to their learning. Consistent with Muddiman (2011), this study confirms that lack of computers was one of the barriers to the provision of education among the people of the Kunene Region. One of the male Education Officers lamented the backwardness of the region in the use of computers by saying that "in most schools we cannot talk of computers but we need electricity first so that we can look for computers" (Education Officer 2, August, 2015).

In addition to poor education facilities and distance between schools challenges, the education officers unanimously agreed that the lack of qualified personnel was a challenge affecting the delivery of quality education. Nampa (2013) reported that 30% of the teachers in Kunene were unqualified. Commenting on the challenges the region experienced because of unqualified teachers, the Kunene Region's Chief Education Officer said that "the region has the capacity to produce better results if given the required support to compete on an equal footing with other regions" (August, 2015). The provision of quality education coupled with quality teaching in the region is compromised because of the high number of under and unqualified teachers in the profession. The Kunene Region's Chief Education Officer attributed poor working conditions such a lack of accommodation as one of the factors discouraging qualified teachers to teach in the region (Nampa, 2013). As suggested by OECD (2011), developing the region with regards to the provision of good roads, clean water and accommodation at schools may attract qualified personnel hence promote quality education.

4.5 Evolving conclusions and recommendations

The overriding purpose of this study was to seek focus on two main research areas – the contextual and social factors that contribute and impede educational success and whether and how the provision of adult education might enhance the educational qualifications of adults in Kunene Region. The findings from this study have been summarized in short paragraphs to draw together core strands from the analysis.

4.5.1 Culture

The study found cultural influences, attitudes and their way of life as shaping decisions and responses to education by the OvaZemba and OvaHimba communities in Opuwo, Kunene

Region. The need to conserve their culture makes the indigenous people of Kunene view any education program as a threat and the result is resistance to educational programs.

4.5.2 School-related issues

The study established that the early marriage of girls inhibited them from attending school up to high school level. This resulted in most of the girls having attended the primary school level only. The study also found that the local communities considered education to be a government program and thus the government has to provide school uniforms and pay for fees. As indicated earlier, the failure to access funds for school items have resulted in most boys and girls dropping out of school.

4.5.4 Employment

Education officers unanimously agreed that the lack of qualified personnel was a challenge affecting the delivery of quality education (Chief Education Officer, August 2015). Furthermore, the respondent attributed poor working conditions such as a lack of accommodation as one of the factors discouraging qualified teachers to teach in the region (Nampa, 2013). As suggested by OECD (2011), developing the region with regards to the provision of good roads, clean water and accommodation at schools may attract qualified personnel. It was further found that constituency based VTCs would empower the youth and provide them with trade skills and qualifications. Motor mechanics, for example, as a vocational trade is in high demand.

4.5.5. Under development of the region

The study further found that the general under-development of the region contributed to unfavourable conditions that result in a number of challenges. Poor transport networks presented challenges in communication and the coordination of education activities. Due to poor infrastructural development the region experienced a high staff turnover and this affected the quality service delivery.

Whilst the Namibian government has made much effort to make education accessible to the communities of Kunene region, the findings of the study show resistance from local communities as the major challenge in influencing acceptance. The overriding effect of culture in shaping the

response of the locals to education signals a paradigm change. If local people are at the forefront in planning and structuring the curriculum for Kunene region they may produce a curriculum that is culturally sensitive. Further research could be conducted to establish the cultural aspects which the community wants to be included in the curriculum so that the suggestions can be infused into the existing education program.

4.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, this study has covered aspects of barriers to education and employment in the Kunene Region as experienced by the OvaHimba and OvaZemba. This study would be beneficial to many professionals in Namibia especially those in the field of adult education and community development since it identifies the specific hindrances to the educational provision in the region. Further research is surely needed to determine how the communities would view the curriculum as their own and not viewed as a foreign intervention. Also, further research that focuses on the specific trades that should be privileged in a future Vocational Education and Training curriculum in the region is needed.

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Appendix A. Questionnaire

Instructions:

Please:

- 1. Complete the attached questionnaire.
- 2. Give honest responses to all the appropriate questions.
- 3. Indicate your response with an X in the appropriate column.

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

In this section, I would like to know just a little about you, so as to be able to make cross-sectional references to the issues that I am investigating. Please answer the following questions by marking the appropriate box with an X, or writing your answer in the space provided, as requested.

Please indicate whether you are:

Male		1
Female	UNIVERSITY of the	2

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In which of the following age groups do you fall?

Younger than 25	1
26 - 29	2
30 - 34	3
35 - 39	4
40 - 49	5
50 - and above	6

What is your highest educational qualification (in terms of Namibian equivalence)?

Less than Grade 12	
Grade 12	
Certificate or Diploma	
Bachelor's degree	
Master's degree	
Doctorate	
Other (please specify)	

Themes

Education

- 1. Should you happen to go to school again, which form of schooling do you as an adult prefers? (Check <u>only one</u>)
- 1.1 Class room.
- 1.2 part time ,after work, **ESTERN CAPE**
- 1.3 distance on-line
- 2. Are there any Adult Education centers in your area?

Yes \square No \square

If yes, how many? If no, why not?

3. Do the Ovahimba and Ovazemba attend those centers?

Yes □ No □

4. What other languages do Ovahimba and Ovazemba speaks instead of English?

Employment

5.	What	is the type of job that you currently do? (Check <u>only one</u>)
	c. d.	 1□ Administrative and Office bound 2□ One-on-one teaching (or tutoring) with different individuals during drop-in sessions 3□ involve in training 4□ research 5□ Other:
6.	work a. b. c. d. e. f.	similarities do you share with the <u>majority</u> of the colleagues with whom you? (Check all that apply) 1 □ same gender as colleagues 2 □ same race or ethnic background as colleagues 3 □ same languages as colleagues 4 □ same socio-economic background as colleagues 5 □ live in same neighborhood as colleagues 6 □ same or similar work background as colleagues 7 □ same or similar educational background as colleagues
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7.		h of the following represent your challenges to job opportunities (advancement?) k all that apply)
	1. 🗆	Qualification
	2. □	Skills as a result to previous jobs
	3. □	Promotion
	4. □	The slow pace of town development

Appendix B. Interview

I would like to know just a little about you, so as to be able to make cross-sectional references to the issues that I am investigating. Please answer the following questions.

1. Please indicate your name:
2. In which of the following age groups do you fall?
Younger than 25 \square 26 - 29 \square 30 - 34 \square 35 - 39 \square 40 - 49 \square 50 - and above \square
3. What is your highest educational qualification?
4. Are you currently employed \square or unemployed \square ?
EDUCATION
1. What is Adult education according to your understanding?
2. Why should education continue further after Grade Ten/matric?
3. Do you think adults should to go to school? TY of the
4. Which form of school do you as an adult prefers, should you happen to go to school again? (Choose only one)
$\hfill\Box$ Classroom/full time $\hfill\Box$. $\hfill\Box$ Part time, after work, $\hfill\Box$ distance on-line
5. Are there any Adult Education centers in your area?
Yes \square No \square
6. Do the Ovahimba and Ovazemba attend them?
Yes □how many?
No \Box why not?
Employment
7. How are job skills learning transferred from one <u>position</u> to another? (Choose <u>only one</u>)
a. □Trainingb. □Workshops

c.
8. How are job skills learning transferred from <u>person</u> to another? (Choose <u>only one</u>)
a. □Training
b. Workshops
c.
9. In what language do you communicate in work?
a. □English
b. Otjizemba/Otjihimba
c. □ Afrikaans
d. □others
Testing understanding of the concept "Marginalization"
10. Have you heard of the word "Marginalisation" or being marginalized before?
Yes □ No □.
11. What is the common name used of the word Marginalisation or being marginalised in your community? a. What does that mean?
12. Do you see yourself as put in an economic /social disadvantaged situation?
13. In what ways are you economic /social disadvantaged?
14. What put you in this economic /social disadvantaged situation?
15. How can the economic /social disadvantaged be supported?
16. Do you see yourself as put in an economic /social disadvantaged situation?
17. Is it true that the Ovahimba and Ovazemba are economic /social disadvantaged?
19. In your opinion between men and women, who are more economic /social disadvantaged?
Men? \square or Women? \square
20. Why do you think men/ women are more economic /social disadvantaged?

Education and Employment advancement

- 21. Tell us about your education and employment experience?
- 22. What employment opportunities of education would you like to have?
- 23. What other work opportunity would you like to have in your town?
- 24. Recently a lot of developments are happening in Opuwo, what is your comment?
- 25. What impact do these factors have on your community at large?
- 26. Who should address this situation?
- 27. Do the Ovahimba and Ovazemba participate in all activities of the community?
- 28. What are the most common causes of conflict between Ovahimba and Ovazemba and people of other tribes in your community?

Educational Experiences

- 29. Talk to me about your experiences of growing up within this community. Have you attended school? And who in your immediate and extended family attended school?
- 30. Who were the individuals that you found the most helpful whilst being a school pupil? Parents or teachers or a friend or a specific individual in the community.
- 31. Explain why you view this individual identified as helpful to your educational experience?
- 32. While you were in your formative years, who in this community did you know who attained a high level of education?
- 33. How were these people perceived by other community members?
- 34. Tell me about your experiences of attending school. When did leave school? What were the factors/problems that contributed to your decision to discontinue your schooling?
 - a. at home
 - b. at school
 - c. in the socio/economic-political environment?

Employment Experiences

- 35. After school how did you sustain yourself?
- 36. If you were employed, where were you employed in the formal sector or informal sector?
- 37. Tell me about your employment experiences?
- 38. Are you still employed?
- 39. For how long did you work?
- 40. How did unemployment affect your future and that of your family?

Relationship between Formal Education and Employment

- 41. Reflecting on your experience; is there a relationship between your employment possibility (ties) and you educational achievements? Explain why?
- 42 Do you have personal experience of employment opportunities being advertised for which you thought that have the knowledge, skills and ability to do the work, yet the educational criteria excluded you from applying for the opportunity?
- 43. Can you identify other individuals in your community that have had similar experiences?
- 44. What other problems have you find preventing you from getting a good job?

Adult Educational Opportunities

- 45. If you have access to opportunities to improve you education what would study towards?
- 46. What have prevented you from seeking opportunities to improve your educational qualification?
- 47. Some people believe that the direct relationship between education and employment had been introduced as a mechanism to control who have access to higher levels of employment. Do

you have an opinion on such a view and can you present example/s to support such a view or an example that shows the opposite.

48. What other problems have you find prevented you from attending educational opportunities?

Thank you for your time

