

EDUCATION EQUITY AND QUALITY IN NAMIBIA:
A CASE STUDY OF MOBILE SCHOOLS
IN THE KUNENE REGION

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree

Doctor of Philosophy in Education Policy

in the

Department of Education Management and Policy Studies

Faculty of Education

University of Pretoria

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November 2011

ABSTRACT

The main thesis of this study is that access to education, important as it is in terms of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), is not enough. Education that is not of an acceptable quality may not serve the purpose or the intent of the MDGs, nor of the Education for All movement. The study aims to examine the Namibian education policies related to education equity and quality for nomadic pastoralist people living in the Kunene region where socio-economic and cultural factors mitigate the provision of education. The study takes a broad view in an effort to explore the phenomenon of education provision to nomadic people and its actual outcomes beyond the classroom perspective and beyond the limits of its expected results.

The data were collected over a period of five weeks. In this regard, a qualitative research design with critically quasi-ethnographic elements using semi-structured interviews to gather data from participants was used. Purposive sampling was used to select mobile school units, educators, nomadic leaders and community members. Data were collected through document analysis, audio-taped interviews and transcribed for inductive analysis.

The intent of this case study is to illuminate attempts, through various education policies and strategies used by the Namibian government, to address equity and quality in education to marginalised and nomadic pastoralist groups, and reflect the insufficiency of such efforts that are not compatible with the intended groups' culture and lifestyle. In this study *horizontal, vertical equity and equal opportunity* were used as lenses in analysing the degree to which equity has been achieved in Namibia. It became evident that the policies developed in Namibia support the notion of horizontal equity, but do not differentiate on the distribution of resources to equalise and standardise the provisioning despite unequal social circumstances.

It is argued that if equity and quality in education aimed at nomadic and pastoralist groups are to be achieved, policymakers have to be prepared to be more flexible in the kind of practices and organisational structures which they develop in order to provide education, especially for these marginalised groups.

Mere expansion of formal education provision, based on a model of what works in urban situations, is not enough to ensure equity and quality education reaches all primary school age children, especially nomadic and pastoralist children. Added to this, education aimed at nomads and pastoralists should be flexible, multi-faceted and focused to target specific structural problems such as social and economic marginalisation, lack of political representation, and interacting successfully with the new challenges raised by globalisation.

The research findings contribute to the debate and discussion concerning equity and quality in education aimed at nomadic and pastoralists in the larger context of education systems in developing nations with circumstances similar to those in Namibia.

Key words

Education policy

Provisioning education

Equity

Quality

Mobile school

Nomads

Pastoralists

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Completing this study was challenging and enlightening. I wish to express my sincere gratitude and appreciation to the following people and institutions, which have been there for me throughout this bumpy journey.

First and foremost I would like to thank my supervisor, Prof. Jan Nieuwenhuis, who not only gave me critical inputs but also motivated, supported and guided me throughout this study. His unwavering support for being my pillar of hope, strength and support was of great help. He worked tirelessly to ensure that I complete this study. I could not have done this without him. Prof. Nieuwenhuis, thank you for his willingness to listen, to value what I had to say, and his ability to guide me gave me the courage to continue and complete this research study. I was honoured to have had him as my supervisor. To Prof. Jan Nieuwenhuis, not only for his intellectual and critical guidance, but for being my supervisor, mentor and role model - thank you!

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to my former Permanent Secretaries of Education, Mr. Vitali Ankama and the Director of Education, Mr. Crispin Kamwi Kabajani for granted me a permission to conduct my research study in the mobile school units in the Kunene region.

I would like to thank my colleagues from Directorate of Planning and Development. Special thanks go to Mr. Sam Shikongo, for providing me with all the information and data needed in my study.

I would like to express thanks to the officials of the Directorate of Education in the Kunene region for their unwavering support. I'm especially indebted to the Ondao Mobile School Management, and my thanks go to Mr. John Tjambiru, who accompanied me during my field study. Thank you for his time and his valuable contribution to my study.

My thanks go to all community members and leaders, mobile school teachers and learners who took part in this study, for their willingness to make themselves available for the interviews, it is greatly appreciated. They generously gave of their time and information.

Special thanks, to the Management of Millennium Challenge Account Namibia, and my direct supervisor Ms. Tuli Nghiyoonanye, who granted me a study leave, thus enabling me to complete this study.

I would like to extend my special thanks to Mrs. Sarah Adams and her family for her financial assistance. I could not have done this without her support.

My sincere thanks go to Melody Edwards for linguistic editing and formatting this dissertation.

Last, but in no way least in importance, I would like to thank my family (my wife Frolian and my two children Pandu and Iyaloo) for their outstanding support and motivation. I am deeply indebted to them for the sacrifice and the time they spent alone while I was doing this research study.

Above all, I give thanks to God Almighty for His mercy and grace and granting me health, strength and wisdom to complete this research.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my uncle, **Lazarus Nghituwamata Nghifikwa**, who was my mentor and the pillar of my life.

DECLARATION

I, Onesmus Hailombe, declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Pretoria. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university, nor has it been prepared under the aegis, or with the assistance, of any other body or organisation or person outside the University of Pretoria.

Onesmus Hailombe

Date

ACRONYMS

ADEA	Association for the Development of Education in Africa
BEAP	Basic Education in Africa Programme
BETD	Basic Education Teacher Diploma
ECCE	Childhood Care and Education
ECP	Education Certificate Primary
EDI	All Development Index
EFA	Education for all
EMIS	Education Management Information System
EQUIP1	Educational Quality Improvement Programme 1
EQUIP2	Educational Quality Improvement Programme 2
ETSIP	Education and Training Sector Improvement Programme
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GER	Gross Enrolment Rate
GMR	Global Monitoring Report
HIPO	Hizetjitwa Indigenous People's Organisation
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus and Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
HoDs	Head of Department(s)
MBESC	Ministry of Basic Education, Sport and Culture
MDGS	Millennium Development Goals
MEC	Ministry of Education and Culture
MoE	Ministry of Education
NAMAS	Namibian Association of Norway Namibia
NEPRU	The Namibia Economic Public Research Unit
NER	Net Enrolment Rate
NGO	Non Government Organisations

NIED	National Institute for Education Development
SACMEQ	Southern and Eastern African Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organisation
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UPE	Universal Primary Education
USA	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Aid Development
WCEFA	World Conference of Education for All

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION, BACKGROUND, PROBLEM, RATIONALE, RESEARCH DESIGN

1.1. Introduction to the study

Namibia's population consists of 11 major ethnic groups, ranging in lifestyle from pastoralists (livestock herders) and hunter/ food gatherers to commercial and communal farmers, to town and city dwellers. Three quarters of the country's population live in rural areas. During the colonial German and South African occupation, ethnic groupings were heavily influenced by the race classification practiced by these colonial powers. However, even though Western civilisation had an immense influence on the people of Namibia, the natural conservatism of some communities, together with the relative geographic isolation, has contributed greatly towards restricting the diffusion of European culture to them.

For example, in the Western part of Namibia, formerly known as 'Kaokoland', in the Kunene region, live a community known as the Himba and Zemba. They are nomadic pastoralists (livestock herders) and food hunter gatherers who still remain largely untouched by the modern world and continue their semi-nomadic lifestyle. The political struggles of the 20th century have passed them by as they continue to practice their traditional way of life. Due to the Kunene region's relatively sparsely dispersed population of about 75 000 people (2001-2031 Population Census projections) spread across a vast area of more than 150 000 km², the Himba and Zemba had a relatively safe and adequate habitat and could freely roam over the wide pastures of the highlands without feeling the need for a formal, westernised education or formal employment.

The introduction of the ideal of Education for All (EFA 1990) and the new Namibia Government's commitment to the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) brought about the imperative to provide education to these communities. But how do you serve children of a nomadic community – one that is here today and tomorrow it has moved on to new pastoral or hunting grounds? It also raises questions about the quality of the education to be provided and the need to ensure equity for these marginalised groups.

Since the EFA and MDG declarations, equity and quality in education have emerged as some of the fundamental concerns of education policy-makers, both in the developed and developing nations. Over the past decades, the focus of attention for many policy-makers and education reformers has been to uncover and redress past inequities and disparities in the resources and education opportunities provided to all children from different socio-economic backgrounds (Carroll *et al.*, 2000; Darling-Hammond, 1987a, 2002b; Goe, 2002; Hanushek *et al.*, 2004).

Among the most important of these educational resources is the teaching force. Equal access to qualified teachers and quality teaching has been a source of contention in the global debate over opportunity of quality educational in the provision of educational. According to Darling-Hammond (2002), equity and quality are major concerns for social development, especially in less developed countries like Namibia where significant income disparities are often related to ethnicity and location. Darling-Hammond (2002) asserts that education policies, especially those concerning deployment and labour conditions of teachers, can seriously impact on the ways in which education systems promote social justice. In short, clear mechanisms are needed to ensure that qualified teachers reach all learners and schools where they are needed most.

As a response to the Millennium Development Goals, developing countries, and in particular Sub-Saharan Africa, have developed a wide range of education initiatives in an effort to meet the needs of children living in disadvantaged areas, and to break the link between social background and educational achievement. In Sub-Saharan African countries like Namibia the nomadic education programmes were developed and mobile schools were established in North West of Namibia in an attempt to address the educational needs of the children of nomadic groups within a broad framework provided by the Education for All initiative. Mobile schools use tents as classrooms, and teachers accompany the nomadic pastoralists (livestock herders) during their seasonal migrations.

In 2009, there were 45 mobile school units in the Kunene region alone, serving 2 205 learners (an average of 49 learners per unit) with 69 teachers, of whom more than 25% are either under- or unqualified. The 45 mobile schools can be divided into three categories: those that have not moved in the past three to five years, those that move once a year, and those that move more than once a year.

It is within this milieu that this study will explore the concept of the mobile school programme to gain insight into issues of equity and quality in educational provisioning (especially in areas characterised by considerable mobility) in an attempt to support future policy formulation and implementation. The study draws data from various national and international data sets, and is supported by an in-depth qualitative study to generate new insights to the issues of equity and quality in relation to equal education in the context of Namibia, and with specific reference to the Kunene region. This will help to illuminate the complex nature of inequity and disparity in the provision of education, and inform new policy approaches.

The main policy documents that inform this study are the Policy Options for Educationally Marginalised Children (2000) and the Teaching Staffing Norms Policy (2001). The study seeks to address the question of what the enduring dilemmas and challenges or difficulties are in the implementation of education policies such as the Policy Options for Educationally Marginalised Children and the Teaching Staffing Norms Policy in areas characterised by disadvantage. In this regard the focus is on the case of the Himba and Zemba communities in terms of equity and quality in educational provisioning.

1.2. Background of Namibia

Namibia, formerly known as South West Africa, is regarded as Africa's last colony. It was first colonised by Germany in 1884, and in 1915 was brought under South African control after the First World War, and became an independent state on 21 March 1990 (Bollig, 1998). Namibia has a total land area of 825 000 square kilometres on the southwest coast of Africa. It is bordered by Angola and Zambia (north), Botswana (east), South Africa (south), and the Atlantic Ocean (west).

It has an estimated population of about 2.1 million people (2007), which represents one of the lowest population densities on the African continent, amounting to an average of 1.5 people per km². Three quarters of the population live in rural areas (Bollig, 1998; 2001 National Population and Housing Census; Gordon, 1992).

Prior to independence, Namibia had 11 semi-autonomous political entities with the responsibility, among others, of administering education. Education was divided along racial and ethnic lines, thereby leading to extremely skewed and unequal allocation of

resources for the different ethnic authorities. During the apartheid regime, the majority of black children had to stay out of school or compete for the few places in their designated schools. To further strengthen the inequalities and the apartheid state machinery, only a few, ill-equipped, poorly staffed and under-financed schools were made available for black children.

Before independence, the average teacher to learner ratio was more than 1:55 and 1:45 for primary and secondary levels respectively, especially in the previously disadvantaged regions, compared with less than 30:1 learners for their affluent peers in white schools (Angula, 1990; Mbamba, 1987). The teacher and learner ratios in the post-independence state could have been even higher if all primary school age children in Namibia had access to education opportunities. During the apartheid era the expenditure per pupil was six times more in white schools compared with black schools. Prior to Namibia's independence in 1990, the country experienced forced labour in various forms. The vestiges of this system have resulted in high unemployment, an inadequate skills base, and a large percentage of out-of-school youth (Amukugo, 1993; Angula, 1990; Clegg, 1989).

After independence in 1990, the newly elected democratic government of Namibia inherited this highly fragmented, stratified, and dualist society of education policies and economy. As a result, the issue of disparity, inequity, and unequal educational opportunities immediately became a central challenge for the new nation. The imbalance in the level of education among its citizens was one of the most profound features of the country's history (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1993).

Since independence, Namibia introduced various education policies in an effort to improve the provisioning and delivery of education services to all communities, regardless of their geographical location (Van Graan, Pomuti, LeCzel, Liman & Swarts, 2005). Against this background, this study focuses on the complexity of equity, and equal opportunity in terms of education resource allocation in rural areas in the Namibian context, with particular reference to the Kunene Region.

The distribution of human resources was a direct result of former policy decisions that prevented equal access to teacher training institutions, especially in the previously disadvantaged regions. For instance, prior to independence, the two colleges of education established to train black teachers (Ongwediva and Khomasdal/Windhoek) were not allowed to offer the Junior Secondary Training Certificate because they were considered not to have capacity in terms of adequate staff and facilities. They were instead authorised to offer a primary level qualification, known as the Education Certificate Primary (ECP), which required only a grade 10 certificate for entry (Angula, 1990; Ball, 1994; Amukugo, 1993; Clegg, 1989).

The proportion of qualified teachers from ethnic administrations ranged from 5% in the black Administrations to about 70% in the white administration (Angula, 1990). Due to the lack of qualified teachers in ethnic administrations, ECP graduates were deployed to teach at junior secondary level, while primary schools were staffed with teachers having lower or no qualifications at all (Amukugo, 1993). The emphasis on ethnicity was opposed by growing nationalist sentiment, and when Namibia became a unitary nation-state, these policies had to go (Ball, 1994; Amukugo, 1993; Clegg, 1989).

In developing countries, and in Namibia in particular, although the concept of equity as fairness is simple to understand, it has been interpreted in different ways by different studies, government policy documents, and reports (Marope, 2005; Ministry of Education - Toward Education for All, 1993; Education Act no, 16 of 2001, 2000; Policy Options for Educationally Marginalised Children, 2001; Teaching Staffing Norms, Education and Training Sector Improvement Programme, ETSIP, 2005). A number of commentators and policy documents (2001 Teaching Staffing Norms Policy; ETSIP, 2005) refer to equity in terms of the equalisation of educational services. There is, for example, emerging evidence that the existing policy documents (Teaching Staffing Norms Policy of 2001) and reports (Ministry of Education EMIS reports), as well as existing literature on Namibia's education system (The Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit reports 1990a, 2004b; Marope, 2005; Gonzalez, 2004) are interpreting equity as equal spending per learner, and the focus is entirely on education inputs. Education policies, like the teaching staffing norms for example, have interpreted equity as an equal teacher allocation, and equal-base expenditure per learner and among schools. This conceptualisation assumes that the equitable distribution of education resources will enhance learning and teaching and subsequently will naturally lead to the provision of quality education (MEC, 1993).

Such a definition is problematic and cannot be easily extended to equal outputs in view of the fact that an equal number of learners in the class and equal learner expenditure do not automatically guarantee genuine equity, quality, and quality in education. Achieving equity, and equal educational opportunities is not a simple matter of allocating equal education resources per learner, but needs to go beyond this philosophy. It means that the allocation mechanism/approach has to be adjusted to reflect different factors and/or variations in the needs of learners and the cost of purchasing educational resources in different areas or regions. That means that learners with greater needs require greater or additional resources. This theory is also supported by Kantor (1997:285) in that due to unequal community wealth and family income, it is difficult to see how the disparities in achievement between rich and poor children can be overcome without spending more money to equalise educational opportunities for economically disadvantaged learners.

Namibia is one of the African countries which accommodates the largest concentration of the nomadic people (pastoralists and/or livestock herders, and hunters). These people reside in the west (Kunene region) and east and north east (Omaheke and Otjozondupa regions) parts of the Namibia. Nomadic people are among the most marginalised social groups, and are widely excluded from educational provision, despite the pledges of Education for All (Hans & Kavari, 1997; Fergus & Sørvald, 2004). The phenomenon of movement itself presents many challenges for providers and would-be users of educational services in terms of the notion of Education for All.

Around the world, the provision of education for nomadic people has reflected and been instrumental to particular stances on pastoral development. According to the literature (Mlekwa, 1996; Doornbos & Markakis, 1991; Narman, 1990; Parkipuny, 1994), nomads are the most educationally disadvantaged groups, with a literacy level of less than 5% around the world, as they move from place to place in search of pasture or food. The pastoral and mobile communities have distinct characteristics shaped by different economic, political, social and geographical circumstances. In Namibia the government identified the nomads into two types; namely, the pastoralists or livestock herders (the Himba and Zemba), and food hunter gatherers (the San).

Having realised that the nomadic communities need to be integrated into the nation building initiative, and to provide equal education opportunities for all, in 1997 the nomads' education programme, known as mobile schools (called 'Ondao school') for Himba and Zemba children in the Kunene region was developed (Hans & Kavari, 1997).

This gave rise to the Namibia government launching a nomadic education programme in 1998, and this has led to the introduction of National Policy Options for Educationally Marginalised Children (2000). The primary aim of the policy is to facilitate the realisation of universal primary access to basic education and poverty reduction by 2015.

This was an attempt to provide basic social services to the pastoralists and other mobile communities in the country. In so doing, however, the Namibian government has been evolving policies and practices; many of which the nomadic people see as in conflict with the needs and interests of their communities because they are not based on their socio-economic realities: a long established and cherished cultural heritage, livestock production as a principal means of livelihood, high mobility through constant migration, and the harsh environment characterised by drought, animal rustling, disease, and poor means of communication (Bolling, 1998; Ndjoze-Ojo *et al.*, 2002).

1.3. Rationale for the study

The researcher became interested in the education provisioning to nomadic people for a number of reasons. Firstly, the lack of empirical studies into education provisioning to the nomadic people of Namibia, and moreover, research into the impact and effect of equity and quality education-driven policies and their implementation in post-colonial states like Namibia. Secondly, due to his interest and experience as an education planner, involved in the distribution of national educational resources, policy analysis and the implementation; both at the national and regional levels. Thirdly, the analysis of the education system in Namibia and the sentiments expressed by Marope's (2005) report 'Namibia Human Capital and Knowledge Development for Economic Growth with Equity', and Gonzalez's (2004) 'Equity, efficiency and allocation mechanisms in Namibia primary and secondary education system', and the widely observed discrepancies between a policy's stated aims and its actual effects.

In their observations, they assert that the equity and quality education-driven policies in most of developing nations like Namibia might not be adequate to address the current disparities which are found both inter- and intra-regions; especially educational provision for children from pastoralists and nomadic communities. Furthermore, the study built upon previous research by scholars such as Iijambo (2001) and Ipinge (2001) which noted the intractable problem of the gaps between education the policies' stated aims

and their actual outcomes in the context of Namibia. They observed that in Namibia the quality of education in rural areas is deteriorating and that a decline in access to education for all is experienced; especially in previously disadvantaged communities like the Himba and Zemba.

Another factor which increased his interest to pursue this study of equity and quality in provisioning education among nomads; is what he calls the 'difficulties or problems' of getting the 'empirical evidence' from the current Namibian statistical data (EMIS, 2002-2009), and official report documents (The Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit, 2006; Ministry of Education annual reports, 2005-2009) in terms of equity and equal opportunity in rural and hard-to-staff schools; especially education data on nomads and pastoralists groups.

In this regard, it became necessary for him to pursue this enquiry in order to seek insight into the empirical evidence of existing disparities in the Namibian education system, particularly with regards to the nomadic and pastoralists groups in the Kunene region.

1.4. Purpose and objective of the study

The research takes a broad view in an effort to understand the phenomenon of education provisioning to nomadic people and its actual outcomes beyond the classroom perspective, and beyond the limits of its expected results. The study links cultural factors that might explain why the school enrolment and learner performance among nomadic communities, in particular, is lower compared with other regions. Furthermore, it examines and analyses how the policy ideals of equity and quality can be achieved in the districts or regions characterised by disadvantage; especially in the rural schools.

Equally, the study examines the distribution of human resources, their relationship to educational equity and quality, and the attributes of teacher labour markets that might lead to the poor learning and teaching; learners enrolled in low-income schools being most likely to have unqualified or less-qualified teachers. In doing this, the study set out to establish whether the emerging trends support the theory of policy symbolism (Jansen, 2001; Lankford *et al.*, 2003). This theory holds that policies in developing countries are more symbolic in terms of eradicating the injustices of the past and give

voice to a new set of aspirations, rather than being aimed at searching for solutions to these injustices at the implementation level.

This research study is situated in the tradition of policy implementation studies and seeks to understand the relationship between policy and practice in the context of education policy or reform. The study sketches the views and opinions of those who are responsible for the implementation of policies, with the aim of articulating the complexity of the communities' educational needs. By exploring these, the researcher gained insight into affected communities' understanding, experiences and challenges during the implementation of education policies like the Teaching Staffing Norms Policy (2001), the Policy Options for Educationally Marginalised Children (2000), and how they deal with the challenges and complexity of equity, quality and equal opportunity in rural areas, especially among nomadic communities.

The researcher attempts to establish to whether the equity and quality education-driven policies succeeded in addressing their intended purpose, in terms of the provisioning of education, equal education resources, human resources, and all necessary conditions that facilitate a good learning and teaching environment. The study seeks to reveal whether Education for All, as an ideological notion, reflects the values that facilitate or contradict those of nomadic groups, like Himba and Zemba in Namibia.

In the study it is argued that the value positions underlying the notion of equity and quality in education need to be articulated and further refined to reflect existing and exclusive hegemonies. To this end the study is aimed at identifying the weaknesses and strengths of provisioning education among nomadic communities in relation to the mobile school programme in the Kunene region, and other factors behind these weaknesses and strengths. Furthermore, the study explores the extent to which the Namibian mobile school education programme plays a crucial role in ensuring equity and quality of education among nomadic pastoralist groups.

1.5. Problem statement and research question

From the background and rationale offered, it is evident that there are two prevalent concerns in the Namibian education system today. The first is the problem of an equitable distribution of education resources, including human resources, among schools and regions. The second is the need to create equity, and for all children to

acquire education of the same quality, regardless of their socio-economic-status or the geographical location of the community.

The government of Namibia is a signatory to many international and regional human rights agreements, asserting equity policies and non-discriminatory policies in education, and it has initiated a series of policies and reforms in the education sector with the aim of promoting equal education opportunities that contribute to the successful achievement of Education for All and the Millennium Development Goals (Angula & Grant-Lewis, 1997; Iijambo, 2001; Mbamba, 1987; Ball & Cohen, 1999; Fullan *et al.*, 1992a, 2001b; Sayed & Jansen, 2001; Jansen, 2001; World Bank, 2006).

Despite pledges of Education for All, countries around the world where pastoralists and hunters are found, these groups are among the most marginalised social groups and are widely excluded from educational provision (Mlekwa, 1996; Hogg, 1992).

The phenomenon of movement of these groups itself presents many challenges for both educational service providers and by users around the world. In developing countries like Namibia, attempts have been made to address these problems by creating policy frameworks aimed at facilitating the equitable distribution of adequate educational resources, as well as promoting equal education opportunity in rural areas; especially among nomadic communities. The challenge, however, is two fold: how to equalise the starting line, and secondly, how to ensure equitable provisioning if certain groups are in greater need of resources than others. If learners are from socio-economic backgrounds that make the provisioning of even rudimentary education complex and challenging, then it is possible that they may require a greater investment of resources to secure an equitable system.

If one only gives preference to equity targets, in terms of numbers without consideration to other factors such as quality, then equal education opportunities as well as quality education are at risk. Equally, if preference has to be given to learners with specific and individual different needs, then equity and quality targets may be jeopardised. The question therefore remains: how do we balance equity, and equal education opportunity between urban and rural schools with different needs and circumstances? This fundamental question is the subject of substantial research, debate and analysis among scholars both in developed and developing countries, as will be shown in Chapter 2.

Although one of the key elements of Namibia's education policy has been the promotion of equitable access to education for all, great inequalities, in terms of education resources, still exist and persist between children from urban and rural areas, children from different geographical locations, and those from different cultural groups (The Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit, 2006). Other problems and constraints on educational development in these communities include long distances which must be covered to and from school, many teachers not being prepared to work in the remote and/or pastoral areas, or unqualified or under-qualified teachers with only a partial secondary school education and without a professional teacher qualification, and the general negative attitude of the community towards schooling as a whole (Kasunga, 1994).

On the basis of these challenges, African governments, like Namibia continue to experience difficulties in attracting and retaining qualified teachers in the districts/regions and schools characterised by disadvantaged and hard-to-staff schools, as well as other negative aspects impacting on education provisioning such as socio-economic, political and cultural factors.

Education for All and the Millennium Development Goals, that set an agenda for education provisioning, are not blind to socio-cultural factors at a local level that may not be supportive of education, thus creating tensions in the equitable and equal provisioning of education. But tensions between local priorities, goals and objectives and national or global ideals are not always consciously taken into account when setting goals, thus raising the question: how do we ensure equity and quality education across regions/districts and among communities? The central research question that guides this study therefore is:

Considering the socio-economic and cultural factors that work against the provisioning of education in Namibia, did the policies related to equity and quality education, and aimed at the nomadic people, achieve their goals?

The study further attempts to answer the following subsidiary questions:

- How do the nomadic people in the research group conceptualise education (its goals and objectives, as well as the cultural dimension)?

- To what extent does education provisioning to nomadic people visualise their educational goals to broadening access and to ensure equity and quality?
- How effective are the current policy instruments in achieving equity and quality of education for nomadic people?
- What policy options could be considered to address shortcomings in equity and quality in education for nomadic people?

1.6. The conceptual framework for the study

This research uses the concept of equity and quality which includes the notions of equitable distributions of resources and differential retribution to poor and low income groups. The study draws on the policy development framework developed by scholars such as Benne and Stiefel (1984), Ball and Cohen (1999), Jansen (2001), Sayed and Jansen (2001), Furhrman (1988), Cohen and Hill (2001), Argyris and Schon 1974), and draws from the sociology of education policy approach which seeks to understand the complex interplay between policy ideals of equity and quality, policy intention, policy implementation, and policy outcome/effect.

It notes that often there is disjuncture between intention and practice (Jansen, 2001), and a gap between intention and outcome (Sayed, 1999; Sayed & Jansen, 2001). The study uses this framework to examine how the Educationally Marginalised Children Policy (2000) and the Teaching Staffing Norms Policy (2001) traverse from the centre to the periphery/school level (Molale, 2004) and are mediated (Ball & Cohen, 1999) from the stage of formulation to implementation to outcomes.

For the purpose of this research, the key relevant policies are those pertaining to education, and specially the Educationally Marginalised Children and Teaching Staffing Norms frameworks in the context of Namibia. The intention of the education policies, like the Teaching Staffing Norms, is to redress past inequity among the regions through the equitable distribution of education resources, human resources in particular. The Teaching Staffing Norms Policy conceptualised that the equal distribution of human resources (educators) will result in the provision of quality education. While the intention of this and other policies is laudable, critical examination is required of the

implication of such policies to understand its effects and outcomes. This is important, as much of the writing focuses on the intention of the policies and asserts their good intention without examining their effects and impact.

Equally, the understanding of the complex and dynamic interplay between intention, implementation and outcome, are important to understand the implementation of the new education policies in the post-independence Namibia. At a conceptual level, the study intends to show the need to go beyond existing approaches when exploring equity and quality in educational provision, and to look at in a broader perspective.

The concepts of equity and quality in education have been linked to a number of different factors. As Berne and Stiefel (1984:24) and Chi and Jasper (1997:26) put it, there is no single concept of equity or quality as both terms are used for different purposes. In this regard, Berne and Stiefel (1984) state that both concepts are highly complex and a multidimensional phenomena, which tend to have different meanings in different contexts. Furthermore, Berne and Stiefel (1984:24) and Chi and Jasper (1997:26) assert that both terms can be defined very differently, depending upon the context, thus creating great complexity when interpreting equity for policy and implementation. In education, the concepts are often defined as 'equity in opportunities and quality educational outcome' (Chi & Jasper, 1997:26).

Chi and Jasper (1997) also posit that often equity and quality are used interchangeably, although they are not the same. They describe the term 'equity' as a normative concept, and it is a purely empirical question to design a valid and reliable instrument which measures any differences or inequalities that may exist between various individuals or groups. Rubenstein *et al.* (2006), conceptualise 'equity' as an 'application based on the notions of justice, fairness, and equal opportunities concepts' regardless of race, ethnicity, religion, gender, and social economic status. It is related to equal access of the same level of basic resources or services to enable people or citizens to participate in social and political processes, (McGrath, 1993; Berne & Stiefel, 1979a, 1984b; UNESCO, 2006).

In terms of 'quality', it refers to equitable conditions or circumstances within the school or classroom that promote or enhance quality learning for all learners. It includes the provision of curricula, learning materials, facilities, teachers and instructional experiences that enable learners to achieve high standards. Equity also relates to the

absence of barriers that prevent smooth implementation of conducive learning and teaching environments in classrooms, and in rural areas in particular. As such it is difficult to explain in definitive terms what it means, since it is deeply embedded in a society's value system (McGrath, 1993).

Berne and Stiefel (1984) underline three technical approaches in measuring equity and quality in education in terms of resource allocation - horizontal equity, vertical equity, and equal opportunity, and they posit that the three principles can be broadly conceptualised to include inputs, outputs, and outcomes. The 'horizontal equity' requires that learners who are alike should receive equal shares. This basic principle requires equal expenditure or revenue per learner so that they are treated equally. It is clear from both a physiological and psychological perspective that this approach is simplistic as individuals are not equal in all senses, and it does not provide for learners with special educational needs.

The principle of 'vertical equity' allows children and/or learners with different situations to receive appropriately different levels of education services by taking into account the higher costs of educating certain learners in order to bring them up to a given level of output or achievement. Therefore, in some circumstances and for some reasons, it is not only acceptable but also necessary to treat children or learners differently. Examples include those with learning disabilities and learners from marginalised or economically disadvantaged groups. Berne and Stiefel's (1984) definition of vertical equity, as the appropriately unequal treatment of the unequal, is a more difficult concept to operationalise than the approach of horizontal equity.

The concept of 'equal opportunity' in resource allocation requires that central and provinces/regional government resources are distributed among schools in such a way that all learners have a fair chance to succeed. According to Berne and Stiefel (1984), the amount of educational resources and services provided to learners should not be based on what they called 'illegitimate' characteristics such as race, gender, socio-economic status, or geographical location, but rather by variations in learners' educational needs. One could then argue, like Berne and Stiefel (1984a,1994b) that provision of equal educational opportunity focuses on the relationship between per-learner revenues and region/district or learner characteristics that might be considered 'compensatory' for the purposes of decisions of resources allocation. This principle is also commonly referred to as 'fiscal neutrality' if disparities across regions or schools exist, and it is important to determine whether these differences are due to 'illegitimate'

factors (such as differences in local wealth) or other factors, such as differences in local preferences for education.

1.7. Quality in education

Quality in education is similarly a complex term to come to grips with regarding the realities and challenges faced by the developing countries, especially when it comes to education for all primary school age children. Viewed from the global perspective, there is a vast body of literature that addresses the concept of quality education, with definitions adjusted to different purposes, contexts and stakeholders (UNESCO, 2008:1).

The 2005 EFA Global Monitoring Report underscores this point by noting that, despite a growing consensus about the importance of quality, however, there is much less agreement on what the concept means in practice (EFA GMR, 2005:5). The Dakar Framework of Action (2000) nevertheless uses two principles to characterise most attempts to define the quality of education. The first is recognised and measurable learning outcomes, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills. The second emphasises the role of education in promoting commonly shared values, and creative and emotional development.

The measures to attain the required quality are suggested as follows:

- Learners who are healthy, well nourished and motivated.
- Adequate facilities and learning material.
- A relevant curriculum and linking it with the social and economic life of local and national communities.
- Conducive environment that encourages learning.
- Clear definition of learning outcomes.

- A clear definition and accurate assessment of learning outcomes, including knowledge, skills, attitudes and values.
- Participatory governance and management.
- Respect for culture and engaging local communities.

These comprehensive principles and inclusive view are reflected in the dimensions of education quality, as identified by UNICEF (2000) and UNESCO (Pigozzi 2004); both of which directly address the fundamental goal of education articulated in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989). In this approach, the right of every individual to a quality education can only be assured when its components are understood from the perspective of the learners themselves, and take into account their individual characteristics, capabilities and goals (Pigozzi, 2004). In reviewing the literature on quality in education, the researcher concurs with the UNESCO (2008:3) statement that:

Definitions of quality education should not be viewed as either prescriptive or static. As societies evolve, so do notions of how education can best adapt to unprecedented new challenges and needs. International dialogue on quality education has led to general agreement that the concept will continue to evolve as education systems transform in response to these needs and to their commitment to fulfil the right of a quality education to all.

Added to this; Berne and Stiefel (1984:24) and Chi and Jasper (1997:26) assert that there is no single definition that can cover the present and future educational goals of all societies. The term 'quality' has become a dynamic concept that has constantly to adapt to a world whose societies are undergoing profound social and economic transformation (UNESCO, 2008).

Drawing on these arguments and ideas, this study's framework is one that seeks to understand the disjuncture between what is intended and what has occurred in practice. In this particular case it took a broad view in an effort to understand the challenges of education provision for pastoralist children and mobile communities and the ideological notion of Education for All. In so doing, it sought to advance an empirically grounded account of the dynamic interplay between policy intention and practice, enriching the

current analysis and debate surrounding equity, quality and equal education opportunities in the rural communities. These concepts are discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

1.8. Research methodology

Based on the research question, the researcher chose a qualitative, descriptive and exploratory research design with typical ethnographic elements. He decided that the best way of gaining insight into the research question was to spend time with the nomadic people to understand the complexities that the education department had to contend with.

By approaching the research in this manner, it helped him to understand how the nomad pastoralist Himba and Zemba communities experience the Namibia government's efforts of promoting equitable access to good quality schooling through the provision of mobile schools. According to Creswell (1998), qualitative research is a multi-method approach which involves data collection, and an interpretive naturalistic approach to its subject matter. It attempts to interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to the phenomenon being investigated. Creswell (1998:15) further states that:

Qualitative research is an enquiry process of understanding based on a distinct methodological tradition of enquiry that explores a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyses words, reports detailed views of information and conducts the study in a natural setting.

The rationale for choosing a qualitative approach is based on Creswell's (1998) definition and the nature and the underlying purpose and objective of this study. By employing a qualitative design, it enabled the researcher to obtain a more holistic picture and in-depth understanding of challenges faced by a nomadic community (i.e. the Himba and Zemba in Namibia) in terms of education provisioning, as well as equity and quality in education. The method provided the researcher with a much more comprehensive perspective by focusing on the reality of the nomadic community, their behaviour in naturally occurring settings, and the total context affecting them in the Kunene region.

Observing the actual behaviour of individuals in their natural setting enabled the researcher to gain a much deeper and richer understanding of the behaviour for those specific groups. Within the time limits of my study, he spent sufficient time with nomadic community members to develop an insight into their cultural beliefs and way of life, and to observe how the education system responds to their needs.

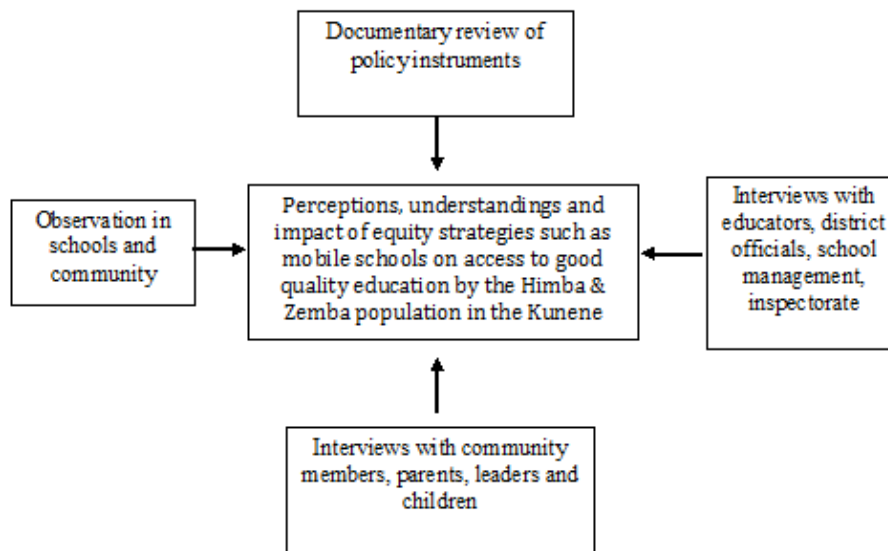
The researcher talked to the various role players (teachers, learners, parents, community leaders, and regional education officials) to gain an in-depth understanding into the way they perceive education and their expectations about formal education. This enabled him to contrast these experiences with the intended policy and to be able to form an understanding of how aspects pertaining to equity and quality in education are addressed. Blumer (as quoted by Fraenkel *et al.*, 1993:409) asserts that qualitative methods permit the research study to meet all the basic requirements of an empirical science: to confront the social world being studied, raising abstract questions about this world, discovering relations between categories of data, and formulating theories about these relations.

Equally, a qualitative approach enabled the researcher to study an intact cultural group (Himba and Zemba) in a natural setting over a specific period of time. He witnessed the movement of schools, the daily lives of nomadic parents and children, the teaching practice of educators, the challenges faced by management of the school, and the diverse needs of the various people involved with education. From his experience he attempted to answer fundamental questions common to studies on policy intention and practice; namely, how, why and with what effects are policies implemented.

The focus is placed on 'how' educators and the Himba and Zemba communities perceive the concept of equity and quality in education through the provisioning of the mobile schooling system in relation to the notion of education for all. In order to conduct investigations on these aspects, his research strategy was interpretive to answer the question of how equity and equal opportunity in education could be achieved for nomadic people living in rural areas where social-economic and cultural factors work against the provisioning of education could be answered.

The following figure shows the framework of the research approach and the data gathering methods.

Figure 1.1 Research design



Chapter 4 provides a comprehensive overview of the research design, the data collection, and the data analysis. The research attempted to develop a sound understanding of the Himba and Zemba culture to determine how it supports or hinders education. He has also gone to great lengths to interview all parties involved with the provisioning of education to these communities in an attempt to come to terms with the diverse challenges faced in managing classrooms spread over a great distance. This study therefore reports on the observations, experiences and data obtained, in relation to what the literature suggests in terms of the various aspects to be discussed.

1.9. Limitations of the study

The study confines itself to equity and quality in education for a specific group of nomadic children living in the Kunene region of Namibia. Although it is possible that some of their experiences and challenges resonate with the experiences and challenges of other nomadic groups, these possible relationships are not inferred or explored. Although I spent an extended period of time visiting the mobile school units, I did not, due to distance, cover all 45 mobile school units.

I spent time with seven mobile schools, and then focused on four mobile school units where I obtained in-depth, rich data. From the interviews with mobile school management, these seven units were fairly representative of all mobile school units. Educators, management, inspectors, community members, parents and leaders formed part of the study. The data obtained and findings reached apply to those mobile school units and may not be representative of all mobile schools or nomadic people of Namibia, or those beyond its borders. However, the degree to which the findings may corroborate other studies will enhance its applicability to other similar environments.

The researcher would like to make it clear that this study does not attempt to focus on the issue of policy failure, but rather on the relationship between what was intended to be policy, and what is in fact being implemented. Therefore this study first determines and analyses the concept of equity and equal education opportunity, with reference to education policies in Namibia. It focuses on the originators' perceptions and intentions, in terms of the ideological notion of Education for All. He accepts that these policies may not be typical of other developing countries, but they do speak to the need to achieve the ideals of EFA and the MDGs.

The potential of researcher bias is acknowledged. Measures were taken to minimise these (such as member checking and the use of reflexivity). The researcher was also guided by his supervisor to discuss the observations and what was gleaned from interviews – this enhances the integrity and trustworthiness of the study.

1.10. Significance of the study

This research study will contribute to the larger body of knowledge in many ways. First, it will provide the Namibian government, and governments elsewhere in the world where the nomadic people are found, with empirical evidence about the phenomenon and challenges of education provision to these groups and its actual outcomes beyond the classroom perspective in terms of ideological notion of Education for All.

The research findings will contribute to the debate and discussion concerning equity and equal education opportunity in the rural areas in educational provision in the larger context of education systems in developing nations with circumstances similar to those in Namibia. It is expected to provide a useful platform for analysing the progress made by the developing nations in terms of equity and equal education opportunity in

response to the Education for All and Millennium Development Goals.

It attempts to examine the concept of equity and quality in relationship to the broader social context and cultural factors in a developing nation. The study may not provide answers or solutions to the problems and difficulties that are identified, but will at least add to the debate surrounding the knowledge base on the complexity of equity and quality in relation to equal education opportunities in rural areas, especially among nomadic communities in a developing country context, such as Namibia.

The study should provoke discussion in terms of Education for All as an ideological notion, and the value positions underlying this notion, which in the researcher's view, need to be articulated and further studied. The findings of this study will also serve as a call, especially to developing nations like Namibia, to increase their commitment to the issue of the equitable distribution of education resources among learners in rural areas, nomadic communities in particular, which is one of the critical challenges facing most of the developing countries.

Furthermore, it is expected to provide an in-depth assessment and debate about what is known and what is not known about the challenges and complexity of education for pastoralist children and other mobile communities, especially in a developing country context. The findings of this study are expected to highlight areas that require further research; areas that may not usually surface in discussions of official documents or existing in empirical research.

In addition, the researcher familiarised himself with the latest developments about the concept and the complexity of equity in the public education, especially among nomadic communities, to be acquainted with the assumptions, theories and findings obtained by previous research in order not to duplicate efforts.

1.11. Organisation of the chapters

The chapters in this dissertation are organised as follows:

Chapter 1: Gives a brief introduction to the study, the background to Namibia, the rationale and purpose for doing the study. Furthermore, the problem statement and research questions are stated, as is the conceptual framework of the study and the methodology approach used in the study. The chapter explains the limitations in the research process and the significance of the inquiry.

Chapter 2: Equity and quality as educational imperatives are discussed. The chapter explores the literature on the provisioning of education in terms of equity and quality in education, and specifically addresses a developing country context.

It is an attempt to provide a theoretical based on which the main research question could be explored. Both the international and national literature relevant to provision of education for nomadic pastoralist groups is reviewed. Furthermore, the chapter explores the concepts of equity and quality from an international perspective, provisioning education for nomadic groups in a developing country in relation to universal primary access by 2015 - the goal set by Millennium Development Goals.

Chapter 3: Equity and quality: achievements and strategies. This chapter presents a brief overview of progress made in the provisioning of education for all and in achieving the Millennium Development Goals in Sub-Saharan African countries, in particular Namibia. It highlights strategies and policies developed by Namibia in realisation of EFA and MDGs targets, recapitulates the concept of equity and quality, as well as the provisioning of education for nomads and pastoralists children in Namibia.

Chapter 4: Research design and methodology explains in detail the design and methodology used in the study. It describes how the researcher went about selecting the key participants, the development of appropriate instruments, and clarifies why an ethnographic research approach was employed in this study. Furthermore, it includes concerns about validity, ethical considerations, and limitations of the study.

Chapter 5: The Himba and Zemba people. The chapter explores the Himba and Zemba culture, traditions and lifestyle, explains the impact of formal education among Himba and Zemba communities and their cultural diversity, as well as features that make the provisioning education difficult among these groups.

Chapter 6: Provisioning of education for the Himba and Zemba. This chapter discusses the development of the mobile school movement and presents key study findings in terms of the provisioning of education for Himba and Zemba communities in both pre- and post independent Namibia. Furthermore, the chapter critically examines the mobile school concept, which was established by the Namibian government with financial assistance from the Namibian Association of Norway (NAMAS), and its impact on Himba and Zemba communities.

The chapter highlights the weaknesses and strengths of the mobile school programmes during, and post NAMAS financial assistance.

Chapter 7: Findings and recommendations. This chapter presents a brief summary of empirical findings and recommendations for possible future research.

CHAPTER 2. EQUITY AND QUALITY AS EDUCATIONAL IMPERATIVES

2.1. Introduction

Two decades ago, governments around the world signed the international pledge of Education for All (EFA), first in 1990 at Jomtein, and re-affirmed with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2000 in Dakar. The EFA Declaration of Education for All declared that access to quality education was the right of every child, and should be ‘at the heart of education’ (EFA Global Monitoring Report 2005:29).

The Dakar Framework for Action identified equity as a requirement for achieving the fundamental goal of quality. On the basis of this Declaration, the goal of achieving universal access with equity and quality of education for all children has become an increasingly important imperative in every nation because of the need to accelerate economic development and further the employability of people after completing their education (UNESCO, 2009; Krätli & Dyer, 2009).

Governments around the world, including Namibia, have acceded to the international pledges of EFA, the MDGs and human rights declarations, which all have a bearing on determining education and other services needed for all their citizens. Much emphasis was placed on the attainment of the MDGs’ targets in education because of its pivotal role in national development, and that equity and quality was identified as a precondition for achieving the goal of universal primary access to quality education.

The world leaders agreed to a number of commitments in the form of goals, targets and indicators that promote social development, social justice and human rights in the realisation of EFA. There are eight goals in the 2000 Dakar World Education Forum of MDGs, and Goal 2 and Goal 3 refer specifically to issues of universal primary education and gender parity. The MDG Goal 2 has a target of ‘ensuring that, by 2015, primary school age children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling’.

The eight MDGs have been articulated into 20 targets with over 60 indicators. The goals are time-bound and measurable, designed to achieve universal primary education, eradicate poverty, hunger, illiteracy, etc.

The challenge, however, is how to achieve equity and quality education within the limited resources available in Sub-Saharan African countries in particular (Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005; Danaher, 2002). The study therefore examines progress made towards Goal 2, 'Universal Primary Education', as well as equity and quality in education in responding to the ideological notion of EFA; nomadic communities in particular.

Various studies have discussed the concept of equity and quality in education extensively from various perspectives (Andersson, 1990; Clayton & Williams, 2000; Jencks, 1992; Roemer, 1996). Hutmacher *et al.* (2001) and Lynch and Lodge (2001) (as quoted by Lazaro Moreno Herrera 2007:319) state that the conceptualisation of equity and quality largely demands going beyond a semantic analysis; a discussion of the concepts requires a contextualisation within major frames of social and educational debate - among them social justice. The use of these notions has evolved in different ways over time, depending on the particularities of social and political contexts (UNSECO, 2008; Sayed, 1997).

2.2. Equity in education

A vast body of literature on the concept of 'equity' in education has appeared over the past decade, examining the factors that helped to improve education for all; especially those groups who for various reasons have so far been excluded or are not benefiting from existing education provision. Numerous authors use different concepts of equity, (Berne & Stiefel, 1984; Jimerson, 2004; Sayed, 1997; Rubenstein, *et al.*, 1992; Todd *et al.*, 2001).

Equity is a fundamentally important concept that can be used to describe the fairness and effectiveness of the education systems for any country (Rawls, 1972?). It refers to what is socially just, and attempts to address unequal outcomes (Walzer, 1989; Sayed, 2001).

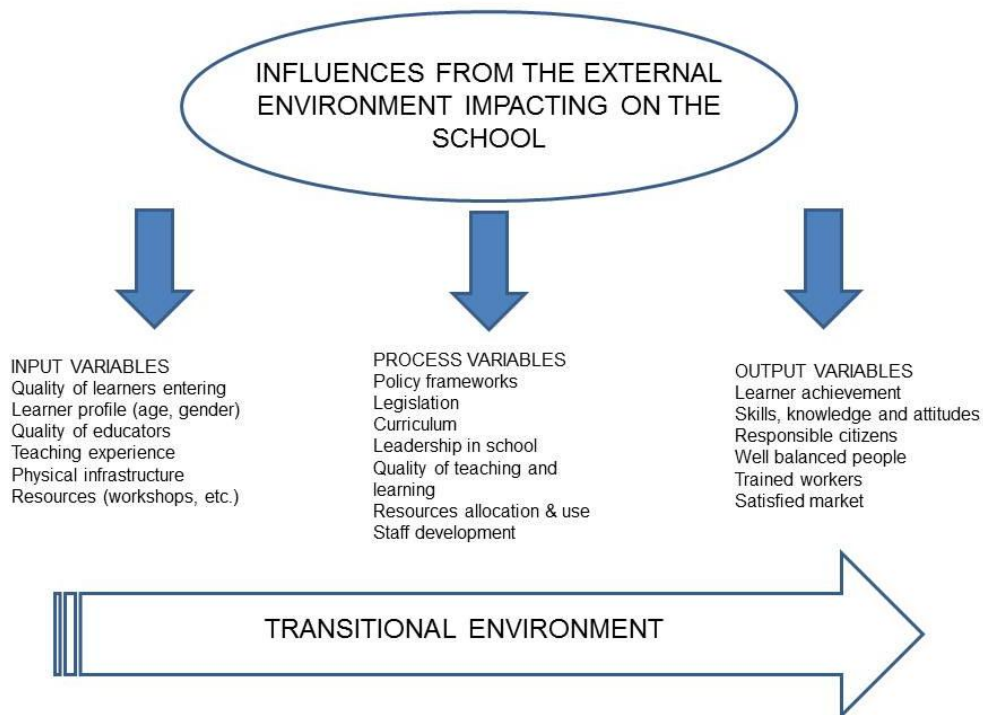
The principle of equity can define the specificity of disparity (Weber, 2002), and advocates of equity may propose a process of differential distribution to achieve the goal.

According to Berne and Stiefel (1984) and Chi and Jasper (1997), the concept of equity is highly complex and multi-dimensional, which tends to take on different meanings in different contexts. Chi and Jasper (1997) define the term 'equity' as a normative concept, and it is a purely empirical question to design a valid and reliable instrument which measures difference or inequalities that may exist between various individuals or groups. Rubenstein, et al (1992), Rubenstein *et al.* (2006) and Nieuwenhuis (2010) conceptualise 'equity' as an application based on the notions of justice, fairness, and equal opportunities regardless of race, ethnicity, religion, gender, and social economic status. It is related to equal access to the same level of basic resources of services to enable people or citizens to participate in social and political processes (McGrath, 1993; Berne & Stiefel, 1979a, 1984b; UNESCO, 2006).

Furthermore, Arnaud (2001) and Nieuwenhuis (2010), state that the concept of 'equity' is more associated with 'fairness, impartiality, and justice with dimensions that make it possible to consider it as instrument to bring harmony into progressive societies and a means of solving conflicts in some legal cultures.

In Chapter 1, the researcher identified three possible meanings for the concept 'equity' from Berne and Stiefel's (1984) work, i.e. 'horizontal equity, vertical equity, and equal opportunity', and the three principles can be broadly conceptualised to include inputs, outputs, and outcomes, as illustrated in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1 Input, process and output variables in education



Source: Nieuwenhuis, 2007

'Horizontal equity' is a principle that focuses on disparities across various groups in access and resources; the analysis of equal educational opportunity relates a region's wealth (measured as regional product per capita) and population density (a proxy for urban/rural location) with the objects of equity. The concept of 'horizontal equity' is the principle that children in similar circumstances must be treated in the same way, and thus receives the same level of support in the allocation of resources; i.e. children from any family background or situation should be treated as equals.

The concept requires that learners who are alike should receive equal shares. This basic principle requires equal expenditure or revenue per learner, so that equals are treated equally. It is clear from both a physiological and psychological perspective that this approach is simplistic as individuals are not equal in all senses and it does not provide for learners with special educational needs. Thus, the definition of the 'equity' requires choosing a set of criteria considered 'relevant' for the definition of 'equals' itself (Galbiati & Vetova, 2005).

The resulting definition is then that those who are in a relevant sense equal, should be treated equally. As one can imagine, this normative definition will certainly spark disagreement over the selection of 'relevant' variables. However, by defining equals, all individuals possessing the agreed upon qualities must be treated equally if horizontal equity is to be achieved or maintained. The two concepts of horizontal equity and vertical equity can be applied to many policy issues, and generally, horizontal equity represents equal access to public educational services, irrespective of factors such as location, ethnicity, and religion, or social economic status. In other words, equal treatment of equal needs.

In terms of MDG 2, formal education should give all children, including those from marginalised groups, nomadic pastoralist's learners in particular, the tools for life that lead to outcomes that are meaningful where they feel confident in using the knowledge and skills they have acquired. Formal education is about developing behaviour based on positive values, understanding and respect for other people's rights, and culture. This would be in line with EFA objectives and MDGs that children should receive the basic education they need to enrich their lives, expand their opportunities, and participate in society. The quality of the education they receive in terms of what they learn, under what conditions, and the crucial role of teachers, is key (Krätli & Dyer, 2009:14).

The concept of 'vertical equity' recognises that learners are not all the same, and that their starting points, relative to other learners, should be considered in an analysis of equity. In this case, providing additional funds for children who are differently situated, with different levels of resources, should be considered in order to achieve similar results (e.g. school completion) for a particular group of children or a specific region (UNESCO, 2007:24). It is a principle that allows differently situated people to receive appropriately different levels of resources, by taking into account, for example, the higher costs of educating certain learners in order to bring them to a given level of output or achievement.

Some developing countries, for example South Africa, have created a vertical equity mechanism through categorical funding of special needs programmes and weighting of government allocations according to learners needs and the circumstances under which they live (Berne & Stiefel, 1984:7; Create, 2009). The principle of 'vertical equity' means equal access, irrespective of income or financial wealth. It may also refer to the aim of unequal treatment for unequal needs; for example, more resources allocated for teaching children from poor and nomadic families than for those that come from wealthy

or better off families. This is termed 'affirmative action' or 'positive discrimination', and is aimed at overcoming the persistence of disparities between groups and communities (Motala, 2005).

Thus, providing additional resources to those who are most disadvantaged and marginalised is a programmatic response to the need for equity and fairness. It allows children and/or learners with different situations to receive appropriately different levels of education services by taking into account the higher costs of educating certain learners in order to bring them to a given level of output or achievement.

Furthermore, Berne and Stiefel (1984) state that the concept of vertical equity ties input equity to output equity. When inputs are 'adjusted' for the costs of educating various groups of children, as is often done when vertical equity is measured, the adjustment is meant to indicate the amount of additional resources that need (higher costs that are incurred) to bring some learners to a given output levels. It focuses on the treatment of differently situated learners, implicitly assuming that learners require different resources to achieve set levels of performance. Therefore, in some circumstances and for some reasons, it is not only acceptable but also necessary to treat learners differently, because differential treatment based on these characteristics may be necessary to make an education system more equitable. Examples include learners with learning disabilities and learners from marginalised or economically disadvantaged groups.

Berne and Stiefel's (1984) definition of vertical equity, as the appropriately unequal treatment of the unequal, is a more difficult concept to operationalise than the approach of horizontal equity. Not all learners have the same educational needs, and funding strategies in developed countries like the USA, and UK have components that generally address learners' individual needs by providing more resources to the regions/districts and local authorities, thus serving learners who might require additional or more intensive services.

The level of additional resources that such learners should receive is often difficult to define, however. The concept of vertical equity would require that schools serving large numbers of disadvantaged learners be allocated more resources than other schools to compensate for these higher deficits. Therefore, if children from different backgrounds were to have similar chances in life, they would have to be treated differently (Hernes, 1974). Quality of results necessitates unequal of provision and resources (Berne &

Stiefel, 1999). The ideal is that the educational career of the individual would be determined by ability and intents, and not, for example by status and place of residence. Hernes (1974) puts it, 'all learners are equally worth, but none of them are alike'. According to Hernes (1974), the concept of 'vertical equity' is a tool aimed at trying to get everyone to the same level, while quality to equal opportunity is about the right to fairness, and the concept mainly ties input variables to output variables.

The principle of 'equal education opportunity', is based on the notion that all children should have an equal chance to succeed, and for there to be equal education opportunity, learners should have access to resources that put them at 'a fair starting line' and 'conditions should be set up to allow the possibility for all to 'succeed' (Berne & Stiefel, 1999). In some cases, equal opportunity is treated as a condition of horizontal equity. Turner (as quoted by Nieuwenhuis, 2005:14) however reminds one 'that equal of opportunity and conditions tend to produce inequality of results.'

Berne and Stiefel (1984a and 1994b) argue that provision of equal educational opportunity focuses on the relationship between per-learner revenues and region/district or learner characteristics that might be considered 'compensatory' for the purposes of decisions of resources allocation. This principle is also commonly referred to as 'fiscal neutrality'; if disparities across regions or schools exist, it is important to determine whether these differences are due to 'illegitimate' factors (such as differences in local wealth) or other factors such as differences in local preferences for education.

McGrath (1993), in his work on equal education resource distribution in the United States of America, articulates that the 'equalisation of educational opportunity and equalisation of school support means that every child within a state's borders should have equal access to educational facilities, programmes and services.

Berne and Stiefel (1994) try to shift away from an input model of equity, which is resources-oriented to input-outcomes. In the researcher's view, the Berne and Stiefel (1994) conceptual framework covers the core dimensions of equity, including empirical measures that would be useful for a more technical equity analysis while minimising complexity, so that the framework is less burdensome for policymakers and other potential users. From an educational point of view, however, the concept also has some limitations since equitable distribution of education resources alone cannot address or bring social justice.

To provide equity and quality education; better teaching and learning in a conducive environment needs to be created; for example, adequately trained teachers, learner-centred methods, appropriate class size, sufficient learning time, appropriate curriculum, and relevant materials are key. In addition, better school environments are needed; for example, basic facilities including water and sanitation, a safe and secure environment, attitudes of respect and tolerance, nutrition and health support and accountable management processes are the ingredients for equity, quality education and social justice.

To underline the concept of social justice, fairness and equity for everyone, special approaches for children from disadvantaged groups, such as nomadic pastoralists who are unable to receive a quality education without special measures and attention to address their needs are needed. Equity and quality in education will mean doing things differently, treating learners differently based on their individual needs, and this necessitates unequal of provision and resource allocation.

Furthermore, there is a need to broaden the traditional viewpoint of the concept of equity, so as to focus on the effective use or deployment of resources with the aim of producing equal results, not equal outputs. In this way, equity may be seen as the prerequisite of quality education, which requires unequal inputs (EFA Global Monitoring Report 2005; UNESCO, 2010).

According to the literature (Krätli & Dyer, 2009; Fowler, 1999), if the world, developing countries in particular, would like to achieve vertical equity and quality education, children from parents with different resources (rich and poor) must be treated differently (affirmative action or positive discrimination), but there is always a trade-off between vertical equity, horizontal equity and efficiency. For example, in extending educational services to marginalised and nomadic groups, per capita costs are often very high and the response is usually poor, judging by the retention rates and the learning outcomes among these children compared with their counter-parts in urban and settled areas. Equally, any efforts in promoting equity and quality in education often require additional resources; whether through the allocation of extra funds or the reallocation of resources between the different sectors.

Like Chi & Jasper (1997), Rubenstein, Doering and Moser (1992) conceptualise 'equity' as an application of justice and fairness, often to correct or supplement the common law and to mitigate its deficiencies by providing a policy response or targeted social intervention. In developed nations like in the United States, the concept of equity manifested in the first and second 'waves' of fiscal equity litigation in 1971-1973 and 1990-1994, which assessed interpretations of equal-protection clauses in the states' constitutions (Rebell, 1998). Over the past decade, in the United States for example, many state schools' finance systems have been, and continue to be, challenged in the courts and most of the courts have ruled on the constitutionality of their financing public education laws. The basis for the challenges was the claim that dramatic inequalities in spending per learner meant learners in poor districts and schools were being denied equal educational opportunities; i.e. equal access to education resources.

The lawsuits in education finance can be traced back to the landmark 1954 case of *Brown v. the Board of Education* where the U.S.A. Supreme Court ruled that racially segregated schools violate the 14th Amendment's guarantee of equal protection under the law. School finance reformers sought to extend this argument to the issue of education funding, arguing that equal protection meant equal distribution of resources on a per-learner basis.

They argue that each learner is entitled to receive the same amount of resources or services, commonly referred as an argument for 'education funding equity' (Jimerson, 2002; Lavigne & Hofmaster, 2000; Rubenstein *et al.*, 1992).

However, according to Nieuwenhuis (2010), treating everyone the same way in terms of funding, does not necessarily mean fairness of treatment. He further reiterates that often equal treatment opportunity is restricted by individual's backgrounds and cultural and circumstances that put children at a disadvantage. To achieve a fair starting line, especially for learners from marginalised groups like the nomadic Himba and Zemba children in Namibia, there must be conditions set up to allow the possibility for all to succeed, which implies differential funding.

The argument is that equalising the starting line by creating opportunity for marginalised groups to participate in education is important, but it might not be enough to put them on an equal footing with the rest of the group because their marginalised position in the society makes them more disadvantaged. In the case of Namibia, for example, since

independence equity driven policies and strategies had to be developed to redress past injustices and inequalities to ensure that the starting line of every Namibian could be equalised.

But even if the starting line is the same, the process variables may remain unequal; especially in rural and remote areas, such as those who have been marginalised in the past. Making education accessible to people like the Himba and Zemba in the north west of Namibia, without attending to issues of upgrading teachers' skill levels or the physical facilities at schools will not mean much in terms of these equity-driven policy initiatives if the result is that they continue to be marginalised. For that reason, some form of compensation or redress or affirmative action is needed to equalise the race itself, as well as addressing their mobile lifestyle.

Fiske and Ladd's (2002) study, 'Financing schools in post apartheid South Africa: Initial steps toward fiscal equity' defines equity as an input measure, like the quantity and quality of educational inputs. This may include variation among regions or provinces in education expenditure per learner, as well as human resources in terms of qualifications and experiences.

Fiske and Ladd (2002) further claim that the equity-driven reform in the South African context has implicitly built on the concept of distributional equity, which clearly focuses on the equal opportunities and quality of education, which the researcher views as similar to the Namibian context. Whatever measures are used, Fiske and Ladd (2002) argue that for some people, distributional equity may be defined with respect to public funds alone; while others define it based on public and privately funded resources.

2.3. Quality in education

The Dakar Framework for Action (EFA Global Monitoring Report 2005:29) – the Quality Imperative, defines 'quality' as a set of desirable characteristics of learners (healthy, motivated), processes (competent teachers using active pedagogies), content (relevant curricula) and systems (good governance and equitable resource allocation). The Declaration identifies quality as a prerequisite for achieving the fundamental goal of equity; therefore MDG 6 emphasises improving all aspects of the quality of education. The Dakar Framework for Action declares that access to quality education is the right of every child, and should be 'at the heart of education' (EFA Global Monitoring Report,

2005:29).

Quality determines how much, and how well, children learn, and the extent to which their education translates into a range of personal, social and developmental benefits. Goal 6 of the Dakar Framework for Action (2000) emphasises the need for a stimulating pedagogy. It is the teaching and learning process that brings the curriculum to life and determines what happens in the classroom, and subsequently, the quality of the learning outcomes.

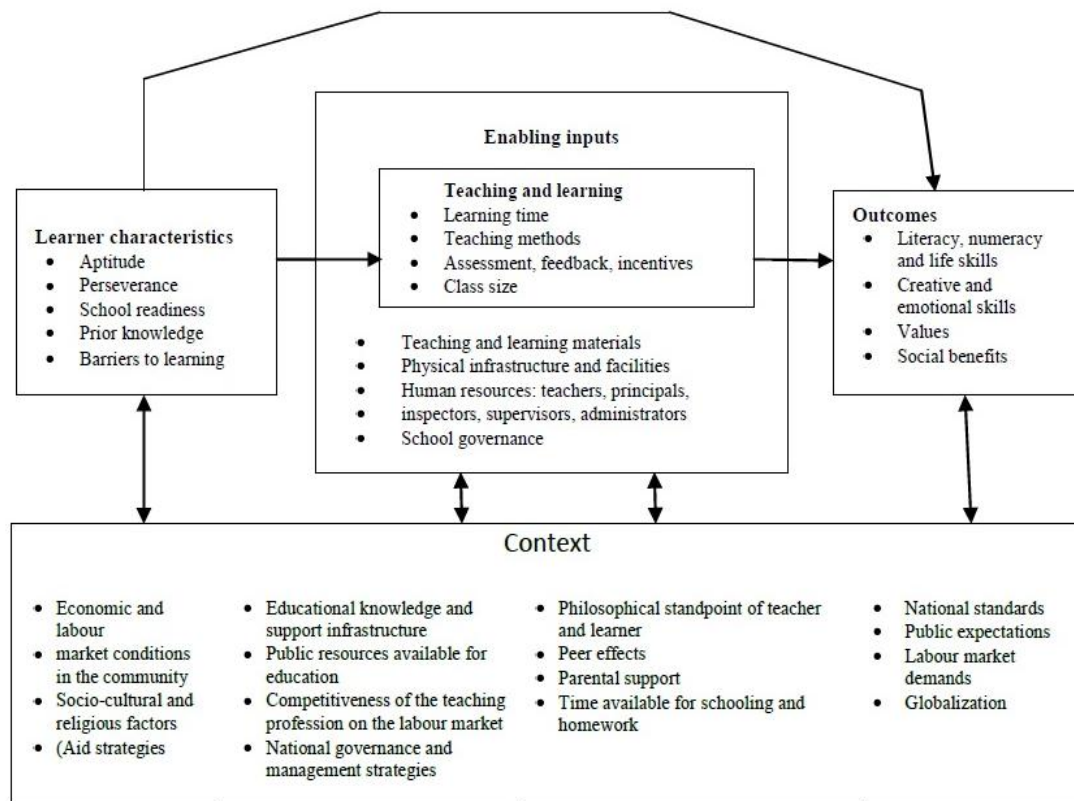
Although countries are striving to guarantee all children the right to education, the focus on universal access often overshadows attention to quality (EFA GMR, 2005:4). Yet quality, identified as a key pillar, determines how much and how well children learn and the extent to which their education translates into a range of personal, social and developmental benefits.

The principle of quality refers to equitable conditions or circumstances within the school or classroom that promote or enhance quality learning for all learners.

It includes the provision of curricula, learning materials, facilities, teachers and instructional experiences that enable learners to achieve high standards. Furthermore, quality is also related to the absence of barriers that prevent smooth implementation and a conducive learning and teaching environment in classrooms; rural areas in particular. According to Arnesson (2001), it is difficult to explain in definitive terms what it means, since it is deeply embedded in a society's value system. Arnesson (2001) refers the notion of quality of education as a principle of 'distributive justice', i.e. that there should be 'fair quality of educational service' for social and economic advancement.

Figure 2.2 is a UNESCO conceptualisation framework for understanding quality education, illustrating the main elements of education systems and how they interact in relation to quality.

Figure 2.2 A framework for understanding education quality



Source: EFA Global Monitoring 2005 Report Summary

This conceptualisation provides an integrated and comprehensive view of learning and demonstrates what constitutes quality education. The framework allows an understanding of the different variables that can contribute to quality in education, and lays bare the fact that quality of education is seen as surrounding access, teaching and learning processes and outcomes in ways that are influenced both by context and by the range and quality of inputs available.

In his study 'The concept of quality in education', Sayed (1997:26) argues that concept of quality in education is elusive and frequently used, but never clearly defined. He goes on to discuss how its multiple meanings reflect 'different ideological, social and political values' (Sayed, 1997:26). By critiquing key principle approaches to quality education, Sayed (1997) underlines what he calls the 'value-bases' of any framework for quality in education. Drawing from Berne and Stiefel's (1984) and Bunting's (1993) principles, Sayed (1997) came to the conclusion that 'equity in education does have an

underneath line and that line is defined by the goals and values which underpin the essentially human activity of education’.

The point Sayed (1997) makes is that this should be the starting point for an understanding of the notion of equity in education. Thus, any discussion of quality, or action to improve quality, must be preceded by an understanding of the learning experiences of individual learners. Sayed (1997) also goes further in that definitions of quality are also determined at the country level; countries determine the relationship between their own quality standards and ‘internationally accepted’ definitions. Therefore, efforts to define quality in education and improve learning must be weighed at the school and classroom level, and involve ongoing, systematic assessment.

The definitions of quality as presented above are consistent with the communiqué issued at UNESCO Ministerial Round Table on Quality Education, that recognises that the principle of quality has become a dynamic concept that has to constantly adapt to unprecedented new challenge and needs as societies evolve (UNESCO, 2008). Education systems today are challenged by the changing character and growing complexity of society; therefore, definitions of quality should not be fixed, but rather evolve as conditions change.

This means that definitions of quality must be open to change and evolution, based on information, changing contexts, and new understandings of the nature of education’s challenges. These constantly changing demands and expectations have implications in achieving quality of education for all (UNESCO, 2008). Therefore systems that embrace change through data generation, use and self-assessment, are more likely to offer quality education for all learners (Glasser, 1990).

Added to this, is the usual focus on the ability of the education system and schools to deliver on equity and quality of education, essential knowledge and relevant skills, teacher competence, the curriculum, teaching and learning methodologies, processes in the learning environment, examinations and assessment, management, administrative practises, planning and policy development. These remain key to the education quality debate (UNESCO, 2003). Moreover, to achieve the desired quality, the inputs and process should be of ‘quality’ in terms of efficiency, effectiveness, excellence and social justice. The quality output can be achieved only if quality is ensured at each level of the educational process (UNESCO, 2003:10).

Many definitions of quality in education exist, testifying to the complexity and multifaceted nature of the concept. The terms efficiency, effectiveness, equity and quality have often been used synonymously (Adams, 1993). Considerable consensus exists around the basic dimensions of quality education today, however. According UNICEF (2000) report, quality education includes:

- Quality learners who are healthy, well-nourished and ready to participate and learn, and supported in learning by their families and communities, including teacher quality support for their tasks in schools;
- Quality environments that are healthy, safe, protective and gender-sensitive, and provide adequate resources and facilities are likely to support learners to succeed in schools;
- Quality content that is reflected in relevant curricula and materials for the acquisition of basic skills, especially in the areas of literacy, innumeracy and relevance skills for life, and knowledge in such areas as gender, health, nutrition, HIV/AIDS prevention and peace;
- **Quality processes** through which trained teachers use child or learner-centred teaching approaches in well-managed classrooms and schools and skilful assessment to facilitate learning and reduce disparities represents a key factor in ensuring quality school process;
- Quality outcomes that encompass knowledge, skills and attitudes, and are linked to national goals and objectives for education and positive participation in society.

These factors allows for an understanding of education as a complex system, embedded in a political, cultural and economic context. Furthermore, the factors take into account the global influences that drive the discussion of quality in education (Motala, 2000; Bernard A 1999; Benoliel, O’Gara and Miske 1999).

2.4. Equity and quality: International perspective

The World Declarations of Education for All (1990) emphasises that to achieve this by 2015, requires, in addition to increased access to quality education, all countries to improve the equity and quality education 'so that recognised and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all member states (Fagerlind & Saha, 1989; Coleman, 1990; Levin, 2001, UNESCO, 2002).

The ultimate aim of EFA is that primary school age children receive the basic skills they need to enrich their lives, expand their opportunities, and participate in society. The quality of the education they receive in terms of what they learn, under what conditions, and the crucial role teachers play, are keys. Internationally though, to realise Education for All (WCEFA, 1990), it demands a particularly close focus on those groups who, for various reasons, have so far been excluded from existing educational provision. Education is directly implicated in this concern, and it has been given its central place in human and national development (Fagerlind & Saha, 1989).

Towards the close of the 20th century, world leaders from both developed and developing countries met in Dakar, under the auspices of the United Nations (UN), to evaluate progress made in terms of the social, economic and political dimensions of national and international development since the Declaration of Education for All. It became clear from the analysis that EFA developmental targets had remained elusive as some projects and programmes had not yielded the anticipated outcomes. From an international perspective, the world leaders realise that the gap between rich and poor countries continue to widen, not only in terms of getting children through school, but also in terms of what they are actually learning and what quality education they receive.

A comparison of enrolment levels between developed and developing countries shows that whereas all primary age children in developed countries are in school, only 40% are in developing countries, of which more than 50% are in Sub-Saharan Africa. The interactions, awareness and negotiations during the Dakar Education Forum led to the birth of the MDGs to guide the EFA programmes. The World Education Forum (2000) renewed the commitment of EFA, and emphasis was placed on the low participation in formal education of some groups, such as nomadic communities and lower income groups. In countries where nomadic populations are to be found, like Namibia, education to these communities is becoming a focus of the governments, with the

growing awareness that Education for All by 2015 will not be achieved unless prompt efforts are made to ensure expanded access and retention for these groups beyond the reach of the mainstream provisions.

In addition, providing universal access and quality education are some of the six goals in the Dakar Framework of Action (UNESCO, 2000) and as the 2015 MDG target for universal primary education draws closer, there has been increased policy interest in both developed and less developed countries in general (Murphy *et al.*, 2002; UNESCO, 2002; UNESCO, 2006), and for nomadic groups in particular (Pennells & Ezeomah, 2000; Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005). However, efforts have been made by developing countries, especially in achieving technical compliance with the MDG 2, and by 2015 most of the developing countries will be close to attaining 100% school age attendance, but this does not automatically translate into achieving equity or quality education. According to Jansen (2001a), Fiske and Ladd (2002), much of the inequities and inequalities persisting in developing countries in particular are mainly related to the governments' inability to offer the equity and quality of education promised.

Jansen's (2002) argues that in developing countries like South Africa, policy is largely 'political symbolism' in that the new state has over-invested in policy formulation at the expense of practical implementation. Jansen's (2002) claim is that politicians do not always invent policy in order to change practice, but policy often represents a search for legitimacy.

According to Jansen (2001b), the explanation that is usually given for the gap between intended policy and outcomes is the lack of resources, the legacy of inequity created by the previous regime, and the lack of human capacity to translate policy into practice. It is highly likely that this may be similar to the Namibia situation. However, it is Jansen's (2001b) contention that due to a lack of clear direction and explanation between education policy intention and practice in post-colonial states, failure is commonly attributed to the lack of resources, the legacy of inequity and the lack of capacity to translate the policy intent into practical reality.

Similar to Jansen (2001), Argyris and Schon (1974) note that effective implementation rests on the belief that people are designers of action in order to achieve intended consequences, and to monitor them to learn whether their actions are effective. Argyris and Schon's (1974) assumption is that human behaviour does not occur by chance or

instinct, it is guided by theories of action, which are vehicles for explanation, and prediction.

Galvin and Fauske (2000:43) similarly argue that what is important in policy development is attention to practical implementation, but this does not occur as policy makers as deductive thinkers do not consider the practical conditions in which the policy is to be implemented. Galvin and Fauske (2000) assert that policy makers do not take into account the context of policy implementation. In short, policymakers are often guided by theory that might not hold true in certain contexts of implementation, and do not take into account the theories behind their practices.

The EFA means not only having access to schooling but also having quality of education for all children in respect of their social-economic background or circumstances, ethnic origins and geographical location. There are linkages between equity access and quality education; therefore a lot more must be done in order to ensure that all children around the globe have equal access to sound quality primary education (Hanushek, 2000). On the basis of this, ministries and departments of education worldwide are supportive of this interpretation of the EFA notion in its wider sense. On the other hand, education policy makers and educational planners in developing countries where nomadic people reside, are, however, faced with the enormous challenge of making this commitment a reality.

One challenge is how to make significant progress in promoting equity and extending education services to meet the learning needs of nomadic pastoralists' and hunters' children with limited resources.

In terms of policy development, there have been a number of controversies from the discussion of 'equity' and 'quality' in the field of education. Various concepts are often invoked by policy analysts, policy-makers, and scholars in order to justify or critique resource allocation to different levels of the education system. As stated earlier, equity and quality are major policy concerns in both developed and developing countries. However, there are significant differences among nations with respect to definitions and issues of equity and quality.

The current debates on equity and quality concepts among scholars and researchers reveals disagreement and confusion about what those concepts really mean and what they involve in terms of goals and results (Nieuwenhuis, 2010; Stiefel, 1999; Ball, 1994; Cohen, 1999). The principles of equity and quality debates have often privileged 'input' rather than 'results/outcomes.' Policy-makers and implementers seem to be interested in the allocation of money and the outcomes measured by exit level examinations, but too little emphasis or interest is placed on the processes within education. Typical is the storm that is created after the release of the results of such national examinations.

According to Ken Boston, an erstwhile director of public education in New South Wales, and most recently the chief executive of the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority in England, chronically underperforming schools should be closed and their principals or teachers sacked (The Australian, 2009). Similar comments have been made in South Africa on the release of the Grade 12 results on a yearly basis since 2003, but it seems to demonstrate a type of duality in the thinking of policy makers and it may be at the root of the failure of education systems. It would appear that policy makers and administrators see their role as providers of funding and the custodians of outcomes, without engaging in the processes needed to obtain the type of outcomes desired.

The fact is that what constitutes equity or quality in one country may be considered mediocrity in another. Until policy-makers and researchers arrive at consensus on the level of achievement that one can expect from the education systems, we will continue not knowing whether the educational systems/schools are offering equal opportunities and a quality education to all learners (Hadderman, 1990). It is apparent that the ability of each country to reach the goals of equity and quality in education depends upon whether the resourcing mechanisms of public education are designed to promote equity, and quality in education (Hadderman, 1990).

Underlying the concept of equity is the notion of 'fairness'. Often one talk about the public education system operate fairly, and one considers the equitable distribution of education resources as a mechanism for providing a fair basic standard of living for all people. But inevitably, as Fowler (1999) and Nieuwenhuis (2010) assert, perceptions about what is 'fair' are enfolded in one's own value judgments and beliefs.

In his article, 'Social justice in education revisited', Nieuwenhuis (2010) argues that less wealthier developed countries and developing countries are unable to afford to implement what international conventions and treaties require them to do; especially the ideals of EFA and universal primary education by 2015. Nieuwenhuis (2010:277) strengthens his argument by quoting Christie (2009):

Developing countries may not have the economic resources or political will to provide the type of quality education for all envisaged by the international agenda written in the conference rooms of Paris or Washington. But even if developing countries had the resources and political will, cultural beliefs and practices may militate against the right to quality education or protection against discrimination.

Added to this, universal schooling accompanied by quality, equity and accessibility could be a single big move towards attaining future prosperity of every nation. Education should be provided in such a manner that ensures children can benefit from it, so that they can realise their potential and aspirations (Sayed, 1997; UNESCO, 2000).

2.5. Equity and quality education: Developing country perspective

Since the enunciation and implementation of the 2000 Dakar framework of action, substantial progress has been noted globally in terms of the achievement of universal primary education and gender parity in education towards the realisation of the cardinal goals of the EFA movement. This is despite the fact that there are challenges. In education, much work has been done to quantify progress in the 2000-2008 period, and to assess prospects for the years leading up to 2015.

Developing countries, Sub-Saharan Africa in particular, have made progress in terms of increased access to primary education opportunities; especially among those social groups traditionally excluded from the mainstream (UNESCO, 2006). In addition, based on international pressure arising out of the need to increase human capital and the commitments made by the UN member countries, including Namibia, it has rekindled the need and thinking to reach out to the groups and communities such as nomads who have traditionally be marginalised from access and quality education.

Since the launch of MDGs in 2000, many UN member countries around the world have put in place a number of educational policies, such as Universal Primary Education for all (UPE) plans and programmes, addressing the problem of equity and quality in the provisioning of primary and secondary schooling. These efforts have brought some positive outcomes in terms of increased access to primary education. The 2009 Education for All Global Monitoring (GM) Report, 'Overcoming disparity: why governance matters', shows that progress has been made towards universal primary education and gender parity, with sharp enrolment increases in Sub-Sahara Africa and South Asia in particular. According to the EFA GM report (2009), some developing countries' plans and programmes have yielded positive results as more primary school age children in developing nations have been go to school, and the majority were able to read and write their names, and are better informed as a result of the EFA plan and programmes.

In terms of education provision among nomad groups, attempts have been made to respond to their educational needs and aspirations.

Programmes, such as mobile schools catering for primary age children of nomadic communities, are found in some parts of the world. Examples where such programmes are found include Algeria (Blanguernon, 1954), Nigeria (Udoh, 1982) and Namibia (NAMAS, 2004). In the Namibian case, tents are used as classrooms. These classrooms are intended to follow nomadic communities during their seasonal migration. As a result of these initiatives, a remarkable increase in enrolment rates has been registered in many regions. The bad news is that globally, the world is not on course for achieving the international development target of universal education by 2015. The EFA GM (2009) report indicates that to date, none of the MDGs targets for the year 2015 have been met.

According to Table 2.1 (p44), Sub-Saharan Africa has made the most progress since the inception of the MDG targets, with an 18% increase in the primary NER from 58% in 2000 to 76% in 2008. In contrast, developed countries have almost reached universal primary education of 100%; however, their primary NER slightly declined from 98% in 1991 to 96% in 2008.

In general, however, these statistics show that most of the developed and some developing countries are likely to attain nearly all the MDGs by 2015. The exceptions are Sub-Sahara Africa, Southern and Western Asia (GMR 2006a, 2008b, 2009c; Krätli, 2001; Anderson, 2002; ADEA, 2005a, 2006b).

Table 2.1 Primary Net Enrolment Rate per region – 1991-2008

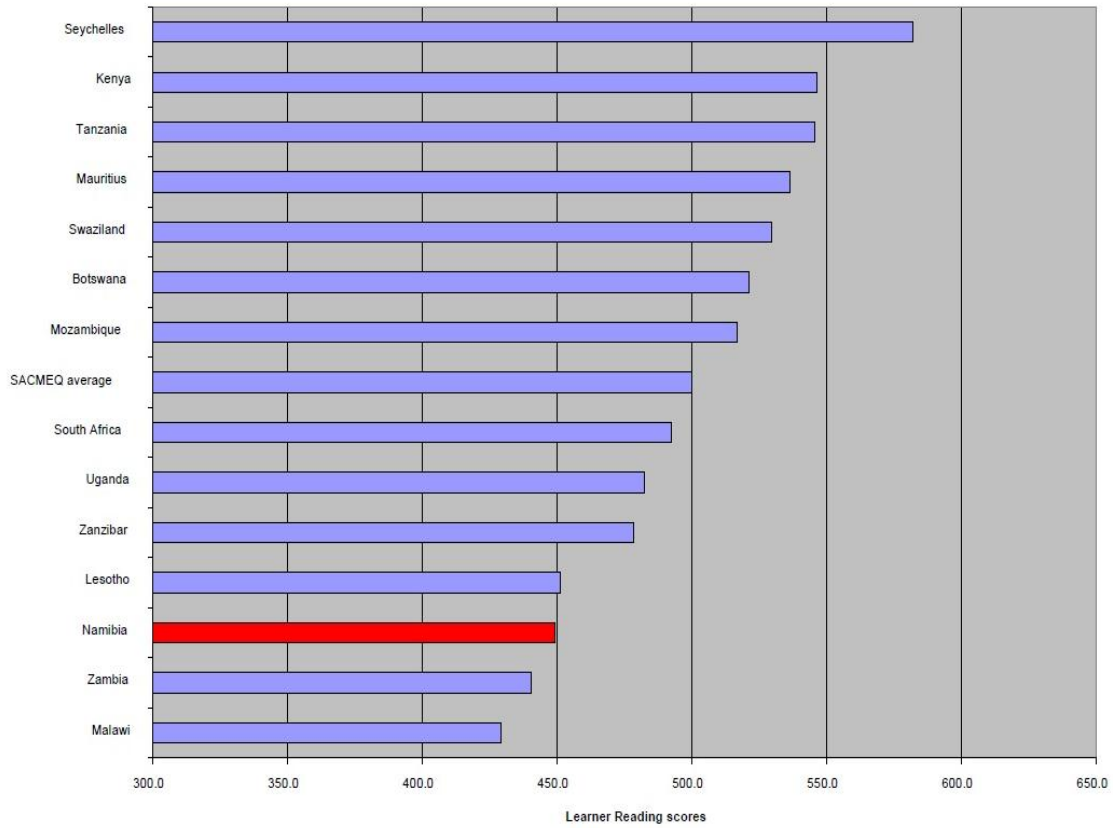
Region	Percentage of primary school completion rate		
	1991	2000	2008
CIS: Europe	81	88	93
CIS: Asia	88	92	94
Eastern Asia	98	99	94
South Eastern Asia	98	94	95
Southern Asia	72	80	90
Western Asia	80	85	88
Northern Africa	83	91	95
Sub-Saharan Africa	54	58	76
Latin America	87	94	95
Developing regions	80	83	88
Developed regions	98	87	96

Source: UN MDG Report 2008

In terms of equity and quality in education, Sub-Saharan African learners continue to perform below the mean on international assessment tests in mathematics and English, dropout rates continue to increase, and learners are not able to perform at the grade level expected. Evidence can be drawn from the SACMEQ II (2005) study involving 15 countries in South and Eastern Africa which reveals that education quality has declined in Grade 6 literacy achievement scores, with the most significant differences occurring in Malawi, Namibia and Zambia (Figure 2.3). The SACMEQ II (2005) study found that fewer than 25% of Grade 6 learners reached the 'desirable' level of reading literacy in Lesotho, South Africa, Zanzibar and Uganda, with less than 10% in, Malawi, Namibia,

and Zambia.

Figure 2.3 Learner reading scores by country



Source: SACMEQ II 2005

It can be seen from Figure 2.3, Malawi, Namibian and Zambia learners scored relatively poorly in reading, and half a standard deviation below the SACMEQ average. They had about the same level of achievement as the Lesotho learners and were slightly better than the learners from Zambia and Malawi. Although no clear cause could be identified in the study, inequity (poverty in terms of household income) and poor quality educational services (lack of physical facilities, materials and human resources) appear to have befallen the three worst-affected countries (Malawi, Namibia and Zambia).

The three regions (Sub-Sahara Africa, Southern and Western Asia) will be hard pressed to meet the goal of universal primary access and quality education, because translating principles into practice pose immense challenges, and the current record is mixed. According to the EFA Global Monitoring Report (2006a, 2008b, 2009c) and Krätli and Dyer (2009), 14 African countries, of which many are in Northern Africa, have the potential to reach MDG 2. Unfortunately, increased enrolment in some of these countries has not translated into completion rate or equal access opportunities to a quality education.

In countries, like Namibia, most primary school age children, especially in rural and/or nomadic communities (i.e. San, Himba and Zemba), do not have access to schooling and sound quality primary education. The 2001 Namibian Population Census (2001) reveals that there were more 25 000 primary age children who did not attend school, and over 10 000 who had left school early. It is these communities that need to be reached by access to schooling and quality education if EFA goals and MDGs targets are going to be met. Furthermore, by international comparison, Sub-Saharan African countries continue to spend less on primary education; on average \$167 per child per year in primary education, compared with the global average of \$1 000, and more than \$5 000 in the United State and Western Europe (UNECOSOC, 2010).

Equally, despite positive progress made globally, the EFA Global Monitoring Report (2005a, 2006b, 2009c) emphasis that due to the growth of many developing nations, many of them in Sub-Sahara Africa and South Asia, they will not be able to achieve MDG 2 - Universal Primary Education (UPE) by 2015. Although some countries are approaching universal enrolment rates, the 2009 Global Monitoring Report shows that there were about 77 million children of primary age, with one-third of this age group in Sub-Sahara Africa, that are still out of school due to financial, social or physical barriers including HIV/AIDS and conflict.

The GMR (2006) states that 47 out of 163 countries in the world had reached, or were approaching UPE, and an additional 20 countries were estimated to be 'on track' to achieve UPE by 2015. Huge challenges remain with 44 countries, 23 of which are in Sub-Sahara Africa, and are not likely to achieve the goal of UPE by 2015. Furthermore, ongoing challenges to the MDGs presented by growing disparity between and within countries, and the challenges faced by conflict-affected and fragile countries, have been exacerbated by the current global economic crisis. This matter is discussed further in Chapter 3.

Furthermore, there still remains much to be done; particularly with regards to delivering on the promise of equity and quality of education for all, and its potential to transform the lives of individuals, families, communities and nations; nomads and lower-incomes groups in particular. In most instances, the Education for All and the education-related MDG 2, 3 and 4 will not be met by 2015 without dramatically stepped up efforts (BEAP, 2009). Policies are required to expand access to Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE), improve quality education, and scale up youth and adult literacy programmes. More strategic partnerships are needed between developing countries, NGOs, the UN system, governments, communities and learners so that education is strategically linked with other social issues such as child protection.

2.6. Equity and quality education to nomadic groups in a developing country context

The section discusses the policies related to equity and quality education as they pertain to nomadic people living in a developing country where socio-economic and cultural factors work against the provisioning of education. This section explores the main issues and arguments found in the work of Carr-Hill and Peart (2005) that assess the provisioning of education to nomads and the challenges posed by these groups on education systems like Namibia.

This section also discusses various aspects of equity and quality in the education offered to nomadic children, and how formal schooling responds to these particular groups and the cultural values that might contradict those of the nomadic groups. It also highlight some of the progress made by the Namibian government regarding the equity and quality in education geared toward nomadic groups (specifically the Himba and Zemba people) in responding to the World Declaration of Education for All by 2015.

Since the World Declaration of EFA and MDGs, the question of equity and quality education for children of nomadic communities has become more pertinent than ever before. The common problem is the disparity in enrolments of children from marginalised and/or nomadic groups, despite heavy investment and efforts in the part of education systems by developing countries, in particular.

Over the past two decades there has been growing awareness of the need to make significant progress in extending services to nomadic communities. In 1998, the Namibian government, for example, recognised that equity in education for all could not be achieved without improving quality. Equally; the government identified that equity in education is driven by the requirements of making schooling available to all its citizens, in pursuit of ideological aims that find expression in national policies and the endorsement of the international aim of Education for All, and the MDG (Carr-Hill, (2005). Nomadic communities, however, do not fit easily into the plans and strategies of government, and thus present some of the most interesting, complex and challenging demands to the state in determining the nature and aim of educational provisioning suited to the goals of national development (Krätli, 2001).

In the literature, nomads and pastoralist communities are variously defined, but broadly speaking, they are ethnic or socio-economic groups who constantly travel or migrate in large or small groups in search of a means of livelihood within a community, country or across international boundaries. Equally, nomads and pastoralists, like the Himba and Zemba in Namibia, reflect a lifestyle based upon the maintenance of herds of animals that depend mainly on natural vegetation for their food/survival. Providing quality education to nomadic and pastoralist groups entails immense challenges which go well beyond the immediate and obvious problems of logistics - how do you reach communities that are always on the move and live in sparsely populated and climatically extreme areas?

They live in a sparsely populated, harsh environment where such conditions and the remoteness are some of the challenges that present technical obstacles to the provisioning of formal education. The nomadic life-style, and in particular the scattered, low density distribution of pastoral population, and their varying degrees of mobility, makes assuring access to quality education more expensive, as well as difficult to organise and manage.

According to Krätli and Dyer (2009), governments, especially those that accommodate a large number of nomadic populations like Namibia, started various initiatives such as mobile schools and boarding facilities, but with the exception of Iran, there is often a poor response from the targeted recipients.

Nomadic people, by nature, are migratory while the orientation of formal education in all countries requires stability such as full time attendance of school. Any effort to accommodate migratory patterns will increase costs and limit access to education for nomadic children. In addition, these children are also a source of labour in the family. Daily schooling (Monday-Friday) every week, according to Krätli and Dyer (2009:14), conflicts with mobility patterns for nomadic people that herd their livestock in dry areas and whose main source of wealth is their livestock.

Although basic education is 'free' and compulsory for all children in most of developing countries, including Namibia, the norms dictate that if nomad children are to access formal and quality education this can only be realised if they give up their way of life and settle permanently in villages (Krätli & Dyer, 2006). But nomadic clans are 'closed communities', locked into their own traditions, and opposed to any change or push for innovation.

Based on the above, in some instances nomadic clans are seen as very conservative, primitive groups; slow to embrace the new national society, in historical settings in which 'the rest of their respective country cannot wait for them to develop. Nomadic people are sometimes labelled as an evolutionary 'cul de sac', environmentally destructive, economically irrational, and culturally backward (Krätli, 2000; Dyer 2005, as quoted by Anderson, 1999). In other words, they have been seen as being primitive, and driven more by cultural factors than as people with the potential to contribute to the economic development of any country.

Holland (1990:109), in a study of the nomadic Maasai community (Kenya), concluded that 'parents see no value in education and no good coming out of it'. Holland (1990) says education was perceived as a threat to the immediate viability of pastoralism as it removed labour from their children which might affect their production processes and threatened the age grade system, which was seen as the pillar of Maasai society. This is true not just for Kenya, but also for other developing countries where nomadic people are found, including Namibia (Krätli, 2000; Tahir, 1997; Dyer & Choksi, 1997).

In terms of teacher provision, some developing countries are not on track to fulfil their EFA commitments, as teacher provisioning present technical obstacles to equity and quality of education for all. One of the enormous challenges facing developing nations, especially African countries, is to ensure that every classroom has a trained teacher

who turns up every day to teach. The fact is that the EFA goals cannot be achieved in an environment where teachers are not adequately trained, or do not turn up to teach. Equity and quality in provisioning of education for all can only be achieved if all teachers are properly trained and all necessary conditions that facilitate a good learning and teaching environment have been provided.

Huneshek (2000) argues that improving teacher quality is an important key in improving learners' performance and quality education. The challenge of provision of teachers, however, becomes bigger in the face of the effects of HIV/AIDS on the education sector around the world, especially in developing countries. The HIV/AIDS pandemic is causing an unprecedented strain on education resources in developing countries, Africa in particular. It has led to a serious erosion of parents' commitment to support formal education, teachers' availability, and regular commitment to attend school, as well as children participation.

Resources that would have been otherwise devoted to education currently go to treating teachers, parents and children. The HIV/AIDS pandemic is generating shortages and absenteeism on the part of both teachers and pupils never witnessed before. To address the problem of HIV/AIDS, a community and school-based HIV/AIDS education programme should be mounted to promote prevention, behaviour change and life skills. Equally, current education reforms around the globe should address the issue of HIV/AIDS and emerging trends brought about by globalisation.

2.7. Conclusion

In the literature there is a general consensus that the equity principle is a social term, rather than an economic one, and it is defined in relation to the inequities or inequalities in the distribution of wealth or resources (McGrath, 1993; Coleman, 1990; Hutmacher *et al.*, 2001; Gewirtz, 2004). Gewirtz (2004) states that equity and quality in education are thus not only questions of opportunities provided in the educational system, but are also concerned with the actual results of the various educational choices and performances of different groups of learners and learners through the educational system.

Hanushek (2005) asserts that when defining equity in education, it is important to be aware that beneficiaries (learners) differ along several dimensions, and this has an impact on their needs for learning and their performance in the educational system. If

all were alike, equity in education would simply be a question of providing an equal distribution of educational resources to all schools and learners. But because learners and communities are different, both individually, and in the type and amount of resources they need from their family and environment which they bring with them into the classroom, their individual needs for training will vary.

The challenge to the users of the concept of horizontal and vertical equity is how to identify learners/children who are equal or alike. What these differences are, and how they may be reduced by educational policy, are questions that policymakers and researchers are still trying to answer. The question they ask is, to what extent is the educational system constructed in order to provide equal access to quality education and a fair learning environment for all groups of children from different backgrounds? Differences in personal or family resources may affect the learners or the learners' perceptions of the educational system, and the need for information. These differences open a range of discussions when analysing equity and quality in education.

In terms of EFA and MDGs, it must be acknowledged that significant measurable progress has been accomplished in many aspects; such as increased enrolment and expansion of free primary education in many developing countries. However, despite progress made globally in terms of the achievement of universal primary education, migrants and nomads continue to be among the most marginalised social groups, and continue to be widely excluded from educational quality provision, despite pledges of Education For All (Krätli, 2000; Dyer, 2005; Holland, 1990).

According to Krätli (2000), Dyer (2005) and Holland (1990), there are a sizable number of developed and developing countries that are making sound progress towards UPE. However, some African countries will be unable to meet the MDGs target date of 2015 unless special efforts are made now to mobilise the financial resources and the global political will to make good on these key development pledges.

Furthermore, nomadic groups continue to be a significant population worldwide, showing little sign of disappearing, and in some parts of the world they are actually expanding (Krätli, 2001; Dyer 2005). On the basis of this growth, it is clear that the problem of equity and quality in education for nomadic groups is not going to go away, and it will continue to be one of the major challenges facing education systems around the globe. The movement of these groups poses multi-dimensional challenges to

national and international policies, especially when it comes to equity and quality. This is because children from nomadic groups require a special education programme, where instruction is flexible, adaptable and compatible with the nomadic lifestyle.

Narman (1990) points out, with reference to the Kenyan experience, that planning for quality education in favour of pastoralists is not only a matter of building schools – consideration must be given to the special problems of promoting equity and providing quality education to minority groups, and these are ethical issues. What Narman (1990) means is that education for marginalised groups and nomads should be flexible, multi-faceted and focused enough to target specific structural problems such as social and economic marginalisation, lack of political representation, and interacting successfully with the new challenges raised by globalisation.

CHAPTER 3. EQUITY AND QUALITY: STRATEGIES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

3.1. Introduction

In Chapter 1, the researcher indicated that one of the main aims of this study is to answer the question as to whether the policies related to education equity and quality in Namibia aimed at the nomadic people achieve their goals. Furthermore, whether the creation of mobile school units in the Kunene region have succeeded in moving education provisioning in Namibia closer to achieving the Millennium Development Goals in terms of access, equity and quality of education. This chapter provides a brief overview of progress made in the provisioning of education for all and in achieving the Millennium Development Goals in developing countries and in Sub-Saharan African countries in particular with specific reference to Namibia.

The chapter interrogates various policy options and strategies used by African countries like Namibia to provide primary education to all school age children, especially the hard-to-reach communities like the marginalised and nomadic communities. The chapter will also peruse available data and trends in some of Sub-Saharan African's education systems in terms of enrolment and completion rates in responding to the call of EFA and MDG 2, 'Universal Primary Education' by 2015.

The aim of the chapter is also to examine the barriers experienced by African countries like Namibia in working towards attaining MDG 2 and to gain greater understanding of these barriers. The researcher also examines the policy options and strategies employed by developing countries as they strive to achieve 100% universal primary access by 2015; the target set by the MDGs.

Secondly, the chapter also interrogates issues of quality education and equity as they relate to widening access to education for marginalised communities and ensuring that progress made is coupled with strengthening the quality of education provisioning.

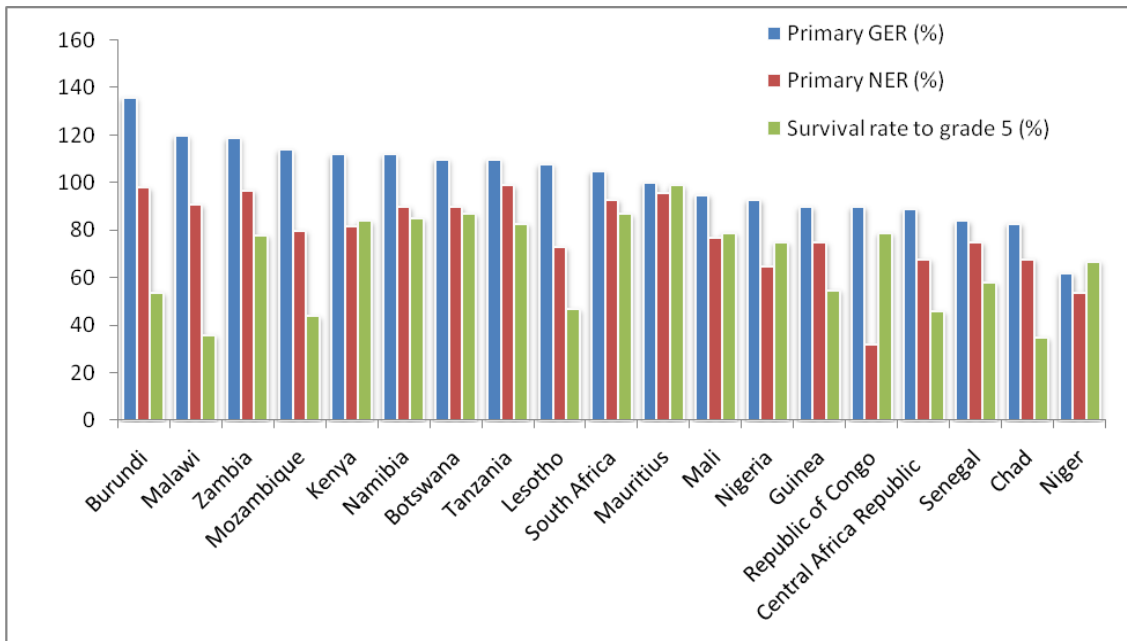
3.2. Enrolment and participation rates in sub-Saharan Africa

Numerous studies and reports (EFA GMR, 2010; UNESCO, 2009a, 2010b; Krätli & Dyer, 2009; Carr-Hill, 2005) reveal that since the adoption of the World Declaration on Education for All and the Millennium Development Goals, Sub-Saharan African countries have made significant progress in the provisioning of primary education. According to available statistics (EFA GMR, 2009; UNESCO, 2009), most of African countries have made vast strides in the provisioning of primary education, as the majority of their primary school age children are now in schools (see Figure 3.1).

However, although progress has been recorded, none of the Sub-Saharan African countries have achieved 100% universal primary education. With only four years to go before the MDG's target date, there is optimism that most of the developing countries, including Sub-Saharan African countries, are on track and are expected to attain 100% universal primary access to education by 2015. According to EFA Global Monitoring Report (GMR, 2009), Sub-Saharan African countries like Egypt, Guyana, Mauritius, Malawi, Madagascar, Tanzania, and Zambia are about to attain universal primary education (MDG 2) as they are only less than 5% away. The EFA GMR (2009) indicates that Morocco, South Africa, Rwanda, and Uganda were within the range of 5% to 10% from the target.

In addition, if progress is maintained at the same pace registered between 1991 and 2009, another 15 Sub-Saharan African countries are likely to achieve this target; such as Burundi, Cape Verde, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Namibia, Malawi, Senegal, Togo and Swaziland. In contrast, there are seven countries, however, whose primary enrolment rates continue to be very low; ranging from 37% to 58%, and far from the achieving MDG by 2015. According to UNESCO (2009), and the EFA Global Monitoring (2009) reports, if the current trends persist; about 22 African countries will not attain the universal primary education target of 2015. These countries include Chad, Djibouti, Eritrea, Niger, Burkina Faso, the Central African Republic, the Republic of Congo and Mali.

Figure 3.1 Gross and Net Enrolment and Survival rates (selected African countries)



Source: 2009 EFA Global Monitoring Report

The UNESCO (2009) report emphasises that these countries still find it hard to meet the MDG targets as their primary enrolment and completion rates were less than 60% in 2009, and if the MDGs are to be achieved by 2015, their current pace need to be accelerated. Given the current enrolment rate, it is likely that these countries will not even reach the MDGs before 2030 (UNESCO 2009). The UNESCO (2009) report therefore, states that urgent action is required to speed up interventions and to accelerate the improvement of primary enrolment rates in these countries. International development financial assistance accompanied by policy options, strategies and increased budgetary allocation for the primary education sector will be essential in these countries to enable them to achieve universal primary education by 2015.

In Namibia, for example, access to good quality education has top priority in the Education Policy in Namibia. Figures for the increase in the number of schools, number of learners and qualified teachers are impressive (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Numbers of schools, learners, teachers and support staff

Region	Schools	Learners		Teachers		Support staff	
	Number	Number	% female	Number	% female	Number	% female
National	1,697	591,356	50.5%	22,072	62.5%	4,212	66.9%
REGION							
Caprivi	100	28,141	48.8%	1,144	54.5%	280	83.9%
Erongo	62	29,259	51.5%	1,087	71.1%	304	62.8%
Hardap	56	20,985	50.4%	786	62.1%	239	67.4%
Karas	49	18,907	51.1%	732	69.4%	199	66.8%
Kavango	323	71,422	48.8%	2,589	45.5%	236	69.9%
Khomas	101	68,678	51.6%	2,713	73.6%	650	56.5%
Kunene	55	18,684	49.9%	695	52.2%	171	67.3%
Ohangwena	239	88,304	51.3%	3,103	60.7%	495	65.7%
Omaheke	41	16,138	50.7%	589	62.1%	111	67.6%
Omusati	274	86,400	50.4%	3,347	66.1%	570	75.4%
Oshana	135	51,586	50.5%	1,970	68.3%	363	71.9%
Oshikoto	192	58,674	50.3%	2,128	61.0%	332	64.5%
Otjozondjupa	70	34,178	50.5%	1,189	64.1%	262	56.1%

Source: EMIS 2010

Namibian official figures claim a gross enrolment rate of 100%, with no significant difference between male and female enrolment (EMIS, 20010). However, there are several problems and a long way to go to fulfil the political aim of good quality education for all Namibian children. There are children who never attend school; there are problems with dropouts, and problems with equity (in terms of regional disparities and quality of education provided).

According to Namibia's Constitution, everyone should be in school until they complete Grade 7 or reach the age of 16. However, this aim is not completely reached as some learners, dropout before they reach Grade 7 (see Table 3.2). About 3% learners drop out before they reach Grade 2. The highest number of dropouts is recorded in Grade 7, i.e. 5%. This shows that the Namibian transition rate to secondary education is low.

Table 3.2 Dropout/ school leaving rates from 2003 to 2009

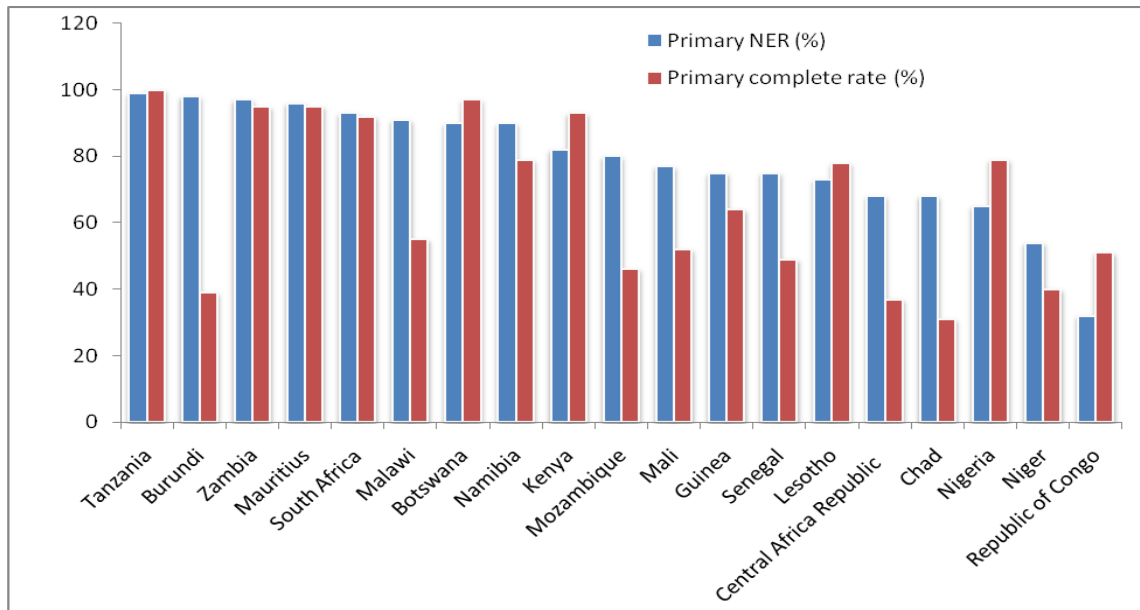
School phase	Grade	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Dropout/School-leaving rates								
Lower Primary	Grade 1	4.8%	3.3%	4.7%	1.9%	4.2%	3.1%	3.1%
	Grade 2	2.9%	1.6%	1.9%	0.0%	1.4%	1.5%	0.9%
	Grade 3	2.5%	2.0%	2.4%	0.6%	1.7%	1.1%	1.2%
	Grade 4	2.0%	2.4%	1.8%	0.8%	1.6%	1.4%	0.7%
Upper Primary	Grade 5	5.2%	4.9%	6.6%	4.0%	5.2%	4.3%	4.0%
	Grade 6	4.3%	4.5%	4.2%	2.6%	4.8%	3.7%	3.3%
	Grade 7	7.5%	7.3%	8.0%	5.0%	6.6%	5.5%	5.3%
Junior Secondary	Grade 8	11.3%	8.7%	10.7%	6.7%	9.5%	8.5%	8.3%
	Grade 9	10.6%	9.0%	10.2%	7.2%	7.7%	7.7%	7.7%
	Grade 10	46.6%	43.6%	37.3%	38.2%	24.8%	30.6%	32.6%
Senior Secondary	Grade 11	3.5%	1.9%	0.7%	2.0%	3.0%	-1.3%	2.1%

Source: EMIS 2010

At the global level, the aggregate net enrolment rate (NER) for primary education has increased from 84% in 1990 to 98% in 2009; nevertheless, the Sub-Saharan Africa region still lags behind in terms of primary completion rate (EFA GMR, 2010; UNESCO, 2009a, 2010b). Although primary education enrolment rates in some African countries are high, the rate of progress made has not been matched by a proportionate increase in the full cycle of quality primary schooling completion rate. The region continues to lag behind in terms of meeting the international EFA and MDGs targets, due to the enormous challenges the continent is facing in achieving universal primary education.

Figure 3.2 indicates some of the selected Sub-Saharan African countries' primary completion rates, which are lower than primary net enrolment rates, except for Botswana, Kenya, Mauritius, South Africa, Tanzania and Zambia.

Figure 3.2 Primary NER and Completion rates for selected African countries (% of relevant age group)



Source: UNESCO Report 2009

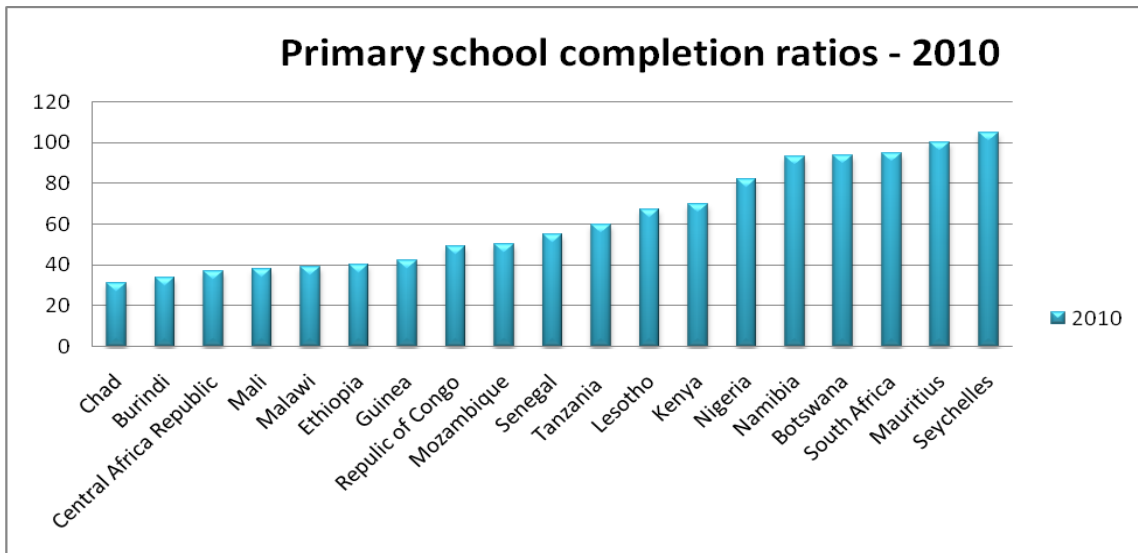
The figure shows that although high enrolment rates of primary education in African countries have been recorded, not all children enrolled complete their primary education cycle (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2010). According to the latest figures released in the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2010) report, Sub-Saharan Africa countries have the lowest primary completion ratios compared with other continents where over 95% of children complete their primary education.

In Africa as a whole, less than 65% of children complete their primary education. The exceptions are Algeria, Botswana, Egypt, Mauritius, South Africa, and Tunisia who have 90% completion rates (see Table 3.3). The figure illustrates that Namibia is one of the Sub-African countries with high primary enrolment rates, and much has been achieved in terms of universal primary access to schooling which has resulted in a primary education net of 94% of all children aged 7-13 (Grades 1-7), compared with other

African countries, however, only less than 80% of these children complete primary education (EMIS 2009:58, table 31).

Although at an international level, progress on universal primary enrolment rates has been recorded in Sub-Sahara Africa, individual countries' averages suggest that progress remains too slow, as millions of children, especially girls (MDG 3) from poor backgrounds, nomadic pastoralists and rural communities do not have access to primary education. The reasons for this trend can be found in numerous challenges, such as poverty, long distances from schools, high school fees and other costs that discourage school attendance (EFA GMR, 2010; UNESCO, 2009).

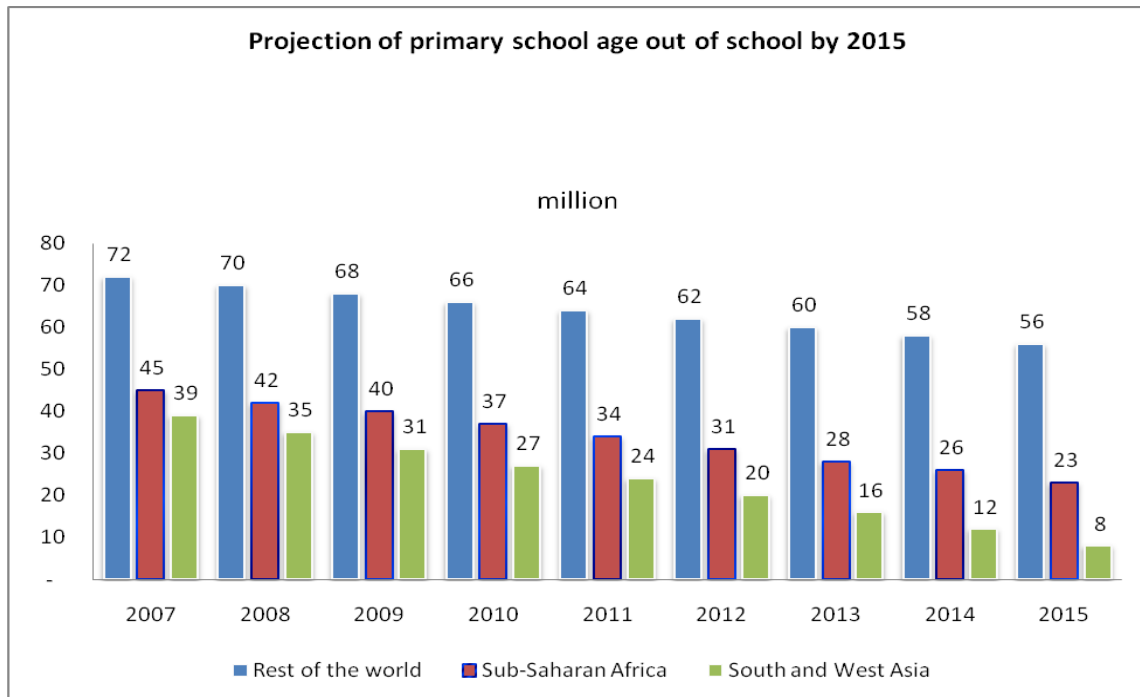
Figure 3.3 Primary education completion ratios for selected African countries- 2010



Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2010

According to 2009 UNESCO estimates, there are still more than 60 million primary school age children not in school worldwide, and nearly half of them are in Sub-Saharan Africa (UNESCO, 2010). The report estimates that the current trends will leave 56 million children out-of-school in 2015, and the rate of progress may be even slowing in some poor developing countries (Figure 3.4). The slowing down may also impact negatively as the international economic recession may result in less financial resources being channelled through donor aid to developing countries.

Figure 3.4 Primary school age not attending school in the world 2010



Source: UNESCO Report 2010

Challenge also remain in increasing access for nomads and pastoralists groups, improving the quality of education, and addressing threats to education systems from HIV and AIDS pandemics, natural disasters and civil conflicts; especially in some part of Africa. According to the UNESCO report (2010), failure to meet the education goal on universal primary education by 2015 will reduce the chances of reaching other MDGs. It is generally accepted that achieving universal basic education is the key to achieving other development goals, such as equal access to education accompanied with equity and quality in education.

Until equal access to quality education to all primary school age children has been attained, it will be impossible to build the knowledge necessary to eradicate poverty and hunger (MDG1), combat disease and ensure environmental sustainability (MDG 6 & 7). Equally, African countries' enrolment rates are rising as millions of children enter primary school but dropout before completing their full primary cycle. Some 20 million children in Sub-Saharan Africa drop out each year, and 13% of children entering school in Africa drop out in the first grade (UNESCO, 2010). Based on the current statistical data, the EFA and MDG target of 2015 will remain a dream unless a concerted effort is

made in the Sub-Saharan African countries.

According to official policy statements, Namibia should be moving towards a knowledge-based society and industrial nation by 2030, and in order to reach this goal the quality of education in Namibia will need to be improved. Equity and quality education in the Namibian system is one of the concerns. Many learners in Namibia struggle to master reading, writing and mathematical skills. Research results from a survey conducted by the Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ II, 2005) demonstrates that there are serious gaps in the reading competencies of Namibian learners in upper primary phases, compared with other countries (see Table 3.3).

For Namibia, all 13 educational regions were included, and it was found that the majority of learners did not reach the minimum standards in reading English, based on the criteria as determined by the Namibian reading standard. For example, it was found that at the overall national level, only 16.9% of learners reached the minimum level in reading literacy, and a mere 6,7% reached the desirable level. By minimum level is meant that the Namibian learners will barely survive the next year of schooling; by desirable, it means that they will definitely succeed. These results are worse than in 1995, when the figures were 22.7% and 7,8 % respectively (SACMEQ, 2005).

The reading competence of learners from low socio-economic groups was also much lower than that of learners from high socio-economic groups (SACMEQ, 2005). These findings are in accordance with Mbenzi's (1997) findings, that pupils from poor families, with illiterate parents and with a poor command of English, have greater difficulties in learning to read and write than pupils from a more affluent background. He furthermore claims that the policy of automatic promotion and the preference for English above the mother tongue among many parents add to the problem of pupils reaching higher grades without being able to read and write (Mbenzi, 1997).

The official language policy in Namibia is that learners are taught in their mother tongues up to Grade 3, and from Grade 4 they switch to English as the medium of instruction which then is the official language, and their mother tongue becomes the second language.

3.3. Strategies used in attaining MDGs

Since the World Declaration of Education for All in 1990, and the Millennium Development Goals in 2000, developing countries, especially Sub-Saharan African countries, have developed a range of education policy options and strategies in an effort to expand universal access, address equity and quality of education to all primary school age children by 2015. The majority of African countries, including Namibia, have shown their commitment through policy options, strategies and intervention education programmes, like the mobile school programme and boarding schools, to ensure that all primary school age children enrol and complete their primary education cycle.

To support the notion of universal access to primary education as a crucial condition for socio-economic development of a country, many developing countries have made primary education free and compulsory. For example, since the World Declaration of EFA (1990) and the MDGs (2000), a number of African countries (i.e. Burundi, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania and Uganda) have abolished school fees and this resulted in higher primary enrolment ratios. The main objective was to achieve 100% UPE by 2015. In a number of African countries like Senegal and Gambia for example, the primary school age children NER rose respectively from 48% and 57% in 1995 to 75% and 73% in 2009. A similar trend was experienced in Tanzania where enrolment rates doubled from 48% in 1995 to 98% in 2009. In Namibia, the government developed various strategies to show her commitment towards the attainment of Millennium Development Goal 2 (universal primary education), by ensuring that all primary school age children including nomads and pastoralist children enrol and complete their basic primary education. The Namibian government has shown this commitment through policy options such as 2000 Policy Options for Educational Marginalised Children, or directives and interventions, like free compulsory primary education, and the 1990 Constitution of Namibia. The strategies and interventions include the establishment of mobile school programme, exemption of children from marginalized communities (including Himba and Zemba) from School Development Fund, promotion of measures to improve quality in education and the introduction of nutrition and school feeding programme. These measures had led the improvement of various key indicators in Namibia education sector in recent years, notably, physical access, gross enrolment rate, and net enrolment Rate.

However, although strategies like free primary education in terms of tuition fees, parents and communities in African countries continue to contribute towards items such as compulsory school uniforms, textbooks, parent-teacher associations, and in some cases, temporary teachers' allowance and school buildings. On the basis of this, the researcher is in agreement with the EFA GMR (2010) report, which argues that abolishing school fees has little impact on equal access, and does not reduce the dropout rates if schools (like in Namibia) are still allowed to levy additional school fees, such as building and school activity funds. This results in a substantial increase in the dropout rate; particularly in the schools that enrol children from poor, marginalised, and nomadic pastoralist families.

According to the EFA GMR (2010) report, experience shows that eliminating fees will not much help poor and marginalised families to keep their children in school unless deliberate education policy options and functional strategies targeting schools that enrol children from these groups have been put in place.

Similarly, the significant increase in enrolment rates in the African countries has brought a new set of challenges to these countries. Foremost among these is the demand placed on the treasury for the expansion of existing classrooms, providing sufficient education resources including learning and teaching materials, and employment costs as more teachers need to be trained and employed. Equally, poorly qualified teachers and ill-equipped schools with limited learning and support materials remain familiar scenes in many developing countries' schools, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, including Namibia.

The 'school under the tree' is still a very common situation in some of African countries, including Namibia. As such, it symbolises the unequal distribution of education facilities/resources among urban and rural schools. For example, in Namibia there are more than 47 000 primary school children who are still taught either under trees or in 'traditional' classrooms (made with sticks and mud), and large proportions of these schools do not have basic services such as toilets, clean water, electricity and communications (MoE EMIS Statistics, 2009a, 2010b).

3.4. Equity and quality in the Namibian education system

Namibia obtained its independence in 1990, the same year in which the World Conference on Education for All (WCEDA) was held in Jontein, Thailand. Since obtaining independence, the Namibian government has committed itself to achieving the MDGs by ensuring that all primary school age children are enrolled by 2015, and able to complete a full primary school cycle. The government's commitment towards achievement of equity, quality education and equal access and opportunities to learn is reflected in several policy frameworks and reports such as the Education and Training Sector for Improvement Programme (ETSIP, 2005-2020), Towards Education For All (1993), the Education Act of 2001, Policy Options of Educational Marginalised Children (2000) etc.

These policies are oriented mainly to address inequities and disparities inherited from the South African apartheid education system; both through the redistribution and reallocation of education resources to previous disadvantaged and/or underserved regions or communities, and remote schools to expand access to schooling for all primary school age children.

Like other African countries and the rest of the world, the new Namibian Constitution (Article 20), which predated the Jomtein Conference, states clearly that education is a basic human right and should be available to all people residing in Namibia. It also mandates that:

Primary education shall be compulsory for 10 years between the ages of 6 and 16, and the State shall provide reasonable facilities to render effective this right for every resident within Namibia, by establishing and maintaining State schools at which education will be provided free of charge.

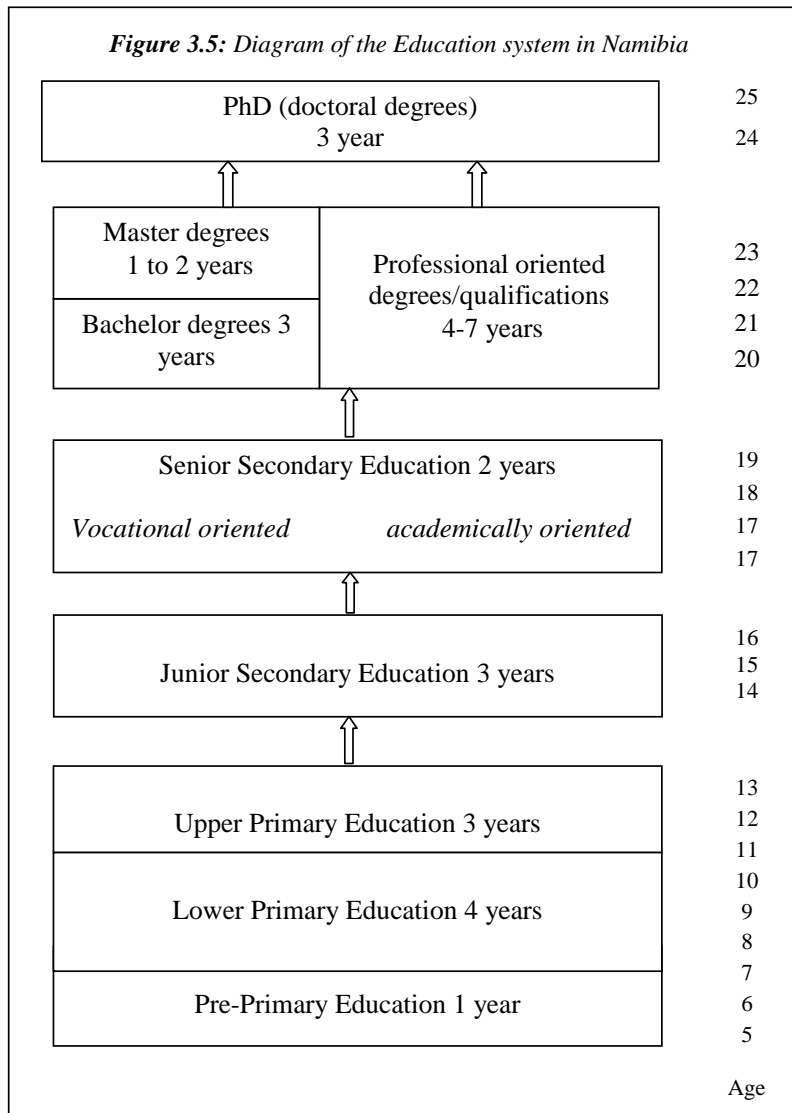
The Constitution goes further to assert that:

Children shall not be allowed to leave school until they have completed their primary education cycle or have attained the age of sixteen (16) years, whichever is the sooner, save in so far as this may be authorised by Act of Parliament on grounds of health or other considerations pertaining to the public

interest (Constitution of the Republic of Namibia Article 20).

The education system is graphically illustrated in Figure 3.5. The system makes provision for eight years of primary education, followed by five years of secondary education. By implication, it is expected that all learners should at least have access to quality education, and complete, the eight years of primary education to be able to claim that the MDG goal of universal primary education in Namibia.

Figure 3.5 Diagram of the educational system in Namibia



Equity and quality are well embodied in the key education policy documents and official reports (Towards Education for All – A Development Brief for Education, Culture and Training, 1993; Presidential Commission Report 1999; Education Act, 2001; ETSIP, 2005-2020, etc.) that highlight the expansion of access, attainment of high quality education, and the facilitation of economic growth and competitiveness. The Namibian policy document (Towards Education for All, 1993) emphasises that one of the major hurdles for achieving equity and quality in the Namibian education system is the inequitable distribution of resources among regions/schools, and this is a pre-independence legacy, which will take a long time to rectify.

The policy stipulates that:

To reduce the inequalities of the past will require affirmative action in the present. It is not sufficient simply to announce that discrimination by race, or religion, or gender is now illegal. The segregation that was introduced in the past was not just a matter of law. It was also a matter of the allocation of resources and of everyday practices (Towards Education for All, 1993:108).

The Namibian government's efforts in addressing inequities and to address low quality education in the country, and to expand educational opportunities for historically disadvantaged Namibians, should be seen as a manifestation of the promotion of the goals of EFA. The education policy, 'Toward Education for All', an appraisal of the Declarations of the 1990 Jomtien World Conference of Education for All, asserts that education for all is also a goal of the Namibian government. The policy explicitly states that:

Education for all does not simply mean more schools or more children in school. Nor does it mean that the simply start literacy classes or increase the number of places in programmes for out of school youth. Education for all requires that government to develop about its system of education and training and how it is organise it (MEC, 1993).

This observation was made as early as 1992, and was indeed a realisation that there was more to EFA than the preoccupation with issues of access and opportunities to a quality education. Since 1990, there has been a shift in the target audience of education from the selected few to providing education for all Namibian citizens. The

policy thrust was to ensure that the type of education provided was broad enough to enable the children, the youth and adults to participate fully in the development of the country. In the education sector policies today are a clear manifestation of a broad view of education for all: provision of early childhood education, focus to those groups who are in underserved areas (i.e. the educationally for marginalised children), paying attention to the quality of education, focus on gender parity and giving attention to HIV and AIDS and its effects.

According to EFA Global Monitoring Report (2008a, 2009b, 2010c), Namibia is likely to attain MDG 2 ('universal primary access') by 2015; however, the country's education system and the society as a whole continue to display one of the widest gaps between rich and poor in the world. The system is still unable to provide minimal quality and equitable education resources to all its primary school age children (Marope, 2005; ETSIP, 2005; MBESC EMIS, 2000-2009; Joint Annual Review, 2004, NEPRU, 2004), especially in the underserved communities like the nomadic Himba and Zemba groups.

Marope (2005), though states that the persistent disparities in developing countries such as Namibia, based on wealth, geographical location, ethnicity and other markers, are some of the major barriers preventing attaining universal primary education by 2015. For example, underserved regions, like the Kunene, which the home of a high number of nomadic pastoralists groups (Himba and Zemba) continue to show that limited school access, low enrolment rates, low attendance, poor learner performance, high failure rates, and low learner achievements mean these communities repeatedly score at the bottom of the national examinations results (Grade 10 and 12 Examination Statistics for Namibia). This is because even though Namibia's school enrolment rates are high compared with other African countries, a persistent 15% of its primary school age children (6-16 official ages) remain out of school (Labour Demographic Survey 2006), and its primary net enrolment and completion rate are not comparable with other African countries.

In the researcher's view, unless special efforts are being made, Namibia will not attain 100% universal primary access with good quality education by 2015. This is because though more than 90% of Namibian children have enrolled in school, less than 80% complete the primary education cycle (see Figure 3.3). Equally, another common reason why these 15% of children are not in school, during the interviews the researcher found that parents are poor, and cannot afford to pay the school development fund charge by all Namibian conventional schools and some mobile school

units. Despite the policy of school-free tuition in primary schools, many Namibian schools continue to charge school fees as a means of raising school development funds for their school activities.

Furthermore, the Namibian Education statistical data (2009) continue to show that there is a lack of adequate learning and teaching materials, physical facilities, sanitation (especially in the former previously disadvantaged areas/regions), and other necessary conditions that facilitate a good learning and teaching environment.

This seems to contradict the Namibian constitution as well as the Ministry's policy documents, especially the broad policy document 'Towards Education for All, 1993', which demands that:

To provide education for all, we must expand access to our education system. For that, we need not just have more schools but schools and other education programmes where learning is truly accessible to all Namibians (MEC, 1993:34,103).

In terms of financing public education, since independence in 1990, the Namibian education and training sector has enjoyed budget priority, with more than 20% of government resources allocation and over 6% of GDP in the 2008/09 financial year going towards education. Expenditure on the education sector rose from N\$600.9 million in 1991/1992 to N\$5.3 billion in 2009/10 financial year. That is a 7.5% annual real increase over this period. The SWAPO-led government has placed a great emphasis on education identifying the sector as a priority area for government action in policy statements from as early as March 1990.

This level of priority has been reflected in the allocations made to the education sector within the national budget. Compared with other developing countries, Sub-Saharan Africa in particular, Namibia has one of the highest allocations to education as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in the world (UNDP-UN Report, 1998). Like the UNDP-UN (2007) Report, this concern has also been expressed by the Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit (NEPRU) (1999a, 2004b) reports on improving Namibia's education system in terms of equitable distribution of education resources.

NEPRU compared Namibia with other African countries, as well as other countries in the world with similar or higher levels of average incomes. The report found that by international standards, Namibia's public expenditure on education is very high, both in relation to the size of the economy and as a proportion of total government spending (NEPRU View Point Report, 1999), and compared with other SADAC countries like Botswana with less than 4% GDP public expenditure on education, and the Republic of South Africa with less than 6% of GDP (UNESCO Education for All, 2000a, 2008b).

As stated earlier, compared with other developing countries, especially in Africa, the Namibian government has expanded education opportunities for the vast majority of primary school age children, and according to its official statistics, the country is on track in achieving universal primary education by 2015 (EMIS, 2009). Most Namibian children are in gender-inclusive schools, and the net enrolment for basic education is above 90%, and the survival rate to Grade 7 in 2008 was more than 80% (Marope, 2005; Namibia 2004 Millennium Development Goal Report, EMIS, 2009). There has also been strong growth in the number of qualified teachers (Grade 12 plus three years of professional training – known as 'Basic Education Teacher Diploma') in the education system - for example, more than 85% of Namibian teachers have now the required professional training (EMIS, 2009; Marope, 2005) as indicated in Table 3.1

Encouraged by the achievements made so far, Namibia is likely to meet the target Net Enrolment Rate of 100% by 2015, provided that the concerns of the low quality of education (as manifested in learning achievements, survival and completion rates) are addressed and resolved. Currently, all the elements of EFA are being addressed within the Education and Training Sector Improvement Programme (ETSIP, 2005-2020). Furthermore, the ETSIP programme comprises a range of classroom pedagogical support systems aimed at enhancing various quality improvement initiatives. Since the implementation of ETSIP in 2006, interim monitoring results indicate a positive trend in selected quantitative indicators. Table 3.3 shows that the Namibian education system continues to enrol at the 120% gross enrolment rate.

Table 3.3 Namibia primary education enrolment rate 2009

Gross and Net Enrolment Ratios	Gross Enrolment rate		
	2000	2005	2009
Year	2000	2005	2009
Gross enrolment rate	119%	117%	124%
Net enrolment rate: (age 7-13)	80%	80%	81%
Primary promotion rate to secondary (age 7-13)	79%	76%	82%
Repetition rate (age 7-13)	24%	12%	16%
Dropout rate (age 7-17)	4%	5%	4%

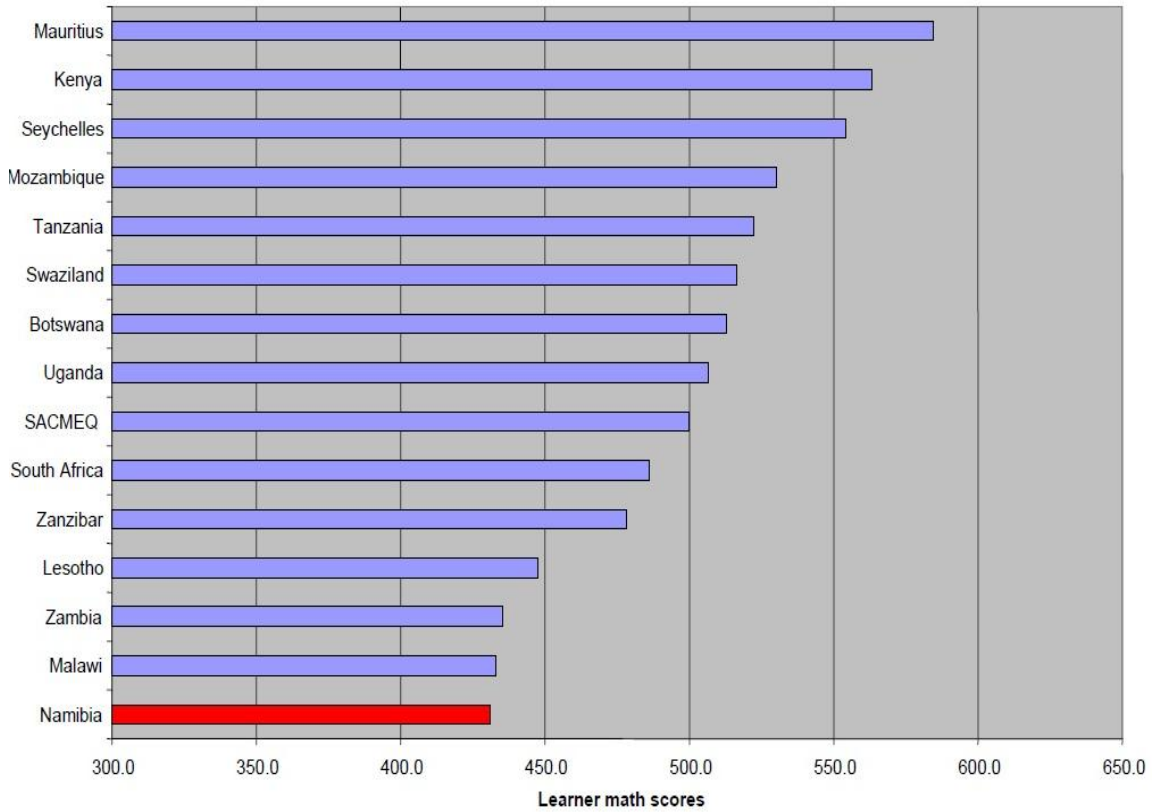
Source: Ministry of Education EMIS Reports (EMIS 2000, 2005, 2009)

Although, the majority of developing countries like Namibia have provided, and continue to provide, basic primary education to the great majority of its children and youth, equity and quality in education continue to be a matter of concern. The Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ, 2005) study found, ‘there has been increasing concern about the equity, and quality of the education that is being provided, in relation to the increasing expenditure on education in African countries’ including Namibia (2005:1).

Most of education systems have not been able to provide quality education to previously disadvantaged or underserved populations and regions (EMIS 2009; EFA GMR, 2009, Collins & Gillies, 2005). According to SACMEQ II (2005), Namibian learners in Grade 6 scored relatively poorly compared with learners from other countries in the region (see Table 3.5 and Figure 3.5). The study tested the pupils in reading and mathematics competence.

In reading, Namibian learners were third from the bottom (Figure 2.3), and in mathematics, at the very bottom (Figure 3.6). In the same study, teacher competence showed that their skills were very poor compared with teachers in most of the neighbouring countries (see Figure 3.7). So, low quality of teacher education, or lack of qualified teachers, might be one reason behind the poor learning outcomes.

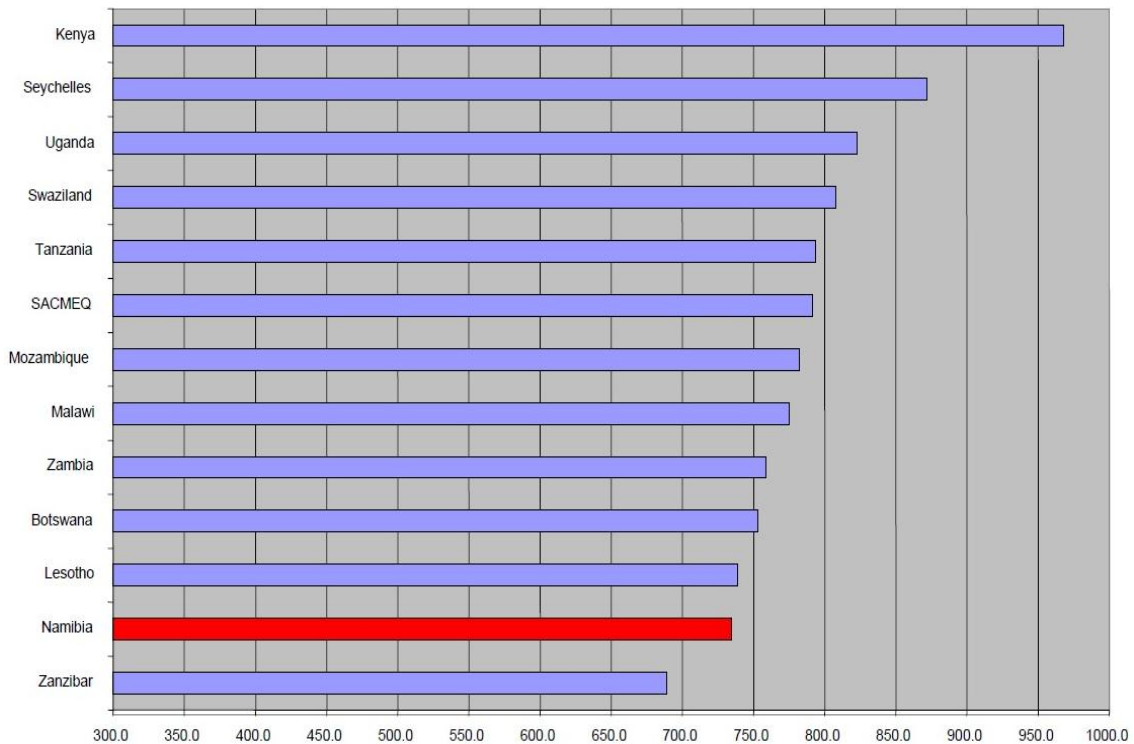
Figure 3.6 Learner mathematics scores by country



Sources: SACMEQ II 2005

Namibia policies are geared towards equity and quality education in terms of the competencies teachers and their learners have to demonstrate. It is therefore worrisome to note that there has not only been a decline in the competence of learners, but also that the competence of teachers, especially in mathematics, is very low compared with other SACMEQ member countries (SACMEQ II, 2005).

Figure 3.7 Teacher mathematics scores by country



Sources: SACMEQ II 2005

Figure 3.7 depicting that the Namibian reading teachers scored below the SACMEQ average for reading teachers and this is not a healthy situation given that the Namibia's public expenditure on education is very high, compared with other SACMEQ member countries. Furthermore, there were extremely large variations between regions (see Table 3.5), with the northern regions of the country showing the lowest scores. The poorest results were measured in Kunene, Ohangwena, Caprivi and Omusati, where 4.3% reached the minimum level and only 1.1 % and 0.5 % reached the desirable level of mastery.

Table 3.4 Means and sampling errors for the reading and mathematics test scores of learners with all items (SACMEQ I and SACMEQ II)

Region	Learner performance on all items					
	SACMEQ I		SACMEQ II			
	Reading		Reading		Mathematics	
	Mean	SE	Mean	SE	Mean	SE
Caprivi	430.9	2.76	417.3	4.71	405.2	4.03
Erongo	545.7	28.69	527.5	24.22	494.4	21.23
Hardap	512.3	21.79	518.7	20.27	499.0	17.89
Karas	519.8	21.86	510.4	19.49	482.7	18.33
Kavango	448.3	5.13	431.5	4.99	419.0	4.95
Khomas	585.5	22.14	567.0	18.77	530.5	19.06
Kunene	455.6	6.04	448.2	13.29	445.4	14.17
Ohangwena	444.2	3.65	416.9	3.69	398.8	2.65
Omahake	450.3	19.04	434.4	8.23	426.4	5.16
Omusati	440.1	3.10	424.0	3.91	410.0	3.82
Oshikoto	460.3	43.51	428.3	13.38	420.0	13.51
Otjozondjupa	509.9	34.97	468.9	21.39	458.8	17.04
Oshana	451.2	8.10	429.9	7.68	402.4	6.79
Namibia	472.9	4.65	449.0	3.12	431.1	2.93

Sources: SACMEQ II, 2005

Other northern regions were almost as bad. The learners in the capital region of Khomas, on the other hand, have the highest scores with as many as 63.7% of the learners reaching the minimum level, and 35.3% the desirable level of mastery. The largest number of learners is in the north; about 2/3 of the population in Namibia live in the northern regions.

Note should also be taken that the SACMEQ study was conducted in the Namibia conventional schools; mobile schools were excluded for a variety of reasons. One reason could be that the study targeted Grade 6 learners and there are few mobile school units who go up to that grade. If Grade 6 learners of mobile school units were included in the study, the Namibia scores would be worse, because mobile school learners' performance and achievement regularly score at the bottom of the regional and national examinations results (Namibia National Examinations Results, 2008).

Primary completion rates and transitions to secondary school still remain low, which hampers the achievement of 100% universal primary completion rates. If this trend is allowed to continue then there is a fear that developing countries, like Namibia, have little hope of meeting EFA goals in terms of providing access to quality education, eliminating gender bias and other disparities, and achieving relevant and measurable learning outcomes. Compared with other countries, Namibian education continues to show a high number of under and/or overage children enrolled in the system (Gross Enrolment Rate of over 100%).

In terms of the effect of education expenditure on learners' performance, much research in this regard has not yet provided us with a clear understanding of where governments can most effectively invest their educational resources. It is, however, a well-documented fact that education finances affect learners' ability to succeed academically (The US Department of Education Report, 2000; McGrath, 1993; Hansen, 2001; Jimerson, 2002). In the USA, for example, learners in under-funded school districts routinely score lower on standardised tests than learners in well-funded districts; regardless of their family socioeconomic status. A longitudinal study of 40 000 learners by the US Department of Education (2000) found that:

Learners attending poor schools, even those learners who come from wealthy or middle class families, still score, on average, 2 grade levels lower in mathematics and 4 grade levels lower in reading than do learners in wealthy schools.

Some scholars (Hanushek, 1996; Hansen, 2001; McGrath, 1993) argue that fiscal inequities of this sort would not matter, because the effects of poverty and family background outweigh anything that schools can do. But experience and a growing body of research reveals that all children can achieve high levels of performance when all the

right combination of tools and strategies are employed (Hansen, 2001; McGrath, 1993; Collins & Gillies, 2005; Mbamba, 1987). These include high expectations and clear standards that are applied to all learners, taking into account different needs and conditions.

Hansen (2001) examines the empirical evidence about factors of financing education that affect learners' ability to succeed academically. In his conclusion, he draws attention to education policy makers and implementers that:

Children from poor communities/families and children who are taught by unqualified and under qualified teachers need more expensive education services, requiring policy-makers either to adjust education finance formulas to take these additional costs into account or to fund special compensatory programmes (Hansen, 2001).

liyambo (2001:11), quoting Zvobgo (1997:40) who examined uneven resource distribution among communities in post-colonial Zimbabwe, holds a similar view and concludes that educational disparities during the colonial period in the new independence nations were based on race, but the current inequities and inequalities are rooted in the class structure of society and the unequal distribution of resources among communities and regions.

liyambo (2001:11) extends the argument that the current disparities in the new developing nations like Namibia are the products of the 'new elite, consisting of a small group of people who joined the former oppressors and created a class based on economic status, income or affordability'. These are what he called the groups enjoying the privileges of the best-equipped schools, which the 'poor' or disadvantaged communities cannot afford. These kinds of 'unacceptable' national and global education disparities continue to undermine governments' efforts to achieve international development goals by 2015.

For this reason, social, inter- and intra-community disparities may well be evident for many years to come in most of developing nations like Namibia, even beyond 2015, unless special programmes are developed that respond to the marginalised, nomads and pastoralists' particular needs.

For example, 20 years after independence, Namibia is still typified by racially segregated residential divisions which were inherited from apartheid, and this contributes partly to the current regional disparities. Second, but equally important, is that the majority of underserved and/or previously disadvantaged children (mainly from black families and nomadic groups) continue to reside in townships, harsh environment conditions, or the rural areas that were part of the apartheid system. The overwhelming majority of children from nomadic groups in particular, continue to attend schools with 'inferior' facilities (like tent classrooms) and poorly trained teachers, with poor quality of instruction and inadequate supplies of teaching and learning materials (Mbamba, 1987:43).

In terms of provisioning teachers, there is general consensus in literature that with many factors influencing quality education, well trained or qualified teachers are now recognised as the critical factor. According to the literature, there is a strong link between teacher qualifications and experience, and learner performance and/or achievement, as well as quality of education (Anderson, 2002; ADEA, 2005; Craig *et al.*, 1998). To address challenges posed by EFA in terms of equity and quality of education, African countries, like Namibia, need to rationalise the recruitment and deployment of teachers, especially between urban and rural areas, and address the narrowing of regional and national learner teacher ratios.

In addition, EFA goals cannot be fully achieved in an environment where teachers are not adequately trained and are poorly paid, and where decisions are made by politicians and non-professionals. It is even worse when parents do not have an opportunity to discuss with the government issues pertaining to the education of their children.

In Namibia, for example, there is empirical evidence that teachers in rural and remote areas have lower qualifications, and consequently learner performance differs greatly across schools both within and between regions (EMIS, 2009; NEPRU, 2004). More than 90% of primary school teachers in urban areas have either a higher diploma or a bachelor's degree in education; while only about 70% of teachers in rural areas or previous disadvantaged regions like Kunene have obtained either a Basic Education Teacher Diploma (BETD) (see Table 3.6). Due to the imbalance of human resources, the salary of teachers at the upper level category (qualified) can attain 4.8 times the lowest salary level category (unqualified). It should be pointed out that Namibian teachers are paid according to qualifications, rather than performance or amount of work. A cynic would be thankful that not all Namibia teachers are qualified because a

well-qualified teaching force could simply not be funded under the present salary structure.

Table 3.5 Total number of teachers

Total number of teachers all phases	2000	2005	2009
Total number of teachers	91%	89%	98%
Qualified	88%	94%	96%
Unqualified	12%	6%	4%
Primary phase			
Total number of Primary teachers	94%	93%	99%
Qualified	85%	92%	96%
Unqualified	15%	8%	4%
Secondary phase			
Total number of secondary teachers	88%	84%	94%
Qualified	93%	97%	98%
Unqualified	7%	3%	2%

Source: EMIS 2000, 2005 - 2009

Table 3.5 indicates that on average though, 95% of the urban secondary teachers have had formal training with two or more years of tertiary qualifications (EMIS 2009). In the researcher's view, for all children to benefit from universal access and good primary quality education, they must have access to qualified teachers. However, the six northern regions (Kavango, Kunene, Ohangwena, Omusati, Oshana, and Oshikoto), still have relatively high numbers of under-qualified teachers at both primary and secondary level; these teachers have qualifications equivalent to Grade 12, or Grade 12 plus one to two years' tertiary education.

However, a great deal of controversy continues to exist over the role qualified, experienced teachers and higher salaries play in enhancing learner performance and pass rates (Hanushek, 1989). Hanushek (1986, 1989, 1996) emphasis that the positive impact of qualified, and/or experienced teachers is a multidimensional concept that typically includes indicators such as learner/teacher ratios, instructional spending per learner, teacher qualifications and experience, and teacher salaries, as well as the conditions of teaching and learning environment. In some cases for example, higher teacher salaries may be viewed as a proxy for teacher quality because higher salaries generally attract higher qualified and experienced teachers. In his studies, Hanushek (1986a, 1989b, 1996c) however, argues that each of these indicators alone has little impact on learner performance and/or achievement. Hanushek (1996) finds no clear and consistent relationship between variables such as learner/teacher ratios, teacher qualification and experience, higher salaries and learner performance.

Fiske and Ladd (2004:106) in their study, Financing schools in post apartheid South Africa: Initial steps toward fiscal equity, contribute to the same subject by arguing that policy-makers and implementers either do not fully understand the difference between the above indicators, learner-teacher qualifications and experience, learner-teacher ratios and class size, for example. In Namibia, this observation is seen in the Namibian staffing norms policy of 2001, which are mainly driven by overall budgetary constraints without consideration of various factors. This is because the term ‘teacher’ used in the policy includes school principals and head of departments, though not all (teachers) are in the classroom all of the time.

The argument here is that the current 2001 Namibian staffing norms policy used by the Ministry of Education only redistributes quantities (number of teachers) but not quality (qualification and experience) and therefore, schools and regions endowed with better qualified and experienced teachers will continue to get a much higher per capita allocation in an effort to improve learners’ performance. In the researcher’s view, these measures do not address the inequity that exists within regions and between schools.

3.5. Provisioning education for nomads in Namibia

Namibia is home to the largest concentration of the nomads, traditional livestock herders (Himba and Zemba) and food hunters (San) in the world (Ondao Mobile Report, 2004; Nkinyangi, 2002; Mlekwa, 1996). According to the literature, nomadic groups in

Africa alone constitute about 6% of the total population, and are to be found in at least 20 African countries, including Namibia (Mlekwa, 1996; Nkinyangi, 2002).

In many of these countries efforts have been made to bring education services close to marginalised, nomads and underserved communities. However, statistical data continue to show that provision of education in some African countries has failed to reach all primary school age children from these communities for a number of reasons. One is that nomadic pastoralists live in rural and often isolated areas; they move from place to place in search of pasture and food, as a result they are the most educationally disadvantaged group with a literacy level of less than 20%. These are precisely the groups of people who not only receive fewer years of formal education, but also tend to receive a lower quality learning experience through having less qualified or inexperienced teachers, attending schools with inferior infrastructure and fewer learning materials, and inadequate basic services such as clean water, electricity and sanitation.

Their livelihoods are vulnerable due to the cumulative impact of globalisation and this has been overwhelming, so much so that nomads all over the world, including Namibia, are finding it increasingly difficult to sustain their livelihood. Where they can, nomads and pastoralists may be turning to formal education as a means to ensure their future.

However, formal educational providers all over the world find it very hard to accommodate them because they present multiple challenges to the notion of Education for All. Moreover, the provision of educational services might have failed because it has not been based on the nomads' socioeconomic realities, such as a long established and cherished cultural heritage, livestock production as a principal means of livelihood, high mobility through constant migration, and the harsh environment characterised by drought, animal rustling, disease, and poor means of communication.

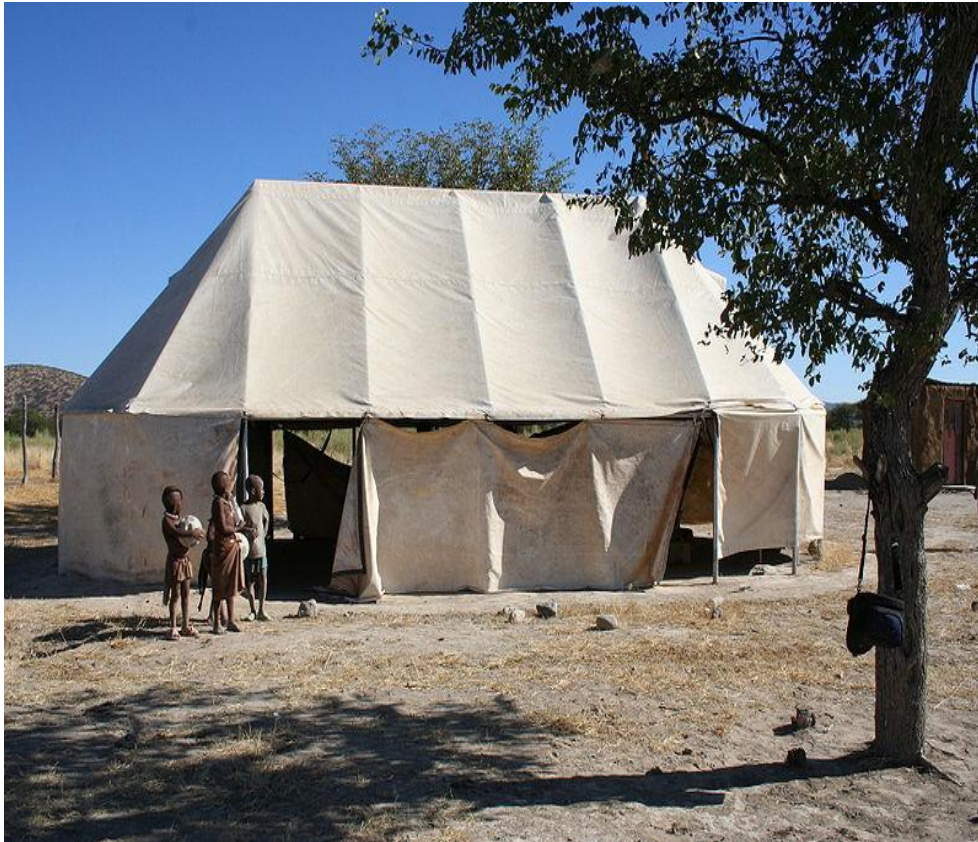
The diversity of nomads and pastoralists groups presents multiple challenges, including the variety of their contexts and the varied attitudes of parents toward formal education/schooling – for example, in herding situations, boys and not girls are kept away from schools. Also, expectations of education and schooling vary according to specific groups and circumstances. Namibian nomads and pastoralists (known as the Himba, Zemba and San), by culture and occupation are always on the move. It is the climate that dictates and determines when they are, and when they need to move. The mobility of these communities makes any effective use of conventional school difficult.

These groups are scattered all over Namibia, especially in the eastern, far northern and western regions. In addition, often they are never stable; hardly could one see a group of pastoralists staying for more than five months at a stretch because of frequent changes in weather, except those who have abandoned a nomadic life for a settled life in village or town (i.e. Opuwo, Tsumkwe and other towns and villages). The emergence of nomadic education as an important sub-system of the formal educational system in many African countries, including Namibia, is the direct consequence of these countries' commitment to equalising educational opportunities for all social groups, irrespective of ethnic or geographical origins, gender, or social class.

To fulfil the EFA, the Namibian government realised that the nomad groups need to be integrated into the nation building initiative; hence the idea of providing special education to nomadic communities, the pastoralists groups in particular, if universal primary education was to be attained by 2015. In 1997, the Namibian government recognised the need to provide equal education opportunities for all nomadic pastoralists groups, and the education programme known as the 'Ondao mobile programme' for Himba and Zemba children in the Kunene region was developed and implemented in 1998. This was followed by the Nyaye-Nyaye programme for the children from the San communities in the Tsumkwe district, Otjozondjupa region, 10 years later.

The primary aim of the mobile school and Nyaye-Nyaye programmes is to take education to nomadic and pastoralist children, wherever they resided. Mobile school units are primary schools designed for nomads who are constantly on the move, looking for pastures for their livestock. The schools move with these communities to make sure that the children are educated in any circumstances or geographical location. The mobile school units use tents as classrooms and follow the nomadic communities during their seasonal migrations. The Namibian government trains teachers to address the needs of these nomadic pastoralist learners in integrated classes.

Figure 3.8 Example of a tented classroom

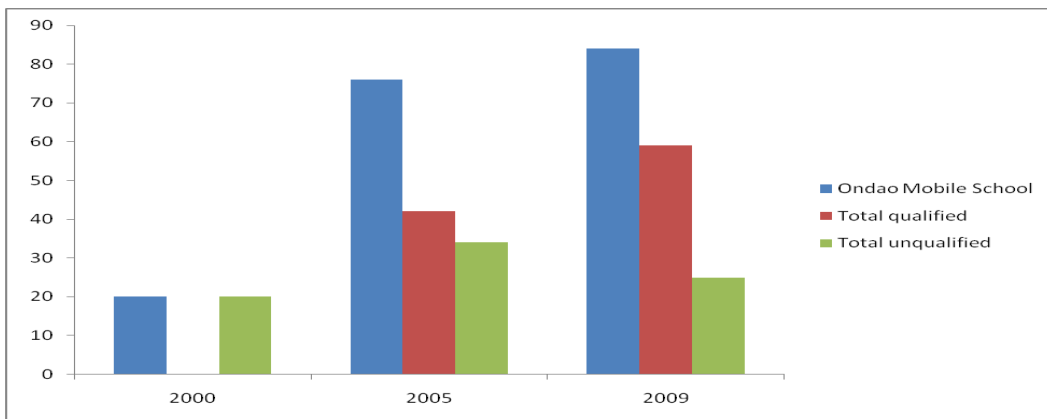


3.5.1 Multi-grade teaching

The majority of mobile school units use a multi-grade teaching approach, where one teacher is responsible for more than one grade. The aim is to address teacher shortages and space, especially in rural and hard to reach areas where the enrolments for two or more grades are too low to justify an additional teacher. It should be noted that multi-grade teaching is not only used in mobile school units, but also practiced in many Namibian conventional schools across the country in the sparsely populated rural areas. Multi-grade teaching has attracted attention in the developing country including Namibia, because of its potential to increase physical access of primary school rates, by bringing the education closer to the community; and encourage more children, especially from nomads and pastoralist communities, into school. Furthermore, in conventional schools, multi-grade teaching as a response to uneven learners' enrolment. For example, a school with a two and a half grade entry may have to combine two different grade levels to make up class sizes.

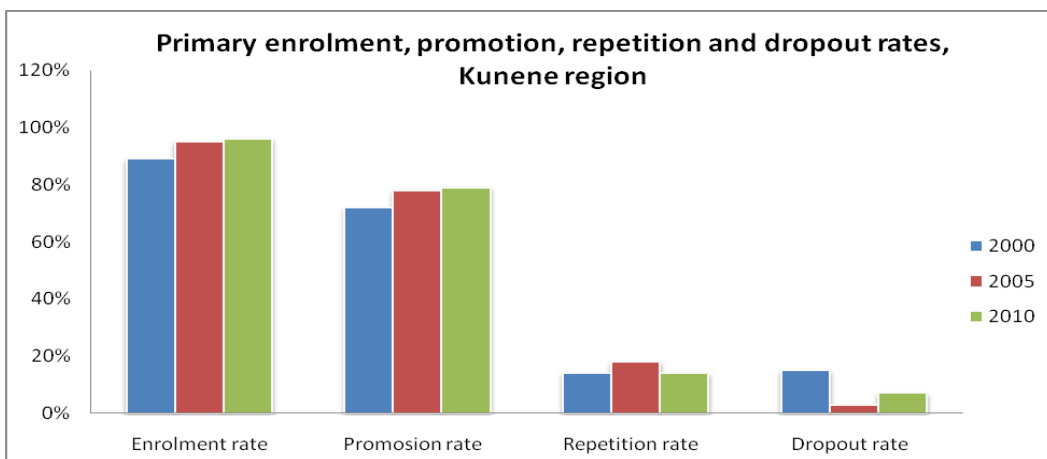
Multi-grade teaching is used as a cost effective measure to expand access to nomads and under-served areas, minimising the use of available teachers and classroom space. At the time of this study (2010), there were 84 mobile school teachers, teaching in 45 mobile school units, with a total enrolment of 2102. Only 30% of mobile school teachers were qualified at the time of this study, while the rest were under or unqualified (see Figure 3.9). Figure 3.10 also indicates enrolment, promotion, repetition and dropout rates for Kunene region over the past three years.

Figure 3.9 Total number of mobile school teachers



Source: EMIS 2009

Figure 3.10 Primary enrolment rate for Kunene region (Grade 1-7)



Source: EMIS 2009

Note should be taken that the estimates of number of nomadic and pastoralist children not in school worldwide (including Namibia) are difficult to obtain because of the invisibility of these communities within the national aggregated education statistics. In Namibia, for example, the Ministry of Education collects educational data (namely, 15th Day Statistic and Annual Education Census) once a year, but only includes nomadic children who are enrolled in schools - not those who are not attending or have dropped out of the mobile school programme.

3.6. Conclusion

The chapter studied the progress and achievements made by the developing countries, Sub-Saharan African countries in particular, towards the realisation of EFA and MDGs targets of 2015 in relation to equity and quality in education. It noted that due to various policy options and education programmes, a number of African countries, including Namibia, have made great strides in improving primary education enrolment rates.

Yet, there are signs that the strategies and efforts made so far appear to be unable to enrol all primary school age children by 2015, the target set by EFA and MDGs. A complementary education programme adopted, such as mobile schools, requires government's extra effort and commitment, backed by a strategic vision and policy options, as well as the support of other key stakeholders, including development partners. As there are only four years to go to reach EFA and the MDGs target year, special measures need to be put in place to enrol and retain children from marginalised, nomadic and pastoral communalities.

Research findings like SACMEQ II (2005) show that attempts to promote equity and quality in education for marginalised and nomadic groups face an uphill battle. Evidence from some African countries, like Ethiopia, Ghana, Malawi, Namibia, Tanzania and Uganda, show that complementary basic education programmes (such as mobile schools and boarding school hostels) can be used to address some of problems facing education systems in reaching children who would otherwise not be reached by the current formal education systems.

Nevertheless, Packer and Aggio (2005) underscore the fact that for a country to improve primary enrolment rates and retain all eligible primary school age children in schools, it requires much more than high enrolment or intake rates, attaining full regular attendance, and completion rate of the primary cycle. This is what they describe as, the true test of MDGs, especially goal 2 (Packer & Aggio, 2005).

In Chapter 5 and 6 the researcher provides a picture of the educational provisioning to the nomadic Himba and Zemba people, with the aim of determining the degree to which equity and quality of education for these communities have been achieved. He critically assesses the current provisioning in order to reveal the gains and shortfalls in the mobile school unit method.

CHAPTER 4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

This chapter provides a description of the design and methods used to conduct the investigation into the provisioning of equity and quality of education among nomadic communities living in a developing country context. The research takes a broad view on the phenomenon of education provisioning to nomadic communities and its actual outcomes beyond the classroom perspective. The chapter offers an outline of the research design, the approach to data collection, and the methods employed for data collection. The researcher also indicates how he analysed the data and the steps taken to ensure trustworthiness and credibility. He also indicates the steps taken to adhere to ethical requirements in the research.

From the researcher's experience with and knowledge of the Himba and Zemba people based on his work as an education planner in the Ministry of Education, he realised that many of the decisions taken in the past regarding the provisioning of education to these people were based on anecdotal evidence and limited research into the lifestyles of life these people. He realised that there was tension between culture and education, and that the provisioning of education to nomadic groups in Namibia had never been an easy task. Based on this, he knew that he had to spend time with the Himba and Zemba people to gain greater insight into their way of life, and at the same time he had to talk to the educators and education officials involved with the education of these people in order to understand the subject better.

The research took the form of an ethnographic study with the aim of understanding whether the mobile school programme has succeeded in bringing quality, universal education to marginalised nomadic people in the north west of Namibia. The research was based on a detailed case study of the mobile school programme created to bring basic education to the Himba and Zemba people in the Kunene region. The researcher spent five weeks living and interacting with the Himba and Zemba people in order to study their culture and to observe the education being offered.

During this time he conducted extensive conversational interviews (Denzin, 1997) with the Himba people (parents and community leaders), the teachers and education officials, as well as other role players (i.e. Regional Officials and higher ranking education officials).

In the research an attempt was made to obtain an in-depth understanding of the meanings and 'definitions of the situation' presented by the participants (Wainwright, 1997) and to reveal the subjective beliefs of those studied. Jorgensen (1989) states that for qualitative researchers, the subjective beliefs of the people being studied have explanatory primacy over the theoretical knowledge of the researcher; thus he suggests:

While the researcher may have a theoretical interest in being there, exactly what concepts are important, how they are or are not related, and what, therefore, is problematic should remain open and subject to refinement and definition based on what the researcher is able to uncover and observe' (Jorgensen, 1989:18).

The researcher set out to understand how the Himba and Zemba communities make sense of the Namibian government's effort to promote equitable access to good quality schooling by means of the mobile school programme. He was actively seeking to see education provisioning through the eyes of the indigenous people and how they construct reality so that he could juxtapose it with the policy intent of the state. The study therefore adopted an in-depth qualitative approach with typical ethnographic elements, following the precedent of some other important studies of different ethnographers (Spradley, 1979; Schensul *et al.*, 1999; Riemier, 2008; Krätli, 2009).

Creswell (1998) describes the qualitative approach as a multi-method approach which involves data collection and an interpretive naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This study attempted to portray the daily experiences of educators and of the nomadic community in the Kunene region, in terms of challenges posed by the mobile school programme regarding equity and quality in education, as well as the real impact of the policy intent.

In addition, the researcher sought to find out whether the initiatives put in place by developing countries like Namibia to enhance EFA among vulnerable groups such as nomadic pastoralists have been successful. The success and limitations of the mobile school programme in the developing world context are examined and discussed in order

to build on the strengths and improve the shortcomings, while at the same time identifying new ways to reach the 'unreached' communities.

4.2. Research design

According to the literature (Downes & Rock, 1986; Spradley, 1979; Fetterman, 1998; Wainwright, 1997) the main intention of the ethnographer is to describe cross-cultural variations in social behaviour and beliefs. Downes and Rock (1986) reiterate that the primary imperative for any ethnographic research is to catalogue and describe a particular worldview without imposing external theoretical scheme. Furthermore, the literature describes the ethnographic method as the philosophical orientation supporting a research study (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999).

Fetterman (1989) provides an overview of four perspectives of ethnography; classical, systematic, interpretive/hermeneutic, and critical. Ethnographic research is usually holistic, and founded on the idea that humans are best understood in the fullest possible context, including the place where they live, the improvements they have made, and how they are making a living (Fetterman, 1989).

Following the work of Murtagh (2007:194) the research design used in this study can best be described as 'critically quasi-ethnographic'. The principal characteristic that leads the researcher to describe it as such is its ethnographic stance. The term 'quasi' is attributed to the time-scale of the study and the number of mobile school units visited for data collection, and the term 'critical' refers to the notion of adopting strategic and collaborative elements to the study.

Ethnography may be described as the organised study of other groups of people and is commonly associated with anthropological studies of other cultures. Spradley (1979:5) relates the ethnographic approach to the study of particular groups within society and describes an ethnographic approach as one which describes a culture, referring to the term culture as, '...the acquired knowledge that people use to interpret experience and generate social behaviour'. Such an approach involves the ethnographer participating in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, and asking questions – in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research (Spradley, 1979: 1). The researcher spent five weeks living with the people being studied, and succeeded in

obtaining rich descriptive data of the people, their culture, the mobile units and the education provisioning challenges faced.

Furthermore, Lambert and Wiebel (1990:1) assert that ethnographic research methods are appropriate for ‘...topics about which little is known, primarily because ethnography is by its nature fundamental and exploratory, preparing the way for more rigorous studies that strive for precision and quantification’. For this research study it was important to understand Himba and Zemba culture and the provisioning of education to these migratory communities; both topics about which very little is known, thus fitting the typical descriptions of an ethnographic study.

One of the important considerations in ethnographic research is avoiding imposing a theoretical framework of meanings and definitions on those being studied. This concern originates from the anthropological study of low technology tribal cultures in the third world, where the intention is mainly to describe cross-cultural variations in social behaviour and beliefs before they disappear (Wainwright, 1997). Methodologically, this entails detailed observation and interaction by the researcher, in order to see the world ‘through the eyes’ of the people being studied. What is important in terms of ethnography is the purpose of the use of participants. In this study they were used as a means of learning as opposed to merely studying them (Spradley, 1979). As Downes and Rock (1986) indicate, the primary imperative for such research is to catalogue and describe a particular worldview without imposing an external theoretical schema.

In this research, the design integrates the main research question to research aims, objective, the literature, methodology, methods and techniques, and the setting of the research study as recommended by Creswell (1998). It is from the aim research topic that the specific research questions and the subsequent data collecting instruments have been developed. As stated earlier, this was a qualitative study and the research plan was based on three broad strategies of data collection i.e. documentation, semi-structured interviews, semi-observations, limited to the mobile unit teachers, nomadic learners and Himba and Zemba lifestyles only in their ‘natural settings’, and gaining a deep understanding of the education equity and quality in Namibia pertaining to the mobile school programme in relation to EFA. Therefore an ethnographic approach, as described here, seemed the most appropriate method of gathering rich empirical data.

A pure ethnographer may argue that the length of time for this study could not be described as sufficient. Jeffrey and Troman (2004) indicate that ethnographic studies are considered to take the form of a 12-month 'sustained' period of data gathering. The length of time spent gathering data for the study, however, took place over five weeks, but it is important to note that the researcher was born and raised in the northern part of Namibia and had served in education provision for many years. The researcher thus had an already established insider perspective on the people and their education, and the five weeks were sufficient to hone and sharpen his knowledge and understanding. Thus, if the setting is defined as the Kunene region (where the Himba and Zemba people reside), then, the study meets the ethnographic criterion (Bryman, 2004).

In describing the approach of the study, the researcher uses the term 'critical'. It is important to distinguish the use of the term as used in this study and as used in association with critical theory. In critical theory, as pointed out by Murtagh (2007:2), the ends and means of practice are rationally interrogated by the researcher, and thus '...practice is ultimately answerable to reason and evidence, with the aim of emancipating educators or researchers from the distortion of hegemonic ideology'. Critical theory often claims that educational researchers can stand apart from their educational values and intentions through the deployment of reason (Tripp, 1992). This was not assumed in this study, as the use of the term 'critical' in this study is justified more by its resemblance to practice.

Lather (1986) argues that there is no 'neutral research', and in social research methodology there is a need for a form of 'critical ethnography', which she terms 'research as praxis'. Research as praxis allows one to understand educational provisioning in context. For Lather (1986), this understanding is 'emancipatory knowledge'. The critical aspect of this study is the intention to raise to consciousness the values, or 'good', embedded within a practice, such that the practice may then be available to question and critical scrutiny; ultimately with a view to improve it. In other words, the researcher's intention of the critical approach was not only to add to the 'body of knowledge' about education provisioning to nomadic and pastoralist people, but to impact on the policy development process so that it results in equity and quality in education for these groups.

Unlike a solely traditional ethnographic study, the aim was to move insight into praxis, away from the acquisition of knowledge to a form of a dialogue between praxis and policy implementation. The activating agent is the emerging peer-like partnership between the researcher as the ethnographer and the participants (Murtagh, 2007).

Ethnography research typically refers to fieldwork (alternatively, participant-observation) conducted by a single investigator who 'lives with and lives like' those who are studied, usually for a certain period, even a year or more (Van Maanen, 1996). Ethnography literally means 'a portrait of a people'; it is a written description of a particular group or culture - the customs, beliefs, and behaviour, based on information collected through field-study (Harris & Johnson, 2000). Fetterman (1998) defines ethnography as the art and social science describing a group people or culture. It relies heavily on up-close, personal experience and possible participation, not just observation, by researchers trained in the art of ethnography. These ethnographers often work in multidisciplinary teams. The ethnographic focal point may include intensive language and culture learning, intensive study of a single field or domain, and a blend of historical, observational, and interview methods.

According to Massey (1998) and Fetterman (1998), ethnography has its roots in the fields of social anthropology and sociology. It is a method of observing human interactions in social settings and activities, involving participating, observing and describing how people from particular cultural groups respond to the situations they find themselves in. The method describes the observation of people in their cultural context. Massey (1998) defines culture as being '...made up of certain values, practices, relationships and identifications'.

Ethnographic research is a means of tapping local points of view, households and community 'funds of knowledge' (Moll & Greenberg, 1990); a means of identifying significant categories of human experience 'up close and personal'. The method widens top down views and enriches the enquiry process, taps both bottom-up insights and perspectives of powerful policy-makers 'at the top', and generates new analytical insights by engaging in interactive, team exploration of often subtle arenas of human difference and similarity. Through such findings ethnographers may inform others of their findings with an attempt to derive, for example, policy decisions or instructional innovations from such an analysis.

Present-day practitioners conduct ethnographies in organisations and communities of all kinds, including the study of schooling, public health, rural and urban development, consumers and consumer goods, and/or any human arena. While particularly suited to exploratory research, ethnography draws on a wide range of both qualitative and quantitative methodologies, moving from 'learning' to 'testing' (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999) while research problems, perspectives, and theories emerge and shift. According to LeCompte and Schensul (1999), the tools of ethnography are designed for discovery, and the primary modes for the collection used by ethnographers are eyes and ears. LeCompte and Schensul (1999) posit that there is a difference between ethnography and other social and behavioural sciences, since ethnographic researchers cannot control what happens in their field situation. This is because data collections are conducted in the field settings where the researcher enters as an 'invited guest'.

The researcher conducted a study of a particular culture through close observation, listening, reading, and interpretation. During the fieldwork the researcher learnt how to recognise attributes that make up a culture, and how to describe it to others. Culture, however, has many attributes and definitions, but usually consists of origins, values, roles, and material items associated with a particular group of people. Ethnographic research has enabled the researcher to fully describe a variety of aspects and norms of nomadic groups like the Himba and Zemba to enhance his understanding of the nomadic people and their culture.

During the field study, an attempt was made to obtain in-depth understanding of the complex social structures within the Himba and Zemba communities, and assess the impact of the mobile school programme on this group. In this study qualitative research methodologies with ethnographic elements were combined in order to provide credible data and comparative results.

The rationale for choosing a qualitative approach with ethnographic elements was based on the nature and the underlying purpose and objective of the study. By employing the ethnographic research method, the researcher was able to obtain a holistic picture and a deeper understanding of the challenges faced by nomadic communities in developing countries like Namibia. The method provided a much more comprehensive perspective by focusing on the phenomenological reality of nomadic community in the Kunene region in particular, and their behaviour and its effects in a natural setting (Borg *et al.*, 1993:206). By observing the actual behaviour of individuals in their natural setting, it enabled the researcher to gain a much deeper and richer understanding of the

behaviour of the Himba and Zemba communities.

As a methodology, ethnography is not far removed from the sort of approach that one uses in everyday life to make sense of one's surroundings. According to Hammersley (1990), it is a less specialised and less technically sophisticated method than approaches like the experiment or the social survey, although all social research methods have multiple approaches to viewing the ways in which human beings gain information about their world.

According to Riemer (2008), ethnography is notoriously eclectic in its employment of multiple methods of data collection, and ethnographers normally typically observe, conduct interviews, and scrutinise relevant archives and articles during the research study period. Geertz (1973:6) argues that because ethnographic research is local, its focus is deep rather than broad; what he called 'thick description'. By 'thick,' Geertz (1973) is referring to descriptions that include all possible meanings of an event, including meanings conferred by members of the 'culture' or community itself. The following are the three methodological principles employed in this research; naturalism, understanding and discovery.

4.2.1 Naturalism

This is the view that the aim of social research is to capture the character of naturally occurring human behaviour, and that this can only be achieved by first-hand contact, not by inferences from what people do in artificial settings like experiments or from what they say in interviews. This is the reason that the ethnographic approach was employed in this research; i.e. the natural settings were the communities and the mobile school units. The research findings provide an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon of education provisioning to nomadic people and the actual outcomes beyond the classroom perspective. This was to ensure that the findings will be generalisable to other similar settings that have not yet been researched. Finally, the notion of naturalism implies that social events and processes should be explained in terms of their relationship with the context in which they occur.

4.2.2 Understanding

Central here is the argument made by Genzuk (1999) and Fraenkel *et al.* (1993) that human actions differ from the behaviour of physical objects, and even from that of other animals. Therefore they do not consist simply of fixed responses or even of learned responses to stimuli, but involve the interpretation of stimuli and the construction of responses.

Sometimes this argument reflects a complete rejection of the concept of causality as applicable to the social world, and an insistence on the freely constructed character of human actions and institutions. Others argue that causal relations are to be found in the social world, but that they differ from the 'mechanical' causality typical of physical phenomena. From this point of view, if one is able to explain human actions effectively one must gain an understanding of the cultural perspectives on which they are based. It is necessary and obvious that when we are studying a society that is alien that one will discover that much of what is seen and heard is puzzling. However, ethnographers (Fetterman, 1998; LeCompte & Schensul, 1999) argue that it is just as important when one is studying more familiar settings. Indeed, when a setting is familiar, the danger of misunderstanding is especially great.

Fetterman (1998) and LeCompte and Schensul (1999) argue that one cannot assume that one already knows another's perspective, even in one's own society, because particular groups and individuals develop distinctive worldviews. This is especially true in complex societies such as the nomadic groups like the Himba and Zemba people in the north west Namibia. Ethnic, occupational, and small informal groups (even individual families or school classes) develop distinctive ways of orienting themselves to the world that need to be understood if their behaviour is to be explained. Ethnographers further argue, then, that it is necessary to learn the culture of the group one is studying before one can produce valid explanations for the behaviour of its members. This is the reason for the centrality of participant observation and unstructured interviewing with the ethnographic method approach - to discover the true nature of things.

4.2.3 *Discovery*

Another feature of ethnographic thinking is a conception of the research process as inductive or discovery-based, rather than as being limited to the testing of explicit hypotheses. Ethnographers argue that if one approaches a phenomenon with a set of hypotheses, one may fail to discover the true nature of that phenomenon by being blinded by the assumptions built into the hypotheses (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999). Rather, they have a general interest in some types of social phenomena and/or in some theoretical issue or practical problem. The focus of the research is narrowed and sharpened, and perhaps even changed substantially, as it proceeds. Similarly, and in parallel, theoretical ideas that frame descriptions and explanations of what is observed are developed over the course of the research. Such ideas are regarded as a valuable outcome, and not a precondition, of research.

4.3. **The researcher as the research instrument**

Central to conducting ethnographic research, and more specifically, qualitative research, is the notion of the researcher as the research instrument (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Marshall & Rossman, 1995; Piantanida & Garman 1999; Patton, 2002 as cited in Stewart, 2010). The researcher is the key person in obtaining data from the respondents.

It is through the researcher's facilitative interaction that a context is created where respondents share rich data regarding their experiences and life world. It is the researcher that facilitates the flow of communication, who identifies cues, and puts the respondents at ease. It is also the researcher who is instrumental in translating and interpreting data generated from the respondents into meaningful information. In the qualitative approach method, researchers seek to understand the phenomena in the world through the study of events, actions, talking, watching, and gestures.

As Wainwright (1997) states, a qualitative researcher is an integral part of the research process – he/she becomes the research instrument. Through being the research instrument, the researcher becomes closely involved with the participants, their stories and their lives. Data are processed through the researcher, who makes decisions about what is regarded as data, how those data are collected, and finally, how the data are used. This term refers to the multiple subject positions that the researcher occupies.

The researcher as the research instrument has prompted scholars to promote what they call 'reflexivity'; a necessary tool for qualitative researchers (Jones, Torres & Arminio, 2006; Patton, 2002). This 'reflexivity' acknowledges 'the importance of self-awareness, political and cultural consciousness, and ownership of one's perspective' (Patton, 2002:64). Being reflexive then 'is to undertake an ongoing examination of what you know and how you know it' (Patton, 2002:64). Patton further states that that, 'in qualitative inquiry, the researcher is the instrument' (2002:14); therefore the credibility of qualitative research findings relies to a great extent on the researcher's knowledge and skill, as well as experience.

It is therefore important to state more about the researcher. He is a Namibian by birth and grew up in the deeper rural area northern part of Namibia, like the people in this study. As a young boy, he grew up herding goats and cattle, ensuring they didn't stray in other fields or strip the thatched huts. He was brought up in a society where livestock are only seen as the primary source of income for the people who live in the rural and semi-arid areas, like his parents.

Livestock serves as a social utility and plays an important role in the rural people's subsistence economy and livelihoods. People in the rural area depend solely on their livestock, as they are traded for cash or livestock products such as milk and butter; therefore children play an important role in this society.

As a village boy, he started his primary education only when he was 10 years old; for two reasons - first, as an African child, he grew up in a society where work in the homestead (i.e. herd livestock, working in fields, etc.) was the first priority. Formal education was not a priority, as a result he alternated herding and schooling with his brothers on a weekly basis. Secondly, it was due to long distances (seven kilometres one way) to walk between the nearest school and the village. During his my school time, he did not have enough textbooks or learning and support materials (i.e. exercise books, pens, etc.). The quality of education was very poor, as the majority of the teachers were under or unqualified; most held only a Grade 10 (formerly Standard 8) education no formal teaching experience or training. These are some of the experiences and background the researcher has in common with the communities studied in this research.

Although the researcher is not fluent in the Otjiherero language, he has sufficient knowledge to conduct an informal discussion and ask routine questions, probe and converse. His experience and background above gave him a great advantage in adapting easily and understanding the Himba and Zemba culture and customs, as well as their way of life. As he stayed in the community and interacted with the community members on a daily basis, it was a great opportunity to establish mutual trust and create good relationships with the Himba and Zemba people. Furthermore, it enabled the researcher to explore and understand, in some depth, their culture and customs, as well as their experiences and life world.

As an education planner, the researcher was not only involved with the distribution of national educational resources, but also with policy analysis and the implementation of policy at the national level. The researcher had a good understanding of the Namibian education system, which also enabled him to access all the official documents relevant to the implementation of education policies and programmes at the national and regional level.

To further enhance the richness and depth of the data obtained, the researcher was accompanied by one of the mobile school's Head's of Department (HoD) during the five week stay in the community, who also acted as an interpreter when necessary. This person was a Himba by birth, grew up in the Kunene Region, herded goats and cattle as a boy, and had to face the same adversities as the other educators and learners. The close relationship established gave the researcher an even deeper insight into the group. If there were language problems, the researcher used the interpreter. The HoD's main task, however, was to act as a guide to find the mobile units in an area without road signs or established roads. In addition, the researcher's study leader joined the researcher for a week to validate the data collected and to ensure that the data were saturated (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983).

4.4. Entering the field

Prior to the field study, the researcher telephoned the Ondao Mobile School principal to inform him of the research study with the intention of seeking his formal permission. The researcher also informed him that permissions had been granted by the Permanent Secretary of Education and the Kunene Regional Director of Education. After the researcher explained the nature of the research study, he also requested the principal to

forward the details of all mobile units; i.e. mobile unit name, cluster name, enrolment, grades, number of teachers per unit, their movements and how often, distances from his office and the type to classroom structure at each unit. The principal was agreeable, and asked the researcher to confirm one week before the day of arrival in Opuwo.

The researcher decided to conduct the fieldwork and interviews in the first school term (January-April) as this is the rainy season when most of the mobile units operate in their original locations. It is also the season when the nomadic Himba and Zemba people return to their fixed location; i.e. the 'Onganda' and where the 'Holy Fire' hut is; an important symbol in Himba and Zemba community life. (This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5). Choosing the first school term thus enabled the researcher to visit all selected mobile units and meet teachers, learners, and community members in their original locations, as this allowed the researcher to study their culture and customs.

The researcher also agreed that the study leader would visit the area in mid-June (2nd school term) for data validation purposes. The researcher chose the second school term for this purpose because this is the term that the school and teachers in conventional schools are more settled than in first term. For example, in the first school term, schools (including mobile units) are generally busy with admissions and other administrative work, and the nomadic learners are searching for places in either the mobile units or the conventional schools.

Further, this is the time when some of studied groups begin to move away from the waterholes in search for grazing as the dry season settles in. It was important for this study to experience first-hand the movement of a mobile unit. Therefore the researcher left the region at the start of May and returned with the study leader in mid-June. The second fieldwork visit in the second term also helped to validate the data from the first school term, in terms of enrolment, and to ensure that the data were saturated.

The researcher arrived in Opuwo on 5th April 2010, as agreed with the principal, and went straight to his office to confirm arrival. The researcher discussed the field study programme and also managed to secure dates for an interview with the four HoDs and two the Inspectors of Education. The principal had no objection to the programme, and presented the researcher with a formal letter authorising him to enter into the mobile units and conduct the research.

This letter was used extensively during the field study, especially when for introductions to mobile unit teachers. The principal also released one of the Himba speaking HoDs from his duties to accompany the researcher during the field study to act as a guide, and to introduce me to the mobile unit teachers, community members and leaders.

4.5. Ethical considerations

Before the field study commenced, approval and/or permission were obtained from the Permanent Secretary of Education (Annexure E), Director of Education for Kunene region (Annexure F), and the Ondaio Mobile School Principal (Annexure G) to conduct a study in the Kunene region focusing on the provisioning of education for nomadic pastoralists.

The researcher meticulously followed all procedures to obtain informed consent from each participant in the study. Prior to data collection, all participants were briefed to ensure that they understood that they would be observed and interviewed, both informally and formally. Everyone who participated in the study signed a letter of consent. The researcher also assured participants of anonymity and confidentiality.

According to Drew *et al.* (1996:43), although ethical considerations have received a great attention in recent years, each researcher is accountable for the ethical behaviour while conducting their investigations. Rayner (2008) cautions researchers that there are many ethical issues that need to be considered within social research, but not every ethical issue can be addressed; otherwise research findings would be unreliable and of no use. In this study every attempt was made to identify the main ethical considerations and to take necessary precautions in order to conduct the research ethically.

During this study all participants were treated with respect and dignity. In this regard, a number of key principles were adhered to (Strydom, 2002:64). The ethical principles applied to the research during, before, and after data collection are the following:

- Direct informed consent was obtained from all participants, as well as permission from all relevant authorities prior to data collection (Annexures E, F, G, I and J). The researcher made sure that all participants understood that their participation in the study was voluntary, and that they had the right

to withdraw at anytime without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way. During the data collection all participants were properly informed of the purpose of the research study, and had a full understanding of the procedures to be used in the study. The participants who agree to take part in the study signed a letter of consent.

- Privacy, confidentiality, and anonymity were assured. Although the confidentiality and anonymity concepts are sometimes mistakenly used as synonyms, they have quite distinct meanings. Confidentiality is an active attempt to remove from the research records any element that might indicate the subjects' identities. Anonymity refers to subjects remaining nameless. According to De Vaus (1985), the confidentiality of the data is a key factor when exploring ethical issues affecting research, as this could determine whether or not a participant was harmed. At the beginning of the data collection, all participants were informed that anonymity was essential to the study, and no instrument, including the media, would be used without their consent as this would be a violation of their privacy. In cases where people appear in photos included in this study, the participants had agreed to their photo being taken and included as part of the study.

4.6. Research sampling and site

Ploeg (1999:2) claims that sampling refers to the process of selecting what to study. The researcher made sampling decisions for the explicit purpose of obtaining the richest possible source of information for the study. Ploeg (1999) indicates that qualitative research usually involves smaller sample sizes and that sampling is normally flexible. In this study, a multi-method approach was used to collect data. The use of a multi-method approach helped the researcher deal with the complexities of studying the provisioning of education to the Himba and Zemba nomadic communities. The geographical area of the research was limited to the Kunene region, which has 40 primary schools (including the Ondao Mobile School) and 15 secondary schools.

At the time of this study there were 45 mobile school units throughout the Kunene region, but this is seen as one school - the Ondao Mobile School. The 45 units are divided into four clusters (Okangwati, Opuwo, Ehomba and Far West). A cluster is

made up of 11 to 12 mobile units, each headed by a Head of Department, who is based at the Ondao Mobile School in Opuwo (Annexure L).

To achieve my main objective and answer the research questions, the researcher selected a purposive sample of seven mobile units from the 45. Babbie (1992) asserts that purposive sampling allows the researcher to select the sample on the basis of his or her own judgement and knowledge of the population. The researcher in this study therefore believes that the selected sample provided the information required to answer the research question.

Because of the vastness of the region, the researcher had to use convenience sampling in selecting those units within a 150 kilometres radius from the Ondao School offices in Opuwo. Even so, the closest unit was still a half day's drive from Opuwo, and this was due to the dreadful roads. The seven mobile units selected resembled a typical mobile unit in terms of size, level of resourcing, teacher provisioning, and other variables such as the absence of a public transport system or reliable communication system.

Table 4.1 (p103) provides an overview of the total number of mobile units, learners and teachers. The table illustrates that only 22% of mobile school units go up to Grade 7, 49% only up to Grade 4, while 29% merely offer Grades 1 and 2.

Further criteria were used for selecting the seven mobile school units. The unit needed to cater for one of the cultural groups (Himba or Zemba), be housed in temporary facilities such as tents, should have moved location at least once in the year preceding the investigation, and should not be situated in any proclaimed town or village.

Table 4.1 Number of mobile units and the grades offered

	Grade 1-2	Grade 1-4	Grade 1-7	Total
Number of mobile units	13	22	10	45
Enrolment per grades	522	818	865	2 205
Number of teacher per grades	14	27	28	69

Source: 2009 Ondao mobile school report

In terms of research costs, the number of the sample was determined by budget constraints and time. Mobile units are scattered all over Kunene region, and there was no budget to reach more than seven mobile units.

At the time of selecting the sampling, five mobile units were closed for various reasons, such as the community had moved to a different location, teachers had transferred to conventional schools, or learners had stopped attending classes because there was no food in the school feeding scheme. These schools had to be excluded from the sample so that the seven selected were all operational at the start of the fieldwork. One of the selected schools became non-operational towards the end of the study when the community left the area.

A total of 116 participants were interviewed; and the number comprised 50 nomadic parents and community leaders, 45 nomadic learners, 11 mobile school teachers, 5 Ondao School Management personnel (four HoDs and one mobile school principal), and the following officials: Deputy Director of Education for Kunene Region, Senior Education Officer, Inspector of Education responsible for the implementation of education activities in the Kunene region, and the Executive Director of Hizejitiwa Indigenous People's Organisation (HIPO) (who was a former principal of the Ondao Mobile School).

Snowball sampling for the selection of the community members was used to identify participants (parents and community leaders). For example, parents with children enrolled in the mobile schools were reached through their children. Parents referred the researcher to other parents or community members. This has enabled the researcher to obtain a broad spectrum of inputs and ensured the saturation of data, especially as far as the provisioning of education and equity in nomadic communities is concerned.

Another criterion used for the selection of the community members and leaders was the accessibility of their households or villages. Because of the detailed interactions required, it was ideal that they should be easily assessable within the community. This criterion narrowed the selection of community members and leaders to those living in close proximity to the mobile unit.

An additional criterion of community members was that they must be able to provide insight into and articulate their experiences of education policy and equal opportunity in terms of educational provisioning. This enabled the researcher to obtain in depth information to build an understanding of the experiences of nomadic community members when it comes to equity and equal education opportunities in their communities.

Table 4.2 summarises the number of mobile units visited during the field study. The table indicates the number of learners per grade and per unit, number of teachers per unit, and average learner: teacher ratios per mobile unit.

Table 4.2 Enrolment rate of seven mobile units participated in this study - 2010.

Mobile Unit Name	Number of learners per grade				Total number of learners	Teacher	Learner: teacher ratios
	1	2	3	4			
Grade	1	2	3	4			
Etoto West	43	16	18	10	87	3	29.0
Otjirumbu	11	6			17	1	17.0
Okondjombo	21	5	6		32	1	32.0
Okapembabu	14	14	14		42	2	21.0
Otutati	32	28	12		74	2	37.0
Okapara	12	11	8		31	1	31.0
Okaupaue	16	7			23	1	23.0
TOTAL	149	87	58	10	304	11	27.0

Learners interviewed were selected randomly with the help of mobile teachers from six out of seven visited mobile units, three per grade (an average of nine learners per mobile school unit). The nine learners were brought together at one place (tent or under a tree) to talk to them about their lived experiences and the education they receive at their units.

At the seventh mobile unit, only a teacher was interviewed, and the researcher was told that learners, parents, community members and learners had moved to a new location in search of grazing for their animals.

4.7. Data collection

Creswell (1998) describes data collection as a series of interrelated activities aimed at gathering good information to answer the research question. The key tools of data collection in this study consist of a wide range of written and oral source material, interviews, field-notes and observational data; all used to understand and describe as fully and as richly as possible what the studied communities' experiences, expectations and aspirations of the formal quality education are. This methods approach was used to accomplish the research goals, which require diverse information from diverse stakeholders. The use of different data collecting methods helps my research to deal with the complexities studying Himba and Zemba lifestyles and education equity and quality for nomads. The complexity comes from the mismatch of the nature of Himba and Zemba nomads and pastoralists who are regularly shifting in search of water and grass for their animals and their rigid orientation of equity and quality in the formal education.

According to Creswell (2002), to develop a clear formulation of a problem theoretically, requires multiple conceptual frameworks and data sources: document analysis, interviews, and observation. In this study, the researcher employed a process of triangulation which involves the collection and cross checking of data from multiple sources at different points in time, and through the use of multiple but integrated methods (Creswell, 2002). According to Creswell (2002), triangulation entails using more than one method or data on the study of a social phenomena resulting in greater confidence in provide convergence of themes. The researcher chose to use the three data collation methods (document analysis, interviews and observation) as overarching techniques in this enquiry.

4.7.1 Documentation

In preparation for the study, the researcher consulted a range of primary and secondary sources; academic/research papers, policy statements, legislation and regulations, Ministry of Education's annual reports and census statistics (EMIS), relevant opinion

pieces, and correspondence and minutes of meetings related to education matters. The purpose of this review was to help develop a clear understanding of the complexities of provisioning education to nomadic pastoralist groups, as well as with the policy intention of equal and quality education in a developing country context.

The focus was mainly on the Namibian mobile school programme for the Himba and Zemba community in the north west of Namibia, but also draws on valuable lessons gained from experiences with other nomadic groups in the developing country context. This was discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis, and was used as a basis for juxtaposing the findings of the field-study.

4.7.2 Interviewing

The interview is usually a 'two persons or more conversation initiated by the interviewer for the specific of obtaining research relevant information and focused by her/him on context, specified by research objectives of systematic description, prediction or explanation' (Cohen & Marion, 1989:307). The research interview, however, is not a conversation between equal partners because the researcher defines and controls the situation. In qualitative research, Gillham (2000) refers to the interview as a data collection instrument to enable the interviewer to obtain descriptions of the life world of the interviewee with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described phenomena.

This study employed a qualitative approach with ethnographic elements as the basic design, and the data collection techniques, like interviewing, had to meet the criteria for such an approach. In this study, the semi-structured interview was employed and questions used to solicit data were prepared in advance. Rafoth (2001) emphasises that it is not advisable to go into an interview without a clear purpose; one's interviewee is likely to leave the session dissatisfied or frustrated. The interviews aimed at developing a peer- like partnership. .

In an ethnographic study, an essential element of the peer-like partnership created between researcher and participant is what is termed the 'ethnographic interview'. According to Spradley (1979), the manner in which an ethnographic interview is conducted has a great effect on the depth and accuracy of findings. People who feel comfortable, safe, and valued are more forthcoming than those who are treated merely as sources of information. Spradley (1979) draws an analogy between the ethnographic

interviews with other 'speech events' such as the friendly conversation. Although the two are similar in form, the ethnographic interview is more directed in purpose. Spradley (1979) claims that the ethnographic interview includes the following three important elements: explicit purpose, ethnographic explanations, and ethnographic questions.

- There is an explicit purpose that comes from the ethnographer - The *explicit purpose* and the initial ethnographic explanations were conveyed to the participants during the opening statement and introduction, where the researcher explained the nature and purpose of the research and invited them to participate. Following this, informed consent was negotiated.
- Additional *explanations* were given where needed or to keep the informant on track.
- Most of the interview comprised the *ethnographic interview questions*. Three types of ethnographic questions were used:
 - descriptive (what do you do all day at the school?),
 - structured (domains, paradigms, attributes, relations, items),
 - contrast (what's the difference between the grazing used for goats and cattle?)
- Asymmetrical turn taking rather than sharing.
- Repeating and restating (also known as active listening).
- Expressing interest.
- Expressing ignorance.
- Encouragement to expand rather than abbreviate responses.
- Incorporating informants' terms without mocking.

- Use of hypothetical (e.g., 'If we were standing in the bar now, what would it be like?')

Haynie (2003) points out that an effective ethnographic interview should begin as a friendly conversation and then change into its purposeful elements while establishing rapport along the way. Although Patton (as cited in Gunzik, 1999) indicates that there is no one right way of interviewing, no single correct format that is appropriate for all situations, and no single way of wording questions that will always work, the particular evaluation situation, the needs of the interviewee, and the personal style of the interviewer all come together to create a unique situation for each interview. Therein lay the challenge of depth interviewing: situational responsiveness and sensitivity to get the best data possible.

During the interviews, participants were invited to narrate their experiences with the Ondao mobile school programme and the education provided. The interviews focused on participants' experiences, expectations and aspirations for the mobile school units and the education provided. A field journal was kept to record notes immediately following the interviews. The intention was to identify the challenges posed by the Namibian Government's equity-driven education policies and their complexity in terms of educational provisioning in the Kunene region.

The semi-structured questions were designed to cover the main themes contained in the research questions, in terms of the challenges facing the nomads' community in a developing country context regarding the provision of formal education and access to equity and quality education. In addition, the research questions were designed to access the level of understanding of policy awareness among nomadic parents, community leaders and mobile school teachers, their perceptions of formal education, and suggestions as to how education should be provided to the community.

The interviews were conducted in both English and Otjiherero/Zemba, depending on the choice of the participant in order to obtain trustworthiness and validity of data. All interviews were tape recorded, and later transcribed. Field notes were used to make note of emotions, gestures, and other verbal and non-verbal details which might not be captured by tape recorder. Participants were interviewed at the place of their convenience (i.e. their offices, mobile units, homestead, gardens or during the herding of animals).

The following interviews were conducted (interviews are grouped in terms of participants):

- *Interview A:* Teachers in the selected mobile school units (on average three teachers per unit). The questions probed their experience of teaching in a mobile school, their academic and professional qualifications, number of learners, grades and the variables that could influence learning. The questions probed the availability of various types of learning. Teachers were also asked to provide information on the frequency of the supervisory visits by the principals and HoD. Teachers were also given the opportunity to mention issues that caused poor learner performance and hampered quality education in the mobile school units.
- *Interview B:* The community members and leaders at targeted mobile school units in the Kunene region. The questions were specifically designed to gather information regarding the family or community structure, income sources, type of dwelling, food and nutritional status of homestead or communities, their commitment to formal education, and their concerns with education. The questions also asked the parents about their level of participation in schools activities, as well as their aspirations for the education of their children.
- The communities and community leaders were requested to be open and freely tell their stories regarding the implementation of education policies in terms of the equitable distribution of education resources and equal opportunities. A total of 50 nomadic community members (on average seven members per village) were interviewed in each community.
- During the field study, it was learnt that the Himba and Zemba people are accustomed to open group discussion, and as a result it was difficult to interview parents, community leaders or members alone, as others just joined in the process. As a result, in most cases, the researcher conducted group interviews. This was a great asset as it assisted tremendously when learning about their culture and customs. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning

that although the Himbas and Zembas have a lot in common, and live in one village under one headman/headwoman, their homesteads are always separate. You will find a Himba group in one part of the village and the Zemba in another. Due to this set up, in most cases each group or community was interviewed separately.

- *Interview C:* Learners from the seven selected mobile school were interviewed. These dealt with their experience of schooling, their situation at home in terms of access to school, the commitment of their parents in encouraging them, their attitude towards schools and homework given by the teachers, as well as their ability regarding the completion thereof and their access to learning materials.
- *Interview D:* Educators managing the Ondao mobile school this include the Regional Education Director, Inspector Of Education, Region Education Planners, Ondao mobile school management (Principal and HoDs), who are charged with the responsibility of making sure that all children, including those from marginalised communities in Kunene region, have equal opportunities to formal education. The educators were asked about their experiences of managing Ondao mobile school, the challenges and opportunities, and the strengths and weakness of the programme.

The questions were designed to provide a general direction for the conversation and extract the type of correct information, with the purpose of eliciting the understanding, feeling, beliefs, opinions, and personal experiences and understandings of the concept of 'equity' in the context of educational provision in their communities and regions (Fetterman, 1989). The interviews were less formal and less interviewer-driven than the formal interview format, as Agar (1980: p50) notes, 'the best ethnographic interview is more like a conversation than a traditional interview format.'

The approach helped probe the interviewees and enter into a deeper dialogue with them (May, 1997) to understand the challenges and cultural barriers in terms of policy ideals of equity and policy implementation. This method enhanced the trustworthiness and credibility of the research as the triangulation technique allowed comparison and contrast with different views from target subjects (Creswell, 2002, 1998; Walsh, 2001).

More importantly, Creswell (2002) adds that the qualitative research approach requires a willingness and strong commitment from the researcher to spend an extensive amount of time in the field to collect data and analyse the problem, which demands time and resources. During the interviews, the ethnographic approach enabled the researcher to probe, asking for extra explanations.

As anthropologist Agar (1980:90) states, in an informal interview 'everything is negotiable and/or open for discussion. The informants can criticise a question, correct it, point out that it is sensitive, or answer in any way they want to.' In fact, what the researcher observed during the field study was that the ethnographic interview is more like a conversation than a traditional interview. The researcher probed for details, clarity and explanations (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973). The researcher regarded the interview as a lengthy conversation to gather information by watching and talking with people in the community. However, this informality doesn't mean the interviewer doesn't prepare for interviews.

As stated earlier, the interviewer planned questions and developed an interview protocols to ensure that the interviews flowed and questions were not forgotten. The interview, itself, however, does not necessarily follow a preset format or linear line of questioning (Ellen, 1984); it is guided instead by the talk itself, by what gets said, and what is left unsaid.

During the interviews an attempt was made to obtain an in-depth understanding of the meanings and 'definitions of the situation' presented by participants (Wainwright, 1997) and to reveal the subjective beliefs of those studied.

4.7.3 Observation field notes

Observation is a method that forms part of the research process. According to Creswell (2002), observation is a qualitative method with roots in traditional ethnographic research, where the objective is to help researchers learn the perspectives held by the study populations. The observation method I chose was semi-structured observing as an outsider. This type of observation is primarily concerned with writing about and explaining the phenomenon as observed. The aim is to gain a close and intimate familiarity with a given group of individuals and their practices through an intensive involvement with the people in their natural environment. This method, although less

structured, can provide the researcher with insights about the phenomenon being studied. I chose instructed observation method for the purpose of describing the natural setting and the phenomenon of education provisioning to Himba and Zemba people and its actual outcomes beyond the classroom perspective. The method is distinctive because the researcher approaches participants in their own environment, rather than having the participants come to the researcher. Seven mobile schools were visited over a considerable length of time and an attempt was made to describe, as far as possible, what exists and happens in these mobile school units.

During the five weeks in the field, the researcher gathered information by watching and talking with people, and by reading available reports and records. Observation was one of the main tools during the field study, as the researcher spent a good deal of time with subjects; both as non-participant and participant observer. In some cases, the researcher took part in activities in order to better understand the people, or to get firsthand experience. In some cases the researcher was a non-participant, observing what was going on in the community. Semi-nomadic lifestyle

The researcher expected to find out how the teaching and learning process occurred in the tent classrooms, or under a tree, in relation to equity and quality education in the mobile units.

During the classroom observations the main focus was on how different teachers approached their teaching lessons and how they managed multi-grade teaching. In the classroom the researcher recorded teacher language, learner and teacher interaction, and learning methods used. The initial plan was to conduct four to five classroom observations, but due to the distances, there were two to three observations per unit, albeit intermittent. After each classroom observation session, a brief discussion was held with the teacher to clarify issues that arose, and to give them an opportunity to highlight any concerns. The after-class interview usually took less than 30 minutes. This gave more credibility to such information in order to 'check and control' validity and reliability (Kidder, 1981). The classroom observation was an effective tool that helped capture classroom reality in a natural setting.

4.7.4 Field notes

Field notes are the brief words or phrases written down while at the field or site, or in a situation about which more complete notes will be written later (Hammersley, Martyn & Atkinson, 1995).

In this study, field notes were taken immediately following each interview and observation. Field notes were used to record emotions, gestures, and other verbal and non-verbal detail. The field notes included references of ideas found in books, and the day's observations. In this study, the field notes contained extremely important information that enabled the researcher to triangulate the data (interviews, observations and field notes) in order to build validity, trustworthiness and credibility into the findings.

4.8. Data analysis

An iterative data analysis process was used. As Glesne (1999:84) states:

Data analysis does not refer to a stage in the research process. Rather, it is a continuing process that should begin just as soon as the research commences. It follows then, that interviewing is not simply devoted to data acquisition.

It is also a time to consider relationships, salience, meanings, and explanations – analytic acts that not only lead to new questions, but also prepare you for the more concentrated period of analysis that follows the completion of data collection.

Similar sentiments are expressed by Merriam (1988:119):

Data collection and analysis is a simultaneous activity in qualitative research. Analysis begins in the first interview, the first observation and the first document read.

Qualitative data collection and analysis are not easily distinguishable from each other, as indicated by Thorne (2000). In ethnography, data analysis usually takes place throughout the project (Creswell, 1998). According to Creswell (1998), some analysis must take place during data collection. This implies that without it, the data collection has no direction. Data analysis is ongoing and helps fieldwork gain momentum towards useful information (Hammersley, Martyn & Atkinson, 1995).

Following the reasoning of Glesne (1999), Patton (1988), Creswell (1995) and others like Lincoln and Guba (1985), the analysis of the data for this research was an ongoing process of assessing the interviews and transcribing the data. It was beneficial to reflect about the findings while in the field as part of the analysis, although strategically the researcher left the more formal analysis until most of the data had been collected. Qualitative data analysis transforms data into findings, and no single formula or recipe exists for that transformation. Although there are guidelines, the final destination remains unique for each investigator or researcher (Patton, 2002).

Iyambo (2001) states that there are many different styles of qualitative research, and there are a variety of ways of handling and analysing data. As Nieuwenhuis (2006) indicates, qualitative data analysis is 'usually based on an interpretative philosophy', and this implies that researchers analyse the collected data in order to interpret it according to a particular philosophy.

It was noted in the data collection section of this report that multiple methods were employed; interviews, collection and analysis of various key documents, and observations; so the researcher ended up with much information to process. This required extracting the salient details that were relevant and meaningful to answer the research questions. This study used a combination of several techniques to analyse data. The purpose of using this approach was to enhance the credibility and trustworthiness of the study (Nieuwenhuis, 2006).

Analysis involved organising it, breaking it down into manageable units, and searching for patterns of similarities and differences. Before the data analysis, the researcher checked that all the raw data were collated (typing, and organising handwritten filed notes, interviews transcripts completed in the verbatim form). Data were broken down into different manageable units before being coded into units. This is described by Lincoln and Guba (1985:203) as 'single pieces of information that stand by themselves'.

After the data were coded into units, they were organised into categories of similar characteristics. At that stage of analysis, the formations of theory to answer the research questions started.

These transformations involved interpreting what the data meant, and relating these interpretations with other sources of insight about the phenomena, including findings from related research, conceptual literature, and common experience. Data analysis and interpretation are often intertwined and rely upon the researcher's logic, artistry, imagination, clarity, and knowledge of the field under study. The final research report reflects primary evidence of the phenomenon, interwoven with the researcher's reasoned interpretation of the phenomenon (Graue & Walsh, 1998).

The data analysis was to identify those themes emerging from the data that could shed light on issues of equity and quality in the education provisioning in mobile schools. The data were juxtaposed with other related studies on education provisioning for nomadic groups to identify those aspects that corroborate existing theories and findings and to highlight those aspects that are unique to the experiences, expectations and aspirations of the Himba and Zemba people of the Kunene region. Because of the semi-structured interviews, most of the categories were shaped by the questions that were asked.

In analysing the interviews of mobile teachers, regional officials and Ondao mobile management, communities and nomadic learners, the researcher used verbatim transcripts of each interview. The official documents and observation notes were repeatedly read and studied. To ensure complete accuracy of the transcripts, the researcher listened to the tapes again and edited the transcripts as necessary.

The next step in the process was to begin to organise the data to facilitate the analysis. In the process of data analysis, some data were discarded so that only useful and relevant data remained. Triangulating was achieved through cross checking the different sources of information, such as interviews, documents and class observations. During the data analysis the researcher decided to follow up telephone contacts with different individuals involved in the interview to clarify and probe further any unclear answers. The study employed three analysis principles; data reduction (writing, summaries, coding, teasing out themes, making clusters and partitions, writing memos), data display (figures, graphs, tables), and conclusions (verification, explanation, casual flows and suggestions) (Miles & Huberman, 1994:10).

In Chapters 5 and 6, the researcher presents a detailed analysis of enquiry and quality among nomadic pastoralist groups in a developing country context, with reference to the mobile schools in the Kunene region.

4.9. Trustworthiness and credibility

In this study data collection in the form of ethnographic research took place on site, i.e. in the group's natural environment, and attempted to be non-manipulative of group behaviour. The purpose was to aim for objectivity, while taking into account the views of the participants.

As Drew, Hardman and Hart (1996) state, validity is crucial to the value of information obtained from an investigation; whether that study uses quantitative or qualitative methods. Validity refers to the appropriateness, meaningfulness, and usefulness of the inferences the researcher makes based on the collected data, while reliability refers to the consistency of these inferences over time (Fraenkel & Wallen, 1993). Other researchers like Miles and Huberman (1994) refer to this feature as 'trustworthiness, credibility, and authenticity'. In this study, to ensure trustworthiness, credibility and authenticity, the following were employed in this enquiry:

- Using a variety of instruments to collect data, in order to allow for the triangulation of the data in order to build validity. Triangulation through the use of multiple methods (interview, observation, notes documents analysis and journals) ensures that different forms of data support observations and perceptions to further strengthen the validity of the findings.
- Documenting the sources of remarks whenever possible, to help make sense out of comments that otherwise might seem misplaced.
- Interviewing individual participants more than once where appropriate to minimise inconsistencies.
- Describing the context in which questions were asked.

- Learning to understand, and where appropriate, speak the language of the group that participated in the study.
- Keeping extensive field notes to keep track of ideas and perceptions to validate the concepts and theories that arose.
- Using audiotapes and videotapes when possible and appropriate.

As indicated earlier, data collection and analysis are continuous iterative process. This enabled the researcher to verify his understanding and interpretation of the data with the participants (member checking). This enhanced the credibility and trustworthiness of the research and ensures that conclusions drawn are authentic. The large number of interviews provided a rich and saturated pool of data where themes repeatedly emerged in conversations with different groups, thus reinforcing the credibility of the data.

4.10. Limitations

According to Drew *et al.* (1996), ethnographic research, like all research, is not without its limitations. It is highly dependent on the particular researcher's observations, interviews and documentations, and as numerical data are rarely provided, we need to use the criteria for trustworthiness and credibility of the researcher's findings. Fraenkel *et al.* (1993:393) note that in some cases, because only a single situation or culture of a group is observed, generalisability is almost non-existent. Equally, it was difficult to obtain statistics related to nomadic populations, as neither the Census nor the Education Management Information System (EMIS) of developing countries (including Namibia) are able to provide figures or describe the provision of education for nomadic groups. The researcher was aware of these limitations and conscious effortd were made to ensure that the findings are valid and credible.

The researcher would like to make it clear that this study is not attempt to focus on the issue of policy failure, but rather on the relationship between what was intended to be policy and what is in fact being implemented. Therefore, the study first determined and analysed the concept of equity and equal education opportunity with reference to education policies in Namibia, such as the 2000 National Policy Options for Educationally Marginalised Children. The researcher focused on the originators'

perceptions and intentions in terms of the ideological notion of Education for All.

The potential of researcher bias is acknowledged. Measures were taken to minimize these (such as member checking and the use of reflexivity) and involving the study leader in validating the data obtained. As Molale (2004:23) indicates, 'bias is a concept which may cut across all types of research methodologies including ethnographic study; however, this does not necessarily mean subjectivity as a factor in the research should be allowed to persist.' In this regard, every endeavour was made to keep these to a minimum.

4.11. Summary

This chapter described the data collection strategies and measures taken to ensure the information generated was a fair representation of the Himba and Zemba communities, nomadic learners, mobile teachers, and education officials overseeing the implementation of education policies and programmes in the Kunene region. The chapter described the research design and the various research instruments used to collect data from seven mobile units, teachers and learners in these units, community members where these units are situated, as well as the Regional Officials and Ondao Mobile Management. Ethnographic studies were outlined in detail, including methods used for data collection analysis and interpretation.

This chapter also explained how validity was established. Limitations of the study were also identified. The chapter further outlined the study's approach to trustworthiness in order to render the results acceptable to other researchers and readers. In the next two chapters the data obtained and analysed in terms of the methodological considerations are presented.

CHAPTER 5. THE HIMBA AND ZEMBA PEOPLE

5.1. Introduction

Very little is known about the Himba and Zemba people of Namibia. A search of the literature has revealed that very few studies have been conducted about them. Studies undertaken did not deal specifically with the provisioning of education but rather treated the Himba and Zemba in a peripheral manner, while the studies focused more on issues of water, wildlife and technology. Much of what is reported in this chapter is therefore based on my own observations and discussions with the Himba and Zemba people. Where possible, reference to other sources will be made (EMIS, 2009; UNESCO, 2009; Byer, 2001; Hans & Kavari, 1997; Bolling, 1998; Mlekwa, 1996).

Namibia is a hub of various tribes that make up the population of country. In the North West there is a region called Kunene (formerly known as *Kaokoland*), which is a home to one of the ancient indigenous peoples of Namibia (i.e. the Himba and Zemba). The Kunene region is one of 13 regions, and the largest region in Namibia, covering an area of 144 255 square kilometres in terms of territory, which is 18% of the total land of Namibia (824 292 square kilometres). The region is characterised by a climate that ranges from arid to semi-arid, and high temperatures with less than 90 mm of rainfall a year.

According to 2001 National Population Census, the Kunene region is home to more than 68 000 inhabitants; more than 70% are Himba and Zemba speaking. In most parts of the Kunene region the soil is poor and rains are unreliable; consequently the majority of inhabitants are pastoralists that migrate with their herds to the different waterholes from season to season. The friendly Himba people, in particular, are closely related to the Herero and speak the same language. The Zemba speak their own language (Otjizemba) and live only in some parts of the Kunene region.

The Himba, Zemba and other nomad groups have safe and adequate abodes, and can still freely roam over the wide pastures of the highlands without feeling the need for formal education, or being forced to the industrial centres for employment.

As I said earlier, that the main economic activity for the Himba and Zemba is agro-pastoralism; i.e. the combination of keeping livestock (cattle, goats, donkeys and small number of sheep) and the seasonal cultivation of crops (sorghum, and millet) – this by Zemba in particular. Despite the eminently pastoral economy it is hard to find veterinary services in the nomad areas, and especially in Namibia, where only two percent of the Himba and Zemba population can read or write. The dropout rate in the mobile school units is more than 40%. The nature of the nomadic Himba and Zemba lifestyle and the harsh climatic conditions, coupled with marginalisation by society at large, exacerbate the challenges that are attributed to the nomadic lifestyle (Bolling, 1998).

Topographically, Kunene may be divided into the interior highlands and the western or pro-Namibian plains, which are divided by a rugged and deeply scored escarpment. The region's population growth is at the rate of 1.9 percent per year, less than the national average of 2.6 percent. Similarly, the region's population density is 0.6 persons per square kilometre, which is lower than the national average of 2.6 percent and that of the most density populated regions that have a population density of 18.7 people per square kilometre. Compared with the rest of Namibia, the Kunene region is underdeveloped, and this may be due to the unique and fragile environment, mountainous and inaccessible landscape, and the dryness that significantly hinders agricultural development or any form of commercial farming and industrial development.

Opuwo is the largest town and the capital of the Kunene region. The region's name comes from the Kunene River which forms the northern border with Angola. The interior plateau is drained by a number of large seasonal rivers, either running north into the Kunene or westward to the Atlantic Ocean. Although these rivers only flow on the surface after rains, there is an underground flow throughout the year, and water is often obtained by digging in the sandy riverbeds. Numerous springs also occur in the territory, but on the whole, perennial water is scarce.

Domestically Kunene adjoins five regions: Otjozondjupa in the east, Erongo in the south, Oshikoto, Oshana and Omusati in the north-east. The area is made up of rugged mountain ranges to the interior which fall steeply to the lower lying plains of the Namib Desert. The average annual rainfall of the region is less than 250mm. The region with its splendid landscape and rich cultural heritage is one of the most scenic and unspoiled regions of Namibia. It is one of the last remaining truly 'wild' regions of southern Africa and has a variety of wildlife which includes elephants, lion, cheetah, antelopes, black

rhino, zebra, giraffe, etc. The wildlife reserves are major tourist attractions in the region, giving rise to a thriving tourism industry in some parts. The common languages spoken in the region are Otjiherero, Otjizemba, Damara, Afrikaans, and few Oshiwamba here and there.

As a result of a growing tourism industry in the Kunene region (formerly known as Kaokoveld), the Himba and Zemba's lifestyle and culture have become increasingly endangered. Out of ignorance, tourists are introducing many alien concepts to the Himba and Zemba culture, like giving sweets to the children and alcohol to the old people. As a result many of the Himba and Zemba people, and other nomadic groups living close to towns and tourist attractions in the region, have become beggars and alcoholics. Many nature conservationists are demanding better control of Himba tourism and are advocating declaring the entire region a conservation area. The Namibian government is reluctant to take action and actually accuse the Himba, Zemba and other nomadic peoples of being uncivilised and a hindrance to progress and development in the territory (Bolling, 1998).

5.2. Culture and formal education

5.2.1 Culture demands

At this point, it is important to make a few general observations about the Himba and Zemba cultures as they have a direct impact on the provisioning of basic education. On the one hand, and notwithstanding the undoubted cultural diversity arising from Africa's ethnic pluralism, the most common basic features of all African cultures are ancestral beliefs, customs, traditions, value systems, and socio-political institutions. In the words of Bolaji Idowu (1973:103) as quoted by Bolling, 1998):

There is a common Africanness about the total culture and religious beliefs and practices of Africa. This common factor may be due either to the fact of diffusion or to the fact that most Africans share common origins with regard to race and customs and religious practice.

During my study, I learnt that Himba and Zemba tribes are very conscious of their culture. They take great pride in it, and have withstood the many pressures of the 'modern world'. Their pastoralist culture is highly evolved and specialised, and they are probably one of the most socially refined peoples in the world. At the same time they are very realistic about their place in contemporary and future modern society of Namibia, and the world at large.

In this chapter, a number of general observations that were observed during this field study about the Himba and Zemba's traditions and cultural practices will be discussed as they have a direct impact on the provisioning of basic education. Moreover, to understand the challenge of educational provisioning for nomadic people, we need to understand and recognise their culture and way of life as these factors affect the education to be provided. In this chapter I would describes how the Himba and Zemba peoples have accepted the formal education intervention in their daily life activities, and what have been the consequences on their way of life and culture, including their migration patterns as a result of the mobile school system.

Like other African countries, western civilization is exerting an immense influence on people from all walks of life, and Namibia in not exempt from these pressures. All over Africa, including Namibia, the old order is giving way to new ideas and modern practices. Culture, religion, social and political systems, forms of education, and literally every aspect of life is going through transformation as they adapt to the demands of modern society.

However, like any other system, there are also exceptions to the rule. A few communities or societies have either resisted new ideas, or as a result of other factors (such as their isolation) have not intensively exposed to the challenges of change and development. One such community is the Himba and Zemba peoples in the north west of Namibia. The natural conservatism of the Himba and Zemba peoples, together with their geographic isolation and the marginal ecology of their habitat, has contributed greatly towards restricting the diffusion of western culture to the inhabitants of the territory.

As stated earlier, the Himba and Zemba are the ancient tribes of Namibia, and have certain unique cultural dimensions that have enabled them to maintain their distinct culture and nomadic lifestyle amidst the encroachment of modern civilisation into their traditional lands in southern Angola and north-western Namibia. The Himba and Zemba have resisted change and managed to maintain many of their traditional customs, in large because they live in an isolated and harsh environment. That said, because they are nomadic, and because their history is largely an oral record, it is difficult to tell exactly how old some of their customs and practices are (Bolling, 1998; Chesselet, 2004). What is commonly accepted is that livestock is central to their cultural beliefs and practices, and the animals provide a connection to the ancestors through sacrifice.

The inhospitable or unwelcoming nature of the Kunene region and its surroundings have also made it less attractive for invading groups and colonialists, thus they have been less exposed to other modernising cultural influences and have been able to remain true to their traditional lifestyle. Much of the colonial era and the liberation struggle of Namibia's recent past have left them unscathed.

It is only in the more recent times that modern influences have begun to penetrate large parts of their traditional native land. These nomadic pastoralists are extraordinary people and have retained their cultural heritage until today. Although they are labelled as historical objects of the past, no tribe on earth lives in a time capsule, but they have held on to their traditions and adapted to outside world's influences in their own way. For the most part, the modern world hasn't yet intruded on their traditional way of life, and that is why (ironically) more and more tourists are keen to visit the north western of Namibia.

The Himba people, or more correctly the 'Ovahimba' in particular, are descendents of the Herero tribe and still speak the same language (*Otjiherero*). The Zemba have their own language (*Otjizemba*) and only live in certain parts of the Kunene region. Historically, the Himba and Zemba groups have a great deal in common in terms of traditions and cultural practices, and both tribes continue to maintain their traditional beliefs; including ancestor worship and rituals concerning sacred fire (*okoruwo*) which are considered important links between the living and the dead.

The Himba and Zemba tribes are extraordinary, and a striking people to look at. Traditionally, their clothes consist of animal skin skirts for both men and women, both going topless. The Himba women wear short skirts made of goat skins adorned with shells, and jewellery made of iron and copper. The men wear goatskin loin cloths. Both men and women smear their skin with a mixture of rancid butter, ash and ochre to protect them from the harsh desert climate. The paste (Otjize) is often mixed with the aromatic resin of the 'Omuzumba' shrub; a little like adding perfume to a suntan lotion. Apart from protection from the sun, the deep red colour is a highly desirable look in the Himba tradition and culture. The Himba women use the same paste (Otjize) in their hair which is long and plaited into intricate designs. You can tell the marital status of a Himba woman by the way she wears her hair. The men also change their hairstyle to denote their social position in the society. A married man, for example, often wears his hair in a turban.

During this study, I learnt that Himbas follow a very traditional way of life. The Himba women take great care of themselves, and grooming forms an essential part of their lives. For the Himba, clothes, hair and jewellery hold a special meaning and form an important part of their tradition and culture. Even newborn babies are adorned with pearl necklaces, while older children are given bracelets crafted from copper and decorated with shells. The proud Himba women spend many hours on beauty care and grooming every day.

Roles and responsibilities in the Himba and Zemba societies are clearly defined and they try to observe them in today's fast changing world. Typically, the Himba and Zemba women perform more labour intensive activities than the men. Men and boys are responsible for overseeing the wellbeing of the family, making sure that the clan has something to put on the table, herding cattle, and fencing gardens and homesteads. The Himba and Zemba women and girls are expected to perform the following activities: milking cows and goats, hauling water from the river or waterhole, carrying firewood, constructing huts/homes, herding goats and calves, tilling the land/garden and planting, harvesting maize and sorghum and taking care of children.

Figure 5.1 Himba woman milking



Milk is kept in calabashes and is classified according to the importance attached to the cows. Not all milk may be given to a stranger or any person, and some milk is used for making butter. During the research it was observed that traditionally, women and girls do not mingle with men or boys, or talk amongst the men. During the field study, wherever possible, efforts were made to interview women and girls separately on their views about the prospect of mobile schools and their attitudes toward formal education.

Despite the prominent role by the Himba and Zemba women in their societies, they are not strictly matrilineal, as are many African tribes. They are both matrilineal and patrilineal in that each member of the Himba and Zemba tribe is a member of two clans; that of their mother and that of their father. This is referred to by anthropologists as 'bilateral descent', an uncommon pattern that only occurs in a few cultures around the world. The bilateral descent of the Himba and Zemba societies may be an adaptation to the extreme desert conditions in which they live, in that an individual can rely on both their father's and mother's families for support in times of emergencies. That said, the son typically lives with his father's clan, and the older one usually inherits the clan (homestead) after the father dies.

However, he does not inherit any of his father's wealth; rather it is a maternal uncle from whom they will derive their inherited wealth. As with most pre-industrial (and many post-industrial) societies, wives go to live with their husband's clan but children do not inherit their fathers' wealth (livestock etc.). A Himba or Zemba woman lives with her

husband's clan after marriage.

During this study, I also learnt that early marriage is very common in the Himba and Zemba communities. Traditionally a Himba or Zemba man would approach the parent of young girl to indicate his wish to have her as a wife and he will leave attire or cloth with the girl's family as a symbol of his intention to marry her. She will remain with her family until she reaches the age of about 13, when she will move to the man's homestead to learn the roles and responsibilities of a woman in their society. The man will not have intercourse with her until she becomes of age; whereafter the formal marriage ceremony and slaughtering of an animal(s) will take place. A ceremonial feast will then be held.

Both Himba and Zemba's houses are just simple circle-shaped structures made with palm leaves or wooden mopane branches, or saplings covered in a layer of mud and cattle dung. The Himba construct the roofs with palm leaves. Zemba homesteads differ from Himba homes in the sense that they are enclosed with sticks that surround the huts. In the Himba culture the pen ('kraal') will be in the centre of the homestead ('*Onganda*') and the huts will be outside the pen. The Zemba use Western building materials in the construction of roofs, making them more able to withstand the elements. A cluster of huts will form the homestead.

A Himba and Zemba homestead is often enclosed by wooden mopane branches with a single opening. Opposite the opening, at the furthest side, stands the main hut of the head of the clan, which directly faces the sacred fire (*okoruwo*). It is believed that the sacred fire is the connection between the head of the clan and the ancestral spirits. Because of the importance attached to the *okowuro*, no other hut may overlook the sacred fire, and the area between the main hut and the *okoruwo* cannot be crossed without permission from the head of the clan. Visitors or strangers are not allowed to walk in front of the main hut. The sacred fire is kept burning day and night, and represents the spirits of the village ancestors.

The Himba and Zemba consult the ancestors at critical stages in their lives. Each homestead has two fires, a small one inside the hut for warmth, and a larger one outside for cooking - both are kept burning all night. It is believed that wood must be collected for the fires before sunset. The Himba and Zemba settle down for the long nights chatting round their fires, at times seeing to their animals. Villages are never

totally quiet during the night as there is always some activity. By moving around and keeping the fire alight, they are also protected from wild animals that may prey on their flocks.

The study found that both Himba and Zemba, during the course of a year, move with their herds of goats and cattle to places where they can find adequate grazing and, of course, a supply of water. They will then leave their homestead behind and may return to it sometime in future. No other clan will settle in a homestead that belongs to another clan. For this reason it is important not to take anything from a Himba hut, even if it appears abandoned. This is because each community has a core area or village which is their 'home area' for as long as the pastures and water last. They normally move out of their core area or villages only when circumstances force them to do so. The Zemba only live in certain areas, and their core areas or villages are mainly in Etoto west and east, Otjovanatje, the Ruacana area, and an area west of Opuwo.

The Himba and Zemba day starts early, and indeed for women work may go on throughout the night as the cattle and goats are brought back from grazing to be milked. The Himba women arise before dawn and apply 'otjize' on their bodies. Cows must be milked before they are herded to the grazing areas.

During the day women look after the children, making flour from maize and churning butter, and then often have to travel a distance to collect water and fire wood. This they do either by foot or by donkey or donkey cart if they have the luxury of such an item. Although the government has drilled a number of boreholes in the region, most water points are holes dug in seasonal riverbeds.

Once the cattle are milked, the men and/or boys herd cattle to the water points and grazing areas. When the pastures of their core areas are grazed down, the entire village, except elderly people, move to a place where there is better grazing. Men and boys often set up separate, temporary village and move around with the cattle, leaving children and older people (women and men) at the Onganda (homestead). In the Himba culture, however, the homestead is only called home if there are cattle around. As soon as the cattle move to a cattle-post for water or better grazing, then the core area is no longer called a home but an 'etundu' – a home that is not complete.

The diet of the Himba consists mainly of a porridge made from maize meal and milk, while for Zemba it is made with mahangu meal, maize meal and supplemented with milk. Milk left over is often used to make butter which is churned in gourds. Although meat is a part of the Himba and Zemba diet, beef is consumed sparingly as cattle represent the wealth of a clan. Meat from small stock such as goats and sheep is more likely to be found in the Himba and Zemba diet. A goat or a sheep may be slaughtered to provide meat for the household, or sold to provide cash for buying items that are not produced within their own economy. When cattle are slaughtered, it is usually done at a ceremony, like a wedding or funeral. Men in these two societies are socialised to eat separately from women and children.

The Himba and Zemba homestead is a family unit, overseen mostly by the eldest male member who is normally a grandfather in the village. Most social systems either follow the lineage of the father (the patrilineal aspect, the 'oruzo') or the mother (the matrilineal aspect, the 'eanda'). This eldest man in a village performs several of functions, many of which are related to critical stages in the family or village life, such as births, marriage, rites of passage, etc. In most cases he is expected to perform these ceremonies at the Sacred Fire (okoruwo) where he acts as the link between the living and ancestral members of the village.

Members of an extended family typically dwell in a homestead, a small, circular hamlet of huts and work shelters that surround the ancestral fire and the central livestock enclosure. Both the fire and the livestock are closely tied to their belief in ancestor worship; the fire representing ancestral protection and the livestock allowing 'proper relations between human and ancestor'.

Modern clothes are scarce, especially in the remote areas, but generally go to the men and boys when available. Contrary to other southern African communities, boys are not circumcised at the onset of puberty, but at a time determined by the clan (which seldom coincides with the onset of puberty). Himba children's hair styles easily identify their stages in life. Traditionally, young children (of pre-school age), especially in the Himba society, have shaved heads, and as they get older boys and girls can be distinguished by the position of their hair styles. For example, young girls wear two plaits covering the front of the face, while young boys wear one single plait at the back of the head. When they reach the age of puberty their hair styles changes; girls have lots of longer smaller plaits, pasted with otjize, thus denoting the attainment marriageable age.

5.2.2 Formal education

During the study, it was observed that the Himba and Zemba groups have a very distinct mode of production and way of life. They are, however, vulnerable to pressure from modern society and the possible social and institutional change linked with modernisation, including formal education. Since the introduction of formal education to the Himba and Zemba communities more than a decade ago, it has been observed that they have numerous reservations. They argue that their children had to be taught by teachers from their own community who understood their culture practices and customs.

Some parents saw education as creating employment for teachers and that the teachers only want their children in schools so that they could get a good salary. Himba parents therefore only allowed some of their children to go to school so that the teachers could get their salaries. Parents (up to today) refuse point blank to send all their children to school as they claim that they need their children to assist with the chores associated with their lifestyle (mainly with herding the goats and calves). This resulted in a type of rotation system where parents would rotate the children attending school. The current statistics estimate that only 50% of the children in the Kunene region had attended school by 2010 (EMIS 2008 Report; 15th Day School, 2010).

The Himba and Zemba's experiences with education have also not always been positive. Some stated that those children, who continued their education after completing Grade 4 at the mobile school units, came back to the villages with changed minds and ideas. They learned to smoke and abuse alcohol and refused to continue herding the cattle or perform traditional domestic chores. They also claim that even those who have become teachers are 'useless' because they cannot show any evidence of wealth from education, such as having cattle or driving a new car.

What was observed in the mobile units is that children use both traditional attire and western clothing. It was observed that girls were generally more conservative in dress and hair-style and tend to retain traditional dress styles longer than boys. Boys cut their hair to look like other boys, and in order to play soccer, according to their explanations. Mobile unit teachers become adult role models for the mobile school learners and this is also supported by the observation during the field study. Many parents interviewed, however, want to return to their culture so that their children can dress in traditional attire which is much cheaper than western clothes and do not need to be bought with

cash.

When the concept of mobile schools was developed in 1997 it appears that the migration patterns of the Ovahimba and Ovazemba and other nomadic people were not fully understood by the policy makers. These nomad groups always have a core area, or village, which is their home, thus the majority of the Ovahimba and Ovazemba people are not nomadic in the true sense of the word. Most of these communities are attached to a so-called 'onganda' or homestead where the less mobile members of society (old people, pregnant women, small children, etc.) live more or less permanently. This is where the 'Holy Fire' hut is, which has an important symbolic function in Himba and Zemba community life. The young men are more mobile members of society, and herd the livestock/cattle and range widely, particularly in the dry season around June/July to December in search of water and better grazing.

They range in all directions, and for periods varying from one day, several weeks to months. Experience has shown that it is not always practical for the mobile unit to follow the migrations, as they are difficult to predict and widely dispersed. Numerous interviews with local communities, teachers and parents showed a widespread agreement that units should remain in one point and not move. In fact, there was widespread preference for permanent structures. There was a common sentiment that tents were not very practical as they became very hot in the dry season.

On the other hand, it appears that some communities, particularly in the north west of Kunene Region (Otjinungwa and Onjuva), are more nomadic than others and do not have a permanent 'onganda'. In these areas, schools still find it useful to move short distances in accordance with the migrations, depending on the accessibility of the new locations. During the interviews it was repeatedly claimed that over the past five years, when a major drought occurred, it has become increasingly difficult to predict the seasonal movements of these groups and their cattle because of the need to range widely to find water and better grazing. The pattern of migration varies greatly from community to community, so much so that any common pattern is hard to predict. When the herds are moved to outlying cattle posts in the extended areas they are often split up into two or three smaller herds that will each go in a different direction. This is a form of insurance - if disaster should strike in one place, only a part of their herd may be wiped out, and they may still have enough animals left to build up new stock.

Another important observation was the introduction of feeding scheme at all needy schools, including all mobile school units, by the Ministry of Education. What has been observed was that some of the mobile schools became permanent. The feeding scheme provides one meal per day, but some parents send their children to stay or lodge at the mobile unit for the whole week or entire school term. As a result, some mobile school units are left with no choice but to allow children/learners to sleep in the tents during the night and use it as a classroom during the day. Parents argue that if the government wants their children to attend school and be educated, then the government must provide food and accommodation for their children. In these cases mobile school teachers have no choice in providing two meals a day to the learners. The result is that maize meal runs out before the end of school term and children have to be sent home, and only return to school at the next school term.

In educational terms, this simply results in a shorter school year and a reduction in teaching time. Some of the mobile school teachers indicated that this had an effect on the learners' performance because of the days lost. It was also observed that children enrolled in mobile school units lose 15 schooling days (five business days per term) per year as mobile school units close one week earlier before the official school term closes. Thus mobile school learners are not spending enough time learning: the broadly agreed benchmark of 850-1 000 hours of instruction per year is not reached in the Namibian mobile schools. One reason given is that mobile school unit teachers have to come to the mobile school office in Opuwo for the last week of school term to finalise their administration work (i.e. reports, assessments, etc.) and hand in their work to their Head of Departments on the last official day of term.

Another important factor observed is that, in terms of culture demands and the influence of formal education, there is widespread belief among the Himba and Zemba that formal schooling will erode their traditional culture as there are demands to wear uniforms and western dress which children would find difficult to resist. This seems to be one of the main reasons for the resistance from parents not to send their children to mobile school units or hostel schools for the higher grades. One of the most frequently quoted complaints about hostel schools was 'give them your little finger and they'll take your whole hand'. Parents and communities members repeatedly said, 'Government promised that they would do nothing to change our culture and our ways of living, but before you knew it everything was indeed changed'.

There has been some initial resistance by some communities and/or areas being educated. The common argument is that education will only encourage children to leave a society and they will no longer be willing to look after cattle or their parents. For the Himba and Zemba communities, cattle stock is the culture, the mode of value, the means of exchange, and the only basic resource for survival. There is therefore a clear 'generation gap' between parents and children, cultural demands, and the influence of formal education.

The powerful force of culture was vividly illustrated during the research. At a mobile school I was told about a young girl who wanted to go to school to learn how to read and write. She wanted to get the skills that other girls were learning at school, but her father refused to allow her to attend school. He wanted her to herd the goats. Earnestly wanting to go to school, she slipped away from the herd and enrolled herself at the school. Later when the father came looking for her, he started to beat her for being disobedient. She died from the injuries sustained, and at the time of this study, a murder case was opened in the civil court against the father.

It has been also noted that dropout rates in mobile school units, especially among girls in Ondao Mobile School, are higher than for boys (EMIS, 2009). One of the common problems is that some girls who complete their lower grades at their Ondao Mobile units do not continue with their education because in most of conventional government schools, especially secondary schools, all learners are expected to wear western school uniforms and this is against their cultural practices. For example, in the Himba and Zemba communities, some fathers may present a traditional necklace called '*Omwingona*' to a daughter as a honour. In the Himba and Zemba cultures, the honoured girls are not allowed to take off that necklace, and as a result, most of these girls (in order to preserve their honorary status and their position in their community and society at large) normally drop out after completing Grade 4. Only a small number of girls do take off their honour necklaces in order to continue with their higher grades, but it is against their cultural practices and customs, as well as their fathers' wishes.

Furthermore, in the Himba and Zemba culture, a child is not allowed to greet an older person or their cousins. There are a set of rules and cultural practices when it comes to greetings, which is in stark contrast to what they may learn in formal education.

5.3. Features of Himba and Zemba culture that make the provisioning of education difficult

There are differences between western and eastern part of Kunene region where these communities reside. The west and North West are more arid, and subject to prolonged droughts. This means that herders have to travel further and more frequently in search of grazing and water. Some families could move as much as 100 kilometres from where their children are attending school.

There has been little desire for some mobile units to move, and most parents now want the mobile school units to have a permanent location where children could be 'deposited' and cared for by the teachers.

In the eastern part of the country, there appears to be a tendency to locate the school in the 'onganda' or the traditional homestead. Here small herds gather near a reliable water source, and old people, pregnant women, small children, and other groups not necessarily involved in cattle migration, gather. It is appropriate to locate the units close to the homestead as nomadic or semi-nomadic parents know where their children are, and that they are receiving an education.

Unscheduled or unplanned movements of the Himba and Zemba communities pose challenges and appear to be paradoxical when it comes to the education of the Himba and Zemba communities. Despite many efforts made by the Namibia government in terms of access, school networks remain thin in sparsely areas like in Kunene region. From the perspective of official education statistics, quality education receiving by nomadic children is very poor, as learners are often score badly in terms of achievement, attainment, and gender balance compared with their non-nomad counterparts (EMIS, 2009).

A contributing factor in terms of providing education to children from the Himba and Zemba communities is the weakness of the school network. In the north west of Kunene there are few conventional schools and mobile school units serving a very extensive area (EMIS, 2009; National Population Census 2001). The main reasons given by the Himba and Zemba parents, for their children not attending school is that there were no schools available in the area. The distance to existing mobile school

units are excessive, as some walk up to 50 kilometres from their homesteads.

There are very few conventional schools in the north west of Kunene and mobile school units are also scattered and far apart; as a result parents are reluctant to send their children to school, especially the younger ones. The lack of a comprehensive mobile school network is making it difficult for children from the Himba and Zemba communities to receive basic education in their vicinity.

Another reason they do not send all their children to the school is that some of the children have to assist with the chores; mainly with herding the cattle and goats. Cattle are the prime gauge of wealth and status in the Himba and Zemba cultures, and as a result the cattle herders play a major role in their lifestyles. It is also well known and observed in Himba and Zemba culture that there is a wide range of tasks that both boys and girls are expected to carry out in their daily activities; therefore sending them all to school poses a serious burden on the families.

The Himba and Zemba cultural inhibitions and customs, such as early marriage, and livestock-tending that school age children are engaged in, play a significant role in keeping their children out of school. Traditionally girls are often married off at the age of 10 or 11, but this practice is changing and is rarely found now, especially in the literate communities. The men usually marry at a much older age, because a young man must first acquire sufficient livestock for the 'lobola' (endowment/bride price) before he can marry and set up a family.

Another challenge is that most of the time when these communities move they break into small groups; each heading in a different directions searching water or better grazing. This dispersion poses challenges to the Ondao mobile school management and to mobile teachers because they have to decide either to temporarily close the mobile school unit during that season or move with a faction of the school children. The second option is to re-locate the unit where a number of community move to, but this depends on accessibility of the new area.

5.4. Conclusion

Because of the remote nature of Kunene region and its isolation, the Ovahimba, Ovazemba and other nomad peoples who live there are amongst the most marginalised groups in Namibia, especially in terms of access to education. They maintain and guard fiercely a highly individual tribal culture in terms of mode of production, dress, hairstyles and ornaments which delight tourists and anthropologists from all over the world. Whether marginalisation is equivalent to poverty, however, is a matter for speculation and how poverty is define in the context of a developing country like Namibia.

As no statistics exist on monetary incomes, from observations it can be noted that as elsewhere in Africa, Namibian cattle-herding communities are as poor as they are portrayed in the literature (Dyer, 2001). This has been confirmed during the interviews with Himba and Zemba parents, and some are willing to contribute to their children's education.

It has be also noted that the unit cost of providing government services to nomadic groups such as the Himba and Zemba in the north west of Namibia, in general, is probably extremely high. This is because physical conditions are very difficult with high mountains, intense heat, floods and drought, almost no roads and bridges, and a very low density of population. In addition, many are nomadic groups and do not stay in one place. This has made it extremely difficult to provide education, health centres and even water supplies, and this was evident during the field trips.

The alternative solution, which might be cheaper in terms of unit cost, is if children from nomadic communities can be collected together in boarding schools, but this would totally undermine the wishes of the Himba and Zemba people in maintaining their traditional culture. Ethnic and cultural discrimination at schools are major obstacles to equal access to education, causing poor performance and high dropout rates. The Himba, Zemba and other nomad children in boarding schools often suffer from discrimination, misunderstandings of their culture, lack of support, and, in some cases, even physical and sexual exploitation.

For example, in conventional boarding schools, the Himba and Zemba children are not allowed to follow their cultural practices, such as wearing traditional dress and hairstyles. They are often discouraged from speaking their native languages, if not forbidden altogether. Children from nomadic people like the Himba and Zemba often feel unwelcome in the conventional and/or urban schools; they long for their own village mobile school units and often face emotional difficulties in a foreign learning environment that offers little support. The very idea of separating parents and children is unfamiliar to Himba and Zemba people. If separation happens, the Himba and Zemba children are often unable to adjust, feel alienated, and drop out.

This overview of the Himba and Zemba culture and traditions was aimed at highlighting some of the factors that should have been taken into account when education for the Himba and Zemba peoples was conceptualised in 1997. The question is whether the education system is sensitive enough to the cultures of the Himba and Zemba peoples, and whether the education provided to these groups could bring about the same quality of education as in other parts of Namibia.

CHAPTER 6. PROVISIONING OF EDUCATION FOR THE HIMBA AND ZEMBA

6.1. Introduction

The main purpose of this chapter is to present the empirical data generated during the field study with the aim of elucidating the concept of education for all and the phenomenon of education provisioning to nomadic people within the context of the study, thereby shedding light on its actual outcomes beyond the classroom perspective and the limits of its expected results. It will also spell out cultural factors that might explain why school enrolment and learner performance in the nomadic pastoral groups is lower compared with the non-nomads. Furthermore, the chapter presents evidence gathered during the field study regarding the equity and quality of education among nomadic pastoralists living in a developing country context, such as Namibia.

The empirical data were generated using multiple data collection strategies in order to answer the central research question as to whether developing countries like Namibia succeed in securing equity and quality of education for nomadic people, such as the Himba and Zemba in the north west of Kunene region, where socio-economic and culture factors mitigate against the provision of education. In Africa, like other developing nations, the movement of nomadic groups presents many challenges for both educational service providers and by users (Kratli, 2001). In this chapter I have therefore attempted to link the collected data to the main question to understand the relationship between policy and practice in the context of education for all. It is based on a review of policy documents and academic literature concerning nomadic pastoralist and education provision.

The chapter outlines whether the Namibian equity driven policy succeeds in redressing its intended purpose of equal education resources, human resources and all necessary conditions that facilitate a good learning and teaching environment for the Himba and Zemba has been achieved.

The chapter present key study findings, and are done according to the research questions and subsidiary questions. In the first part of this chapter, I present a broader analysis of provisioning education before and prior independence in 1990, while in the

last part, I paid a focused attention to the establishment of mobile school programme and community level understanding, where the key findings are presented and supported with empirical evidence in the form of central themes, and sub-themes. The chapter also presents five common challenges facing education sectors around the world, including Namibia; provision of physical facilities, provision of human resources, instructional resources, enrolments and dropout rates among nomad groups, and other observations.

6.2. Education provisioning in pre-independent Namibia

Prior to independence in 1990, schooling in the country was a privilege of the few. Education was not seen as a right, but a privilege reserved mainly for white Namibians, while the majority of indigenous Namibians received an inferior education. Even then, it did not reach all of the people of Namibia, especially the nomadic Himba, Zemba, and other semi-nomadic groups in the east and northwest of Namibia. These groups have been excluded from education due to cultural and political factors influencing post-independent Namibia. It did not matter at that time whether children attended school or not. Under South African rule, the education system was divided along ethnic and racial lines. The education system was characterized by acute disparities, and inequities. Policies of racial discrimination have left a legacy of differential allocation of resources for the various racial groups. The geographical division of the population in the Namibian was determined by the apartheid laws and regulations, which, while allowing temporary labour migration, restricted the non-white population to the 'reserves', also known as 'homelands' or 'Bantustans' (Mbamba, 1987:43).

In Namibia, as in many other African countries, formal schooling was first introduced by European missionaries, and was used to teach indigenous people how to read the Bible so that they could spread the Gospel. This religious education in Namibia was later utilised by the German colonisers (who conquered the territory in 1884) as a means of colonisation and racial segregation. Indigenous people were provided with well-calculated limiting skills to ensure that they remained manual workers who would provide cheap labour to the white minority. Namibia (known as *Deutsch-Südwestafrika* under German control) became a Mandate territory controlled by South Africa in 1915 (Thornberry, 2004; Cohen, 1994; Columbia Electronic encyclopaedia website).

Eventually the South African apartheid system was also introduced in Namibia, along with its policies of separation. South Africa established reserves (later known as 'Bantustans' or 'homelands') for the indigenous people. The apartheid regime paid little attention to the provision of education for the majority of black Namibians, especially the nomadic groups, such as the Himba and Zemba.

During the apartheid regime schools served the political aspirations of South African ideology, in what Althusser (1972), Bowles and Gintis (1976) state was designed to:

- Reproduce the privileges of the ruling class.
- Reproduce the skills and attitudes required for maintaining a (colonial) society.
- Serve as an instrument of oppression.

The colonial state in Namibia dictated the purposes of the educational system as democracy was non-existent, and the colonial government legislated greater inequalities between races and ethnic groups. Not only were racially segregated schools established, but education was further fragmented along tribal lines for schools all over the country. In addition, different educational systems and administrations were developed, based on race. Whites, blacks and coloureds all had separate schools administered by racially based Education Departments/Authorities. Whites received a 'superior education', while blacks received the most inferior education. Coloured education was better than that of blacks, but inferior to that of the white Namibians.

Cognisance should be given to the fact that separate education systems were no coincidence but a deliberate attempt to consolidate apartheid policies in the territory. It is obvious that the white ruling class worked to preserve their privileges and to transmit those skills and attitudes required for maintaining the status quo. To further strengthen the apartheid states machinery, only a few, ill-equipped, poorly staffed and financed schools were made available for indigenous peoples. Insufficient school facilities meant that the majority of the black population had to stay out of school or compete for the few places in their designated schools.

It also meant that only a small number of black children proceeded to secondary and tertiary education levels. The majority of children did not finish their basic formal education, while of the handful of them that did, most had unsatisfactory results to qualify for tertiary institutions. These deliberately engineered mechanisms enabled the colonisers to rationalise separate and unequal education systems to which the oppressed were submitted (Althusser, 1972; Bowles & Gintis, 1976). The nature of the apartheid education systems did not allow the majority of blacks access to what Bourdieu *et al.* (1977) refer to as the 'cultural capital', nor did it enable them to get a place in the structure of distributing it. Those who had the 'cultural capital' (i.e. the whites) had the power to make rules and to appropriate the cultural capital.

Prior to independence, the Namibian government inherited 11 semi-autonomous political entities with the responsibilities of 11 Educational Authorities. This was a matter of grave concern to the new government of Namibia. The Bantustans were:

- Basterland
- Bushmanland
- Damaraland
- East Caprivi
- Hereroland
- Kaokoland
- Kavangoland
- Namaland
- Ovamboland
- Tswanaland
- Blanke Administrasie

Not all of these 'Bantustans' had their own educational authorities, and the education for whites and coloureds was also separately administered. As stated earlier, the distribution of education resources was divisive and institutionalised along racial, regional and ethnic lines to serve the hegemonic aims and objectives of the apartheid regime (MEC, 1993).). Education was compulsory for the whites between the ages of

seven and 17, and this was not the case for blacks. Inequalities in terms of physical facilities, learning materials and human resources were found between and within those 11 racially based education authorities.

Furthermore, prior to independence, the education system in Namibia was generally influenced and shaped by its geography, population, socio-economic and political experience. Redressing these imbalances, the new government of Namibia undertook a comprehensive education reform aimed at providing quality education to all its citizens. The fragmented education system was consolidated into one national education system. 'Education for All' was enshrined in the Namibian Constitution with the main objective of redressing the past by providing equal education opportunities to all those who were previously denied it. This included the expansion of basic education to marginalized children from the Himba, Zemba and other nomadic groups who had previously been denied an education due to their traditional and cultural diversity, poverty, distance to school, and the negative attitudes of others.

6.3. Education provision in independent Namibia

At independence, the apartheid education system was replaced by a new inclusive education system where equity and quality education for all became the cornerstone. A single Ministry of Education was created that replaced the 11 separate education authorities. These changes resulted in the multi-ethnicity that can be seen in the country's classrooms today. There are visible signs of improvement in classrooms today, and there is compulsory schooling up to the age of 16, or up to the end of grade 10.

Namibia has been able to improve substantially; more schools have been established, new classrooms have been built or added at existing schools, schools have been renovated or expanded, and the number of qualified primary teachers has increased from 30% to 75%. The enrolment rate has increased from 545,000 in 2002 to 577,000 in 2008; an average of 13% growth per year. In 2008, more than 90% of the Namibian school age children were attending school. The Ondaio Mobile school repetition rates rose on average from 12% between 2005 to 16% for 2008. All in all, Namibia has managed to improve its Education for All Development Index (EDI), as provided by UNESCO (2009) by more than 5% since 1999.

Like other countries, Namibia recognized the importance of the attainment of both Education for All (EFA) and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by 2015. The Dakar Framework for Action, specifically emphasises that:

'... education systems around the world have to be inclusive, actively seeking out children who are not enrolled and responding flexibly to the circumstances and needs of all learners'(MDGs 2000).

It has made it very clear that providing education to nomadic communities is one of the most challenging and urgent issues currently facing education policy makers, practitioners, donors and other stakeholders if the EFA and MDG are to be achieved by 2015.

6.4. Education provision for Himba and Zemba people

The Education for All (EFA) movement and the education targets within the MDG have provided an impetus for many African countries, including Namibia, to drive for Universal Primary Education (UPE). The World Declaration on Education For All (1990) drew attention to removing educational disparities within countries. The needs of particular groups were highlighted, and nomads and pastoralists were specifically mentioned (ibid. Article 3). The World Declaration also encouraged 'learning through a variety of delivery systems' and the adoption of 'supplementary alternative programmes' (ibid. Article 5). You may say the Namibian education policies are influenced, in some aspects more than from others, by such international agendas.

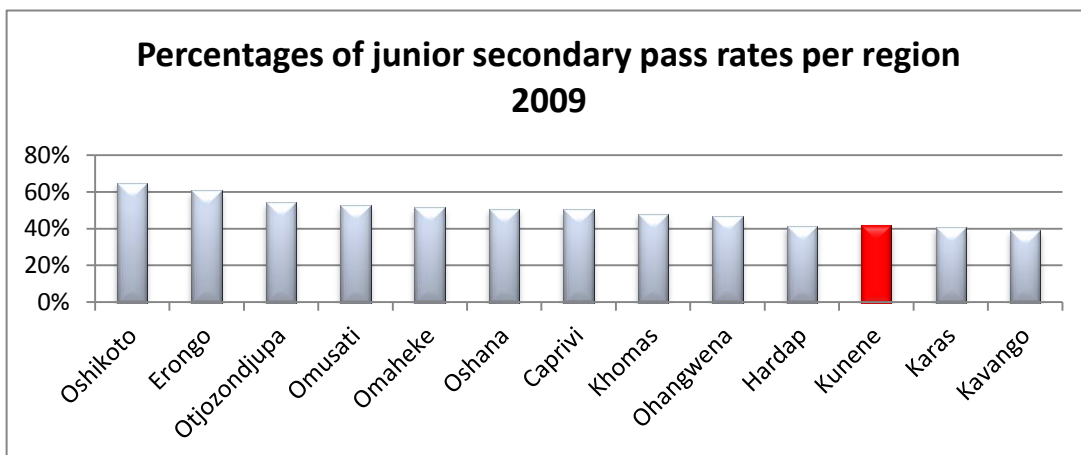
In reaffirming Article 26 of the United Nation's 1948 Universal Declaration on Human Rights, that 'everyone has the right to education,' in 1996, six years after independence, the Namibia Government, the Ministry of Education in particular, approached the Office of Norway Ambassador (Mr. Bernt H. Lund) to undertake a desk study, together with Kunene Regional Education Officials.

The primary objective of the desk study was to find the best ways in which education could be provided to children from the Himba, Zemba and other semi-nomadic communities residing in the north west of Namibia. The desk study was conducted and recommended the introduction of a mobile school concept in the Kunene region. In

1997, a field study was conducted by the late Hans Hvidsten, the first Namibian Association of Norway (NAMAS expatriate) and Mr Tjinezuma Kavari, a school teacher from a nomadic group, to validate the mobile school concept recommended by the 1996 desk study preliminary report. They visited various nomadic communities across Kunene region to discuss the best way of bring in formal education to the Himba, Zemba and other nomadic communities in the north west and south of the Kunene region without interfering too much in the family clan’s income production mode. The field study focused on what the Himba and Zemba communities wanted, rather than on what outsiders thought they would need.

The 1997 field study revealed that there were between 150 to 160 clans in the north west of Opuwo, with a total of almost 1 300 households with more than 16 000 people. At the time of the field study it was estimated that there were more than 4 000 primary school age children from nomadic communities, of which only about 1 000 were attending school regularly. The study also estimated that there were almost 4 000 children below the age of six. Another aspect of education in the region worth mentioning was that the quality of education being offered, especially in the Kunene region, was below standard. Since independence, for example, national examination results for grades 10 and 12 showed that the region was amongst the regions that did not perform well (Hans & Kavari, 1997). To complete the picture, more than 65% of the adults in the Kunene region were illiterate, as recorded by the 2001 population Census (2001 National Population and Housing Census).

Figure 6.1 Percentages of Junior Secondary examination results per region 2009



Source: EMIS 2009, table 36

After parents had been briefed on the importance of formal education for their children, they began to develop an interest in education, and many communities indicated that they wanted schools for their children, and thus were placed on the waiting list. The solution was found in the creation of mobile school units, funded jointly by Norway as part of the NAMAS project and the Government of Republic of Namibia (teacher salaries and benefits).

Figure 6.2 Mobile school unit: tented classrooms



This mobile schooling concept was welcomed by the Himba, Zemba and other nomadic communities as it seemed to fit their way of life. The mobile school concept entailed the creation of a tented classroom that could be dismantled to follow the communities when they moved to the next point or location.

The advantage of the mobile school system was that it created provided schooling for children from nomadic communities while they could continue to assist with domestic activities at home. The mobile school schedule does not conflict with herding responsibilities as they are located near their home, and thus the children could preserve their culture.

In addition, the mobile school programme was developed to provide the Himba and Zemba children with valuable educational opportunities to enable them to deal with the pressures of a fast changing world and to take advantage of modern technology and services (Ndjoze-Ojo *et al.*, 2002).

The field study findings revealed that the Himba, Zemba and other nomadic groups sought education for their children, but they continued to resist the idea of separation from their children, especially at an early age. As indicated in the previous chapter, the people had a nomadic lifestyle and moved collectively with their children and livestock from one area to another in search of better grazing and water. The children are thus part of the family and contribute to their economy.

6.5. The organisation and administration of mobile schools

To implement the mobile school programme, an agreement was reached between the Himba, Zemba and other nomad groups that children would assist their parents in the morning and go to school in the midday and/or afternoon, or whatever arrangement was made between the mobile school teacher and parents. Furthermore, special and adequate inducements were provided to teachers in rural areas to make them stay in the job. The programme has three broad goals: raising the living standards of the rural communities; harnessing the potential of the Himba, Zemba and other nomadic groups; and bridging the literacy gap between the nomadic peoples and rest of the Namibian society.

The 1997 field study advocated that the mobile school curriculum should be developed and adapted to the needs of the Himba and Zemba communities. The Ministry of Education however, insisted that the national curriculum would be followed to enable children from nomadic communities to continue with their education in any conventional government school after completing Grade 4 in the mobile school unit. The 1992 language policy stipulated that the first three years of teaching should be in the mother tongue (Ministry of Basic Education, 1993). In the case of the mobile school units, the Otjiherero language is used.

The mobile education concept was to meet the needs of nomadic parents and their children by bringing basic education into their own environment. In a society that moves with their livestock, and where all members of the family or clan are needed to secure a good living, you cannot separate the children without disturbing the whole family economy and the community structure. Traditionally, every member of the household has an important role to play in the family economy from a very early age on (see Chapter 5). The family group can often not afford to 'loose' any member without disrupting the total economy of the family. A child 'lost,' because of school, means that

the chores of that child must be performed by some other member of the family and thus there is less production (in economic terms) for the whole family or clan unit.

After almost two years of discussions and negotiations with the Himba, Zemba and other nomadic parents and community leaders about the mobile concept and its delivery mode, they finally agreed and accepted the concept and were willing to reorganise their lives so that children could get time for schooling while still fulfilling their economic activities. The principle that was served by such an agreement was that education is a fundamental right and that the Himba and Zemba children ought to get an education without having to be uprooted from their environment and culture. What is also important to realise is that the ideal of education for all forced the Namibian government to reconsider what constitutes a school. The Namibian government started to recognize that a school is about teaching and learning – it is about the teacher and the content to be conveyed to children. A school cannot be conceived as a physical infrastructure removed from the community it is intended to serve.

The Ondao mobile programme was based on the notion that the provision of education could be done differently. The overall aim and objective of the programme were to provide access to education for the nomadic communities in the Kunene region. Mobile schools units were conceptualised as temporary tent structures that could bring education to children without estranging them from their cultural roots or practices, and which could follow the community as they moved from one place to another in search of pasture for their herds. It was argued that if tented classrooms were used, they could be assembled or disassembled in less than half day and carried by one 4x4 vehicle to a new temporary location. A whole classroom and its furniture could be loaded in one 4x4 vehicle, or hauled by four donkeys to any new location. A typical mobile unit consists of one to four tented classrooms, each with space for 20-25 children with folded chairs and tables.

Figure 6.3 Inside the tent classroom



In 1998, the first six mobile school units were established, and by 2010, the number had increased to 45 mobile school units in operation across the north west and south Kunene region. The main target group for the Ondao Mobile Schools were children from the Himba and Zemba communities, who are among the least educated groups in Namibia. Access to these schools is not restricted and any child can enrol in a mobile school.

The mobile education concept was thus based on the notion of bringing the school to the children, rather than on removing the children from their families to attend remote schools. The way schools are traditionally organised are to start at around eight in the morning and go on until sometime around midday. This arrangement, however, does not fit very well with the day of the pastoralist child and the parents. Domestic duties and chores, such as to taking the cattle or goats to water points and then to pastures, must be performed in the early morning every day, thus making it essential that school day start later. But these tasks may require a child to spend the whole day with the flocks that must be herded.

The question to be answered then is, who will go to school when they have such important tasks to perform on a daily basis? The mobile school concept was trying to approach things differently in an effort to accommodate the needs of the children by organising the school day around the children's daily lives. The children come to school when they have time to do so, and after they have performed their tasks; not when the school has time for them. From the research it emerged that very often the chores to be performed place such a demand on the children that parents have resorted to a type of rotation system. The researcher encountered many examples where Himba and Zemba parents have approached the formal education strategically in that they only send one or two children to school and hold the back others for herding; the main economic income of each clan.

Furthermore, the study found that nomadic parents prefer to have a flexible education system that takes into account their children's work in the homestead and the time needed for homestead chores. Others prefer schools or mobile schools either to follow them, or be based close to their homestead (Onganda). They also prefer to have teachers who understood the nomadic way of life and culture.

The mobile school concept was an innovative idea; however, the notion does not work in every practical situation. Through the implementation of the mobile school programme it was found that during the dry season family units in most cases move in different directions, making it impossible for the mobile school unit to follow any specific group. This is because it is common knowledge that not all community members are willing to move in the same direction, due to the scarcity of grazing. For example, during the field study, one of the mobile school units visited had to move as the community had started to move to different locations. During the last weeks, the enrolment number in the unit dropped significantly, from more than 50 to as few as 12 learners attending school. This was a direct result of the family units migrating in search of better grazing for their livestock. In the end the teacher was informed by the last of the family clans that they were moving some 10 kilometres to the east and that they would fetch her, her possessions and some of the school resources soon, using donkeys. But they had to leave the tent and maize meal bags behind as they were too heavy to transport with donkeys.

The new place where the family was moving had no water. They (and the children in particular) were expected to walk 20 kilometres with their animals every day to the water source at their original place.

This is one of example that, in practice, the concept of moving the tent to follow the community does not work, due to migration patterns and environmental conditions. According to the teacher, she had to find a tree in the new location under which she could teach the learners for at least the next six months.

6.6. The NAMAS Era

During the time of NAMAS (Namibia Association of Norway) financial assistance, each unit was provided with tents for classrooms, teacher's accommodation, storage, and furniture which could be easily moved from one place to another. Teachers were recruited from the area, and were given training with the assistance of National Institute for Education Development (NIED), and teaching aids and books were developed. Since the language does not differ much from Otjiherero, this was not a problem, but culturally appropriate reference material was developed and included.

The Ondao Mobile School programme successfully managed to recruit local teachers and deploy them to the various units. During the NAMAS era, the programme was provided with four 4x4 vehicles, and funds for maintenance and fuel. NAMAS also provided the mobile school programme with additional equipment and tents to be used for accommodation by teachers and learners when necessary. The Management of Ondao School used to visit the mobile school units on a weekly basis to support and supervise the mobile school teachers. The tents, furniture and solar panels for lighting were also provided, and the teachers were generally from the area and well integrated into local society with a good understanding of traditional life.

However, some communities were dissatisfied with tent classrooms which they did not regard as proper, permanent school buildings. The majority of the mobile school units lacked a proper water supply, resulting in much being wasted fetching water. During the field study, it was observed that due to the lack of clean water at the mobile school units, children spend much time walking every morning and afternoon to fetch water from wells and boreholes. The quality of the water in most of the wells is not suitable for human consumption.

During the NAMAS era the mobile school was administered by a team of four professional staff members led by a principal and three heads of departments, each covering a geographical area. NAMAS provided the services of a Technical Adviser,

who was based in Opuwo. During the NAMAS Era, the Ondao Mobile School enrolment rates were 2 976 learners in 2005, compared with 1 900 learners in 2010, although these numbers were affected by seasonal demands for herding labour.

Table 6.1 Ondao Mobile School enrolment rates

	2005	2009	2010
Enrolment rates in the Kunene region	88%	97%	95%
Enrolment rate for Ondao Mobile Schools	84%	89%	85%
Repetition rates in Ondao Mobile Schools	12%	10%	16%

Source: EMIS 2009

This demonstrates that the mobile school enrolment rates have dropped considerably after the Ministry took over (2009). The way the Ondao Mobile Schools were run and managed during the NAMAS era differed substantially from the way in which other schools in Namibia were run and managed. When the Department of Education took over the administration and management of these schools they were poorly prepared for the challenges of running a mobile school programme. Where decisions regarding the staffing and running of the mobile schools were previously taken by NAMAS at the Ondao Mobile School head office, and these decisions now had to be taken by the administrative management structures of the Department; resulting in delays. Even the four 4X4 vehicles were no longer part of the project, and were taken over by the Department of Works, leaving the management staff of the mobile schools without the required means to regularly visit the mobile units.

Apart from the management challenges, another major contributing factor to the low enrolment numbers indicated in Table 6.1 is the incomplete primary phase, as more than 90% of the Ondao Mobile School units only offered grades 1 to 4. As a result, not all nomadic children continue with their upper primary or secondary schooling, which mainly is offered in towns away from where the children reside. As a result, 50% of these learners drop out, while handfuls opt to repeat grades which they have already passed.

The field study and interviews showed that parents and the community in general recognise the importance of formal education, and that this has increased among the Himba and Zemba communities in Namibia. In all the villages visited it was observed that the Himba, Zemba and other nomadic groups were genuinely interested in the formal education for both children and the adults. Today the majority of Himba, Zemba and other ethnic groups appear enthusiastic about the mobile school programme. They do not feel threatened by formal education and have been brought around to appreciate its benefits and the need for literacy and numeracy skills in a fast changing world. The Himba and Zemba's attitudes towards formal education are positive, seeing that the Ondao mobile school does not charge a school development fund (SDF), operates in vernacular languages, does not require children to wear uniforms, uses local teachers, and is situated locally. This makes many Himba and Zemba and other nomadic groups feel more comfortable with the education offered by the mobile school units. The mobile school has been regarded as an important contribution to the improvement of social life of these indigenous and ancient peoples of Namibia.

There is also evidence that since the establishment of mobile schools in 1998, as much as 50% of school age children from nomadic communities in the Kunene region have now enrolled in the mobile school units, and half of these children are attending school on a regular basis. The programme gives children from marginalised communities an opportunity to receive basic education in their own environment. Children from the Himba, Zemba and other nomadic groups now can read and write their mother tongues, as well as English. It was found that Himba and Zemba parents have positive expectations and aspirations about the education provided to their children. In the interviews held with parents they often said that they want their children to be educated and come back and build modern houses, buy more livestock, and have a better understanding of modern farming methods. Himba and Zemba parents, as well as their children, are fully convinced that this alternative form of formal education will bring their children up to the same academic standards as other groups so that they can participate on an equal footing in the modern world.

The Ondao Mobile School also represents a major social achievement in locating over 70 educated persons (i.e. mobile school teachers) in 45 remote villages over a period of 12 years. At the beginning of the mobile school programme, the teachers/facilitators were appointed from the community, trained briefly in subject content and teaching methodology, and then appointed to teach in a mobile school. The teacher was periodically given additional training and helped to teach different grades. On the basis

of this, there had been some measure of success in terms of providing teachers, as the aim of the NAMAS (in collaboration with the Namibian Ministry of Education) was to recruit teachers from within the nomadic communities who had completed grade 10 or 12 for teacher training.

From interviews held with administrators and school management personnel, it became evident that the mobile school teachers have a huge impact in making the system more appealing to nomads like the Himba and Zemba, that their influence is more persuasive, and their transformation work for nomad pastoral communities more effective than other methods. Mobile school teachers have acted as important role models for communities and for learners who see for themselves what an educated Himba and Zemba person can achieve, and these teachers, because of their education, often become community leaders as well as role models. Due to their access to transport and outside contacts, they play an important catalytic role in local societies which, until now, have been totally isolated.

Mobile school teachers from the Ondao Mobile School, apart from educating children, can help local communities in contacting government departments and in negotiating for government services. This is a very important impact of the mobile school programme. However, the mobile school programme is not without shortcomings; for example, mobile school teachers' motivation appears to be low – harsh living conditions, erratically paid salaries, social isolation, and a lack of teaching materials all present barriers to effective teaching.

The school feeding programme at all mobile units also seems to be of great importance to children and parents, and has created a positive image among these communities towards formal schooling. The researcher observed that although children from these communities are used to meat and milk products, there were plenty complaints from the Himba and Zemba children that they would prefer something more than the maize porridge. From the observations made during the study, it appears that due to poverty among the Himba, Zemba and nomadic communities, children come to school because of the food, rather than for the sake of being educated.

The researcher, however, observed that the Himba and Zemba people continue to value their herding of animal more than formal education, and as a result they are likely to send their daughters to school rather than their sons, as boys who are normally involved

with herding. Furthermore, it was observed that wealthy Himbas or Zembas are more likely to keep their children away from schools than those who have smaller herds because the wealthy parents need more children to look after the herds.

6.7. Ondao mobile school under the Ministry of Education

From its inception, NAMAS financially supported mobile schools, but this arrangement came to an end in 2008. In part this was the result of Namibia being classified as a middle income country. The Namibian government took over full responsibility for the mobile school programme, including maintenance of existing mobile school units (tents), the supply of new furniture or repairs, and the supply of teaching and learning support materials. Since the takeover the Namibian Ministry of Education has tried to integrate mobile school units into the national education system in terms of administration and operational aspects.

This endeavour poses multiple challenges to the Namibian education system because the mobile school programme served a population with different needs. The mobile schools' education delivery mode, approach and operation are totally different from those of conventional schools. Conventional schools in Namibia are permanent structures with a school principal, heads of departments and teachers; all accommodated in a single building. A number of schools are clustered into a district with an inspectorate and various administrative support structures. The mobile school is a loose collection of tented classrooms spread over a vast territory and managed by a school principal and heads of departments housed in offices removed from the day-to-day activities of the teachers posted at the remote mobile classrooms. The typical frequent contact between school management, teachers and learners is non-existent in this arrangement, and it is highly likely that the school principal may never (or at best very seldom) interact with the learners in his school.

From the interviews conducted with education officials and district and school management personnel, it became evident that the Ministry had not conducted a needs assessment or made sufficient arrangements for the costs incurred by the mobile schools in the same manner as when they were run and administrated with donor funds. However, officials interviewed concede that some of these cost factors (like the provision of vehicles) are integral to the success of the programme. The availability of vehicles in good condition to enable officials to visit the mobile units regularly, were

frequently cited as a key to the success of the school. Another factor mentioned in the interviews was the availability of radio communication at each unit to communicate with the Ondao Mobile School office. The researcher identified numerous challenges in teaching and these factors were part of the decline in quality of education in almost all the visited mobile school units since the takeover as the state had tried to convert the mobile school units to regular schools.

In the past, for example, there was a decision-making structure (in the form of a Steering Committee) that expedited decisions regarding the management of the units (e.g. the appointment of teachers, opening of new mobile units, and the moving and closing of units). After the Ministry took over the mobile school programme, especially the provision of funding, management have been subjected to the same procedures applicable to conventional schools, resulting in the delay of essential services for the mobile school units. At the time of this field study, the Namibian Ministry of Education had no guidelines or funding formulae for the mobile school programme, and professional support was limited towards 'creating an enabling environment'.

The researcher observed that without an understanding of the unique and distinctive characteristics of these mobile school units they may dwindle and/or disappear, leaving the children of the Himba, Zemba and other nomadic groups without formal education. Apart from the positive impact of the mobile school programme under the NAMAS funding arrangement, some parents are thinking of discontinuing sending their children to mobile school units because of the poor services being offered.

The interviews conducted with the Ondao Mobile School Management, parents, and communities leaders revealed that the drawback of the takeover of Ondao Mobile School programme was caused by an unplanned and uncoordinated takeover. For example, apart from teachers' salaries, the development expenditure of the mobile school programme was not carefully planned to determine the proper use in provision of appropriate classrooms and other necessary conditions needed to facilitate a good learning and teaching environment.

The financial burden has forced some mobile school units to operate in the open space, or under trees. While learning in unroofed or partially-roofed space may be possible during dry days, teaching under such conditions is impossible during the rainy season. Floods, muddy terrain, leaking roofs, and inaccessible roads have resulted in the loss of

school days. Furthermore, the progress of provisioning education among Himba, Zemba and other nomad groups has been curtailed by the non-existence of roads in the Kunene region; especially in the remote areas where the majority of people reside.

Inadequate funding of the Ondao Mobile School led to a precarious decline of enrolment rates, and a high number of teachers left the mobile school units, resulting in the subsequent closure of some mobile school units. During the field study, some mobile school units were found closed for various reasons: no teacher, no food, or no tents for classrooms. In some cases, the Ondao Mobile School's management and mobile teachers have had no choice but to close the mobile school units' temporarily, ordering teachers to go on extended vacations because the classrooms are inhabitable. This trend discouraged some of the Himba and Zemba pastoralists from sending their children to school as conditions were appalling, and they doubted the system anyway.

The mobility and distribution of the Himba and Zemba population are the foremost obstacles limiting children's attendance in school. The low population density makes it difficult to gather enough pupils to make it cost-effective. If facilities (such as tent classes) are provided to such a sparse population, the costs per pupil are far higher than schools in towns and settled villages. Getting children to school is one thing, but keeping them in school and making sure that they learn and complete primary schooling cycle is another.

In 1996, the Namibia government with the assistance of UNICEF introduced a school feeding programme in primary schools serving poor, marginalised and nomadic groups. The aim was not only to contribute to the improvement of the education service delivery, but also to the reduction of malnutrition among school age children. At the time of this study (2010), the Namibian school feeding programme covered more than of 1 300 schools (including 45 mobile school units); benefiting about 230 000 learners (including 2 105 nomadic learners in the Kunene region). This feeding programme scheme enables nomads and pastoralist parents to send their children to school and keep them there on a regular basis. School feeding programmes act as a form of food security, and it is a strategy that contributes to attaining the MDG targets of 2015 and Namibia's national vision 2030.

Offering meals at school is an effective way to encourage children who are poor and chronically hungry to attend classes. The researcher found that the school feeding programme has a positive impact on school participation in the mobile school units. The programme disproportionately benefits nomadic Himba and Zemba children by creating incentives to enrol them in school, and thus their attentiveness and capacity to learn improves.

School feeding programmes throughout the world have successfully attracted and retained children to school, especially those from poor, marginalized and nomadic pastoralist communities (Adelman *et al.*, 2008; Ahmed *et al.*, 2001). The International Food Policy Research Institute (2001:3) asserts that 'hunger and chronic malnutrition reduce learning achievement of children already in school', and this evidence led them to conclude that:

Hunger is a barrier to learning. A hungry child cannot concentrate and perform. Hungry children are unlikely to stay in school. School-based feeding programs have proven effective in encouraging enrolment, increasing attention spans, and improving attendance at school.

According to the World Food Programme, case studies in developing countries have documented strong improvements in enrolment and attendance when learners receive meals at school in return for good school attendance (Delman, Gilligan & Lehrer, 2008). According to Delman *et al.* (2008), without breakfast, learners are more easily distracted in the classroom and have problems staying alert and concentrating on lessons. Numerous studies suggest that hunger affects cognitive functions and may therefore impair a child's ability to benefit from schooling (Delman *et al.*, 2008; Ahmed *et al.*, 2001).

Abundant research, supported by the researcher's own field study, shows that school feeding programmes have a positive direct impact on mobile school enrolment rates, and cause a significant increase in learning concentration, as measured by improvements in the promotion rates in the mobile school units.

6.8. Physical services

When it comes to physical resources, a number of shortcomings have been identified in the research, and the following are the most common:

6.8.1 *National curriculum*

The need to guarantee nomadic children a formal education in the same subject areas and quality as other school children in the country receive has to be weighed with a concern for its relevance. Making national curricula relevant to groups other than those they were historically designed for (and by) is not, or will not, be achieved simply by adding 'relevant' topics (from the same centralized perspective). Some studies (Kratli, 2001; Althusser, 1972) note that the curriculum becomes 'relevant' to pastoralist children by tackling the foundation subjects from the perspective of pastoralists' daily reality and pre-existing knowledge, as constructed by pastoralists themselves.

From the nomads' perspective, relevance cannot be achieved at a central level and cannot be permanent (Kratli, 2001). It is crucial to build capacity (to meet these requirements) within all the institutions concerned with pastoralism and education (at all levels). The institutional understanding of pastoralism needs to go beyond the pastoralist-as-a-lifestyle perspective and needs to come to terms with the reality of pastoralism as a productive force.

During the field study, the researcher noted that some Himba and Zemba parents have reservations about the use of the national curriculum in the mobile school units. Some stated that the curriculum content conveys certain underlying values and ideas that may not be overtly expressed or accepted in our culture. They feel that these underlying values are not always compatible with their culture and traditions. As one of the headman put it:

We want our children to be educated and that is why we send them to school, however, our big concern is that when they come back home their attitude and behaviour towards their parents and elderly people in the community are objectionable. They do not respect their parents or elders any more. They show contempt for our traditional ways of living, and this is not good.

During the field study, it was observed that nomadic communities' views and expectations of formal education and schooling vary according to specific communities and circumstances. Some parents acknowledged that proficiency in English and basic knowledge gained from formal schooling are probably essential if employment is to be sought outside the pastoral community. Nevertheless, they consider formal schooling in its present form a waste of time. This mixture of feelings was observed and encountered many times during the field study, where nomadic parents have approached the formal education strategically by sending only one or two of their children to school as a possible avenue for ensuring an economically independent future for the clan.

Another common worry from the Himba and Zemba parents in almost all of the visited mobile school units is that the children grow up without formal or modern education, but they do receive a traditional education oriented to their way of making a living, and one which contains the cultural and societal values of their society. For example, herd boys learn the value of different kinds of grazing for each species of stock by watching animals and the environment and through the direct teaching by male elders, while girls acquire a household related education from their mothers and elder sisters.

Such concerns demonstrate that the context of the current national curriculum is incompatible with the Himba and Zemba cultural practices and lifestyle. As Woldemichael (1995) puts it, in most cases, the national curriculum taught in the nomad schools is developed by sedentary people for sedentary people (i.e. urban settlements and semi-settlements), and is often irrelevant to the nomads' experience and concerns. Some mobile school unit teachers interviewed validated Woldemichael's (1995) view by repeatedly stating that there has been a conflict between the nomadic cultures and the current Namibian national curriculum set for all children.

According to the Himba and Zemba people, the curriculum taught in the formal mobile schools is against their beliefs. This can be illustrated by an example found in one of the mobile schools. Against the canvas wall of the tent was a rhyme about a teapot used as part of English language instruction. Although a teapot may be familiar to most societies, it is not a known object in the Himba and Zemba culture - tea is not consumed and the vessel used to serve milk or any other drink is a calabash. For the learners, the rhyme bears no relation to their own world. Another example relates to common geometrical shapes taught to children in Grade 1.

These shapes are not typically known to the indigenous people and words to describe the shapes had to be created. The following are four of these terms that Grade 1 learners need to master:

- Square – *otjipaka*.
- Circle – *otjiputuputu*.
- Triangle – *otjinavikorovitatu*.
- Rectangle – *otjisembatuwo*.

The first two are known as they relate to the shapes of the huts and kraal, but a triangle and a rectangle are not shapes found in the environment in which Himba and Zemba children grow up.

The Himba and Zemba parents also have serious reservations about the contents of the national curriculum as they deem it inappropriate for the children of pastoral nomads. It does not provide practical skills to improve the livelihood of nomads. It is focused more on academic achievements that only suit the needs of urban children. They say there is a lack of demonstrable practical benefits for the pastoral economy. This corresponds with the findings of Gorham (1979). As a result, parents are reluctant to send all their children for formal schooling and they feel it will disconnect them from their nomadic lifestyle. They are also fearful that their offspring will lose their indigenous knowledge, skills, attitudes and values. For example, some parents in Otjirumbu, Okondjombo, and Okapara villages stated very clearly that they have not seen yet a positive return in sending their children to formal schools. They said those children who managed to complete their basic formal education (grade 1-3 or 4) through mobile school units are roaming around in the community and do not possess any meaningful basic knowledge or skills to improve life for the community. This was confirmed during the interviews with mobile school teachers who said that for the Himba and Zemba culture, education is not a priority, like herding. However, experience shows that when the importance of formal education is pointed out, they respond positively.

A parent in the Okapara villages stated the following:

A western and formal notion of education have and continue to weaken our traditions and our way of life in our communities, and has further contributed to the marginalization and alienation of the Himba and Zemba communities.

The general views of Himba and Zemba parents are that since those contents of the current national curriculum emphasis literacy, numeracy and national language, in order to integrate nomadic children in the modern culture, it only helps children to migrate out of the pastoral sector, rather than helping them makes better use of their tribal environment. The current national curricula is planned mainly with settled children in mind and designed to lead to higher education. Himba and Zemba parents fear that this present a high risk of children alienation from their traditions, cultures and households if using a teaching and learning approach similar to the urban patterns. Therefore, they are demanding the current content curriculum be revised. Based on this call, it will be advisable to countries where nomads are to be found, like Namibia, that their future nomad curricula be integrated with nomadic and pastoral developmental matters, such as water improvement, veterinary services, and animal husbandry. It is imperative to provide services for nomadic communities like the Himba and Zemba people in the wider context of national development.

Parents strongly believe in the need to retain the strengths of the Himba and Zemba culture as gifts to the modern world, while simultaneously adding knowledge needed for modern survival, without killing the spirit of their old traditions. They acknowledge that this poses a tremendous challenge. In their view this can only be achieved through alternative or complementary forms of education in the Namibian schools, especially in the mobile school units. Such alternatives have to be low-cost, replicable, culturally appropriate, politically non-threatening, and suitable for ethnically mixed group situations. For example, during the researcher's interviews with mobile school teachers, a number of them remarked that there are parts of the curriculum (e.g. on AIDS) that they do not feel comfortable in teaching because in their culture they don't talk about such things to children.

6.8.2 *Instructional materials*

During the fieldwork, the researcher was greeted by overwhelming complaints from both parents and mobile school teachers about the scarcity of instructional materials (especially textbooks), learning and support materials, as well as blackboards in the mobile school units. These problems hamper teaching and learning. Some children in mobile school units, for example, are taught how to write in the sand with their fingers. Requests from schools for children to bring learning kits dampen the spirits of parents who think they have already made enough sacrifices in letting their children go to school rather than going herding.

The harshness of the environment also takes its toll on teaching resources that have to be stored in make shift mud-huts or cardboard boxes. They are often damaged by rodents, insects and water that seep through the makeshift roofs. The lack of proper furniture also creates situations where children use the textbooks and other materials to sit in the sand – thus lessening its lifespan.

6.8.3 *Teaching spaces/facilities*

During the fieldwork it was observed that facilities such as classrooms, furniture, and other facilities for a conducive learning and teaching environment were grossly inadequate. A number of visited mobile school units do not have tents as they have worn out and could no longer be used, and learning and teaching are taking place outside or under trees (i.e. Otjirumbu and Okapara mobile units at the time of this study). Many of the tents in use are damaged by the wind and the sun, and some of their side panels are missing. The folding chairs in many classes were broken or have been stolen or lost. Children were sitting on the floor or on makeshift seats constructed from the branches of trees. Overall, a serious shortage of adequate provisioning of learning materials was evident.

Furthermore, in the fieldwork, it was observed that the majority of mobile school units do not move any more as parents and households prefer to have their units settled in one place where they know their children are being educated and cared for in a secure environment. At the time of this field study, it was found that Ondao Mobile School management does not have the exact number of units that still move and follow the communities. This information was difficult to obtain and the reasons given were lack of

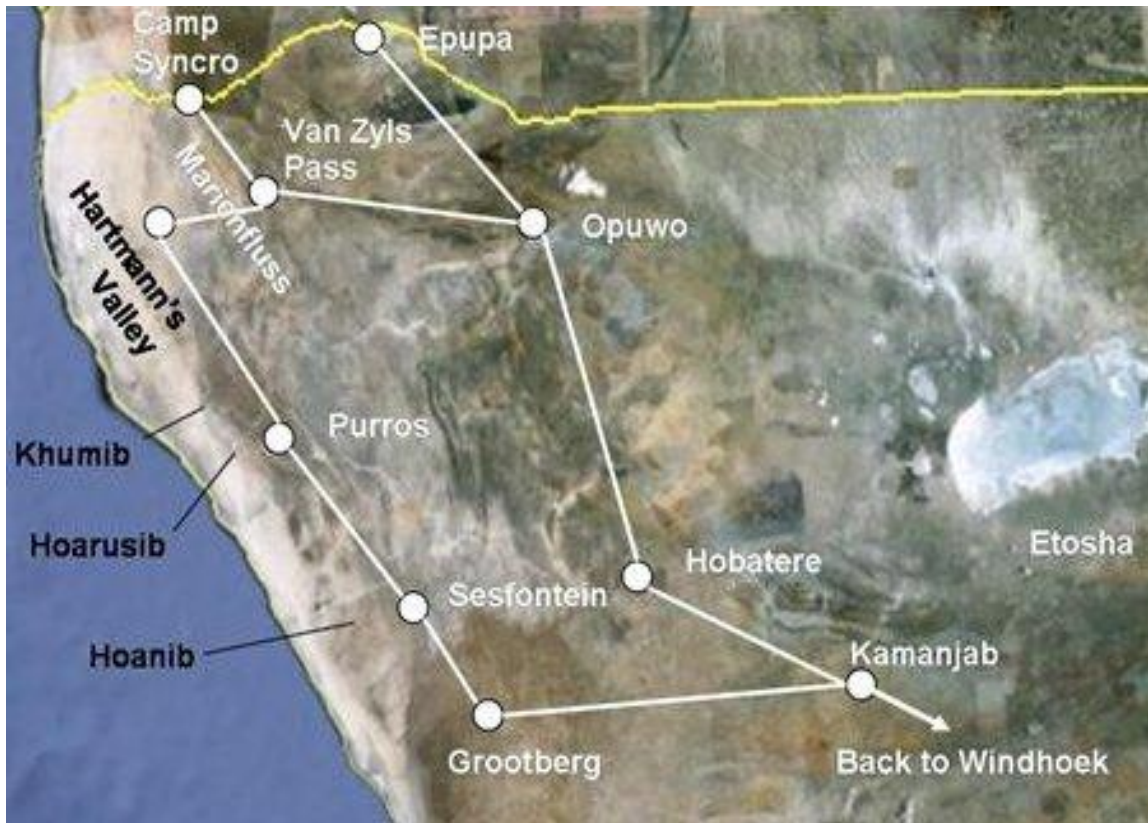
transport, preventing management from visiting the mobile school units. However, according to their data, only about 15 out of 45 mobile school units are still moving around and following the communities. Three out of seven visited mobile school units do move to follow the community.

In terms of accommodation, none of visited mobile school units provided basic and adequate accommodation for learners and teachers. Mobile school teachers stayed in mud huts or tents with no amenities. They have no radio communication or mobile phone contact with the mobile school office in Opuwo. According to the Ondao school principal, 90% of mobile units do not have a mobile signal. In one case during the field study, the teacher had to climb up to the top of a mountain (a 90 minute climb) to get a mobile signal to phone the office and communicate with them. Mobile school teachers seldom have any form of transportation at their disposal. These factors impact directly on the quality of the management of these mobile school units and the moral of the teachers.

6.8.4 Transport

To grasp the seriousness of the transport problem, it is necessary to see it within the context of the structure of the Ondao mobile school. The school is managed by a school principal, assisted by three Heads of Departments (HoDs) on average, each responsible for 15 mobile school units spread across the entire Kunene region; some being as far as 300km away from the principal's office in Opuwo.

Figure 6.4 Satellite image indicating limited number of roads in the Kunene region



There is no day-to-day contact between a classroom (unit) teacher and the management or other teachers. The only contact is when they are visited by the Head of Departments or principal. Transport is thus one of the challenges faced by the Ondao Mobile School administrators. At the time of the field study there was only one 4x4 vehicle used by the principal and the three Head of Departments (HoDs).

The Ondao Mobile School is experiencing a decline in its enrolment, compared with previous years, especially when the school was funded by NAMAS. The Ondao mobile school office is hundreds of kilometres away from the mobile units, and as a result management do not visit the units regularly to support mobile teachers, learners and parents/communities. Because of this, the quality of the education rendered to these communities is compromised. The Ondao officials (HoDs in particular) start to lose interests in their jobs because they don't have the means to perform their work effectively.

6.8.5 Teacher provision in mobile schools

In Namibia, teacher recruitment and allocation is mainly centrally driven, and it appears to be a matter of the equal distribution of qualified teachers among schools. At the time of this study, there were 72 teachers for 45 mobile school units, teaching 2 105 pupils; i.e. a ratio of about 29.2 learners per teacher. A significant percentage of these teachers, lack the requisite teaching qualification as prescribed by the Namibia government; the Basic Education Teaching Diploma (BETD). At the time of this study more than 30% of mobile school teachers were under- or unqualified. Teacher-quality is therefore very low in the mobile school units compared with that of conventional schools (EMIS, 2008).

It was also found that there was a higher teacher turnover in the Ondao Mobile School for a variety of reasons. Most common were the long distances from town and other amenities (i.e. isolation), and the poor conditions in the mobile units which results in qualified teachers transferring to conventional schools. Transport is a contributing factor, as some of the furthest units only open one or two days after the official opening day due to mobile teachers spending up to three days travelling to reach their respective units. Due to these conditions, there is high transfer of qualified mobile teachers to the conventional schools where basic services can be found. The poor conditions and long distances to mobile school units cannot attract a cadre of quality teachers, committed to the educational enrichment of the nomad peoples. This has forced the government to employ unqualified or under-qualified teachers on a contract basis.

6.8.6 Teacher absenteeism

The flexible approach taken by the Namibian government to train teachers of the Ondao Mobile School is commendable. However, it was found that with such widely dispersed mobile school units, it is impossible to manage, check or control the physical attendance of all mobile school teachers. During the field study the researcher encountered numerous occasions of teachers' absenteeism and endless excuses for not being present at school, such as being sick, fetching water and fuel, going to Opuwo for training/consultation, and/or collecting their cheques at the office.

However, the impression the researcher gained was that some mobile school units teachers were conscientious and kept their units open as much as possible, and that there was no widespread abuse of this flexible system.

6.8.7 *Quality of education*

There is a general acceptance that all learners require high quality teaching to perform well and that teaching quality is determined by teacher qualifications and experience which must be allocated equally between all regions and schools to ensure at least horizontal and vertical equity (UNESCO 2009). As indicated in Chapter 2, horizontal equity relates to the similar provision of both programmes and services to learners, presenting alike learning needs. Vertical equity relates to the diversity of learning needs presented by learners. In other words, the programmes and services provided should be appropriate to the learning needs of the learner and their circumstances.

Developing countries like Namibia, however, are still struggling to ensure an adequate allocation of essential education resources, including human resources for the learners at educational institutions (Rebell, 1998; Fiske *et al.*, 2002; Motala, 2005). With many factors influencing education quality and equity at the school level, teachers are now recognised as the most critical factor for learner achievement. The equitable distribution of teachers, teacher learning, and teacher improvements are becoming the intense focus of researchers, policy makers, programme designers, implementers, and evaluators (ADEA, 2004; ADEA 2005; Anderson, 2002; Boyle *et al.* 2003; Craig *et al.* 1998; Leu *et al.*, 2005; Lewin & Stuart, 2003; UNESCO, 2004; UNESCO, 2006; UNICEF, 2000; USAID, 2002; USAID/EQUIP1, 2004a; USAID/EQUIP2, 2006; Verspoor, 2006; Goe 2006).

Taking the argument further, Hanushek *et al.* (2004), Darling-Hammond (2002), Lankford *et al.* (2002) and Goe (2002) argue that qualified and motivated teachers are indispensable, but this does not guarantee sufficient conditions for good learning outcomes. Therefore, adequate investment in teaching materials and school infrastructure is also required and important.

Hanushek *et al.* (2004), Darling-Hammond (2002), Lankford *et al.* (2002) and Northwest Report (1996, as quoted Mosborg) argue that although there is an overwhelming general agreement that the qualifications of teachers are positively related to learners'

abilities to succeed academically, in their they studies cite that qualifications and experience do not, in every case, correlate with good teaching and learners' good performance. For instance, the Northwest Report (1996, as quoted Mosborg, 1996), cites that there is no link between qualifications and academic performance, neither in regards to expenditure nor learners' performance.

In taking the argument further, Mosborg (1996) argues that the provision of qualified teachers may have been provided, but the question is whether the qualifications and experience actually reach the learners in the form of the opportunities to learn and improve their achievements? Mosborg (1996) further argues that research provides strong evidence, but no definitive answer to the question of how important teacher qualifications are and what makes a teacher effective. In the researcher's view, Mosborg's (1996) claims need to be studied further to explore the effects of qualified and experienced teachers on learners' achievements, as well the definition of 'good teacher and teaching'. Furthermore, there is debate around the globe on what an equal allocation is, and what the most equitable and fair mechanism for distributing resources among communities and schools is.

In Namibia, the effort to address the imbalances in the Namibian education system resulted in what became known as the 2001 Education Act (Act no. 16 of 2001), which replaced the National Education Act (Act no. 30 of 1980), and the 2001 Teaching Staffing Norms Policy in Government schools. The promulgation of these two policies was to bring about equitable distribution of education resources and educators between regions and schools in order to improve equal educational opportunities and improve quality education across the country. This was in an effort to enhance equal educational opportunities for all learners, regardless of their locations, race or socio-economic status.

The 2001 Teaching Staffing Norms policy's primary objective was to unify learner and teacher ratios of one teacher to 35 learners for primary, and one teacher for 30 learners in secondary, at all schools across the country. The aim was to eliminate the inherited imbalances in service delivery by promoting equal education opportunities among regions and schools, particularly to address the issue of inequitable distribution of educators across the country by re-allocating teachers according to teacher: learner norms. It responds to the popular perception among most educators, policy-makers, parents and stakeholders in education (in both developed and developing nations) that smaller classes enhance learning and teaching, even though decades of research have

not succeeded in establishing clear benefits for smaller classes. A general agreement within the literature is that although smaller classes have the potential to enhance learning and teaching, they require additional competent and qualified teachers who are willing to take advantage of smaller classes, as well as adequate physical facilities (Grubb et al., 2002; Rebell, 2006).

Most of the comments from the interviews in this study have cited the wide range of factors outside the control of the quality and equity education in mobile school units. The common factors cited associated with poverty are the varying degrees of mobility, harsh climate and environmental conditions, coupled with drought which cause the communities to move in search of water and better pastures for the livestock. During the visits the researcher observed that the mobile school units were inadequately equipped and under-staffed, with a critical shortage of textbooks, and that the teachers do not seem to have either the capacity or learning support materials to prepare their teaching lessons effectively. As an example, the researcher noted that a Grade 1 teacher had to use an A3 size world map to teach the children about the Kunene region that was not even visible on a map of such scale. This imposes a severe problem on the teaching-learning process rendered in the mobile school units.

Official statistics (EMIS, 2008) shows that the Ondao Mobile School dropout and repetition rates tend to be higher, and the transition rates from one grade to another are lower than the national average of 77.3% (EMIS, 2009: 56). Another factor observed was the rotation system used by parents where children often do not attend school regularly throughout the year but only for part of the year when they are not needed to herd cattle to take care of other domestic chores.

An analysis of the literature reveals that the impact of teacher quality on learning in the classroom cannot be underestimated (Anderson, 2002; Darling-Hammond, 2002; Goe, 2002). Mobile school teachers in some cases are frustrated by the lack of classroom aids, which in the official curriculum may appear irrelevant to the needs of nomadic children. Inspectors of Education and Head of Departments visit rarely, and requests for learning and teaching materials often take many months (two to three months) to process and reach to mobile school units. The Ministry of Education, the Regional Office in particular, needs to understand that mobile school teachers need to be provided timeously with adequate resources to deliver instruction effectively. They should be provided with a learning environment suitable to the instructional needs of their learners.

During the field study, it was evident that mobile school teachers were trying to create teaching aids from locally available resources to make education relevant to the needs of the children living a pastoral lifestyle.

One argument regarding the poor quality of education rendered to the Himba, Zemba and other nomad groups is that because formal schooling continues to retain the delivery mode structure used during the colonial era, and this is not suitable for nomadic pastoralists. The formal education system is more hierarchical and takes a formal approach, which makes it difficult to teach children from nomadic communities who are often on the move. Equally, their life-style in terms of low density, varying degrees of mobility, and remoteness makes it difficult to assure quality and equity in education. Developing countries like Namibia, however, in their education policy instruments and implementation, should take into account the uniqueness and different needs of the nomads and the movement of these groups. The education policy instruments should be flexible to accommodate these cultural dimensions and create equal educational opportunities for all children to acquire an education of quality, regardless of the socio-economic-status and geographical location of the community.

6.9. Instructional experiences

6.9.1 Multi-grade teaching

Multi-grade pedagogy has not been systematically adopted in Namibia, though it is occurring in a piece-meal approach across the country as it's a viable and practical option. It is simply a teaching adaptation used by teachers who are particularly innovative. Many countries, including Namibia, have experimented with multi-grade education as a primary strategy to reach the children who are difficult to reach with formal education.

In Namibia, multi-grade teaching is practised in all mobile school units, and the majority of the units normally cater from Grade 1 to 4, and in exceptional cases up to Grade 7. It was observed that the national teacher learner ratio of 1:35 for primary schools is not applied to the mobile units because of the vastness of the Kunene region and the low population density. Also, the children are rotated by parents, resulting in them only receiving education for a part of the year, yet they are reflected on the school register.

In all visited mobile school units their enrolments per grade were very low and as a result they do not qualify to have an additional teacher per grade. This situation forced the Ondao School Management to introduce multi-grade teaching in all mobile school units, although not all teachers (particularly under- and unqualified teachers) can handle it. The decrease of mobile school enrolment over the past two to three years, for example, from 2 255 in 2009 to 2 105 learners in 2010, has also left the Ondao Mobile School Management with no option but to downgrade some of the units to offer only lower grades that a specific teacher can handle. The challenge is that teachers have not been trained on how to teach multi grade teaching, and to make things worse, of the 72 mobile school teachers, 30% are unqualified or under-qualified (no teacher training and a qualification of less than Grade 12). This has a negative impact on quality of education among children from marginalised communities.

In terms of teacher quality and competencies, improvements in teacher qualifications need to be translated into effective teacher quality. Even teachers with formal qualifications still lack competencies that are critical to improve learning. A large number of mobile school teachers have difficulties interpreting and implementing the national curriculum. Many practicing teachers do not have sufficient proficiency in reading skills to enable them to pursue further studies at a diploma level or above. Practicing mobile school teachers are found to have poor reading skills, grammar skills, elicitation techniques, limited vocabulary, and lack the ability to adequately explain concepts.

Clearly, mobile school teachers' poor English proficiency adversely affects instruction, not only in English as a subject, but in all other subjects that are taught in English – the medium of instruction from Grade 4 onwards. Multi-grade teaching in the mobile units remains a challenge, as the majority of mobile teachers are struggling, teaching learners from different grades in the same class especially teaching lower primary (grade 1, 2, 3, and 4) and upper primary (grade 5, 6, and 7) together. Many mobile school teachers lack the knowledge and skills to manage multi-grade classes effectively as they have been trained in mono-grade teaching pedagogy

Poor mastery of language is not limited to English. Namibia has 13 languages of instruction for Grades 1 to 3, but only one language is taught (Otjiherero) in mobile schools at the lower primary level. The standardization of orthographies and the production of materials are recent phenomena that teachers are still learning. Because of mobile school teachers' language limitations, reading lessons tend to be mechanized verbalization of words, without grasping meaning or content.

Equally, writing exercises are mechanized copying of words. Some mobile school teachers have a limited repertoire of reading instruction methods; they hardly help learners monitor their reading or comprehension. Given their own challenges, they have little ability to diagnose learner reading and writing difficulties, less still to institute appropriate remedial action. Given their difficulties with the languages of instruction, some mobile teachers tend to teach the textbook, rather than the learners, with little if any consideration for competencies as stipulated in the official curriculum. Invariably they do not cover the syllabus, but rather select topics they understand.

National averages of qualified teachers mask intra- and inter-regional disparities in teacher deployment. As with most resources, qualified teachers are inequitably deployed in favour of the urbanized southern regions. In 2009, the proportion of qualified primary teachers ranged from 75% for Kunene, compared with 95% for Khomas. For secondary education, the proportions ranged from 88% for Kunene, compared with 95% percent for Khomas. There are also indications of intra-regional disparities in the allocation of teachers; for example in the Kunene region (EMIS, 2009). It was noted that there is wide variability among mobile units. For instance, units that have lower enrolments per grade for learner/teacher ratios is higher - up to 40 (i.e. Otutati mobile school unit) learners in the class, as they only qualified for one teacher.

6.9.2 *Enrolment and dropout rates*

- Enrolment

Access to primary education at the national level remains comparatively high in Namibia. The number of school age children from nomadic groups, however, is relatively low (EMIS, 2008a, 2009b, 2010c). Some of the common reasons regarding the low enrolment rate among the Himba, Zemba and other nomadic groups were identified during the field study.

First, learner numbers at the mobile school units vary from as few as six learners to as many as 150 learners per unit. The levels of enrolment in nomadic schools are relatively low. According to the 2001 Population Census, more than 25 000 primary school age populations are not attending school in the Kunene region alone, and 70% are nomadic pastoralists. At the time of this study, there were 2 105 learners enrolled in mobile schools, with an average of 47 learners per unit.

Coupled with this was a type of rotation system where parents would send some children to school, while others took care of chores and animals. Another reason for keeping children, or some of them at least, out of school, is the perception of formal education as a process of cultural alienation. Nomads such as Himba and Zemba are well aware of the risk of their cultural alienation in sending their children to school. Some parents stated that they (i.e. the Himba and Zemba view both schools and schooling as alien concepts that do not contribute to their pastoral way life.

Kunene is a large region with a very low population density. Schools are still far away from the majority of people, and transportation is not set up for the communities. Plausibly, parents like the Himba, Zemba and other nomad groups sometimes refuse to send their children to school every day and it is hard to enforce compulsory school attendance in such a big region.

Special challenges occur for the few nomad people left in Namibia, such as the Himba, Zemba and other nomadic groups like the San parents - it is often impossible to send their children to school without sending them away to a boarding school, which many refuse to do.

- Dropout rates

A high dropout rate is one of the challenges facing the Ondao Mobile School system. Nomadic children drop out of school mainly because they have to herd animals as this is the primary source of their livelihood. In most cases, after they complete their higher grades in their respective mobile school units, they do not continue with their education. One of the more common reasons is that when these children have to move to conventional schools, and parents are expected to contribute to a School Development Fund (SDF). This is incompatible with the mobile school programme, and parents resist contributing.

In addition, the challenges is that when children complete their higher grades at their respective units, they demand that their parents to sell some livestock to cover their school fees and school uniforms. This is against their parents' cultural practices and customs. Thirdly, sending children to schools in town removes them from the economic activities of the family, and, fourthly, parents are reluctant to expose them to the negative influences in town schools.

- Other challenges beyond schooling

In any country where nomadic people are to be found they continue to pose challenges to the national and international target of achieving Education for All (EFA) by the year 2015. In Namibia, it poses challenges in terms of providing education to the nomad groups.

The following are some of the common challenges posed by the mobile school programme on the Namibian education system since its implementation:

- Culture demand and formal education

Albeit the widespread acceptance within the Himba and Zemba communities that formal education is important and needed, some parents, however, continue to express dissatisfaction with many aspects of the formal education concept. They feel threatened when children have to go far away from the community for education and stay without any parental care. It has been observed that in some cases, there is a resistance from parents who argue that losing the labour of their children is a great enough economic sacrifice to make.

Parents feel formal education is denying them the assistance of the children, especially when they are needed to help with chores and tend animals – the source of the communities' livelihood. The majority of parents interviewed expressed the view that, 'they strongly believe in their cattle' but they take cognizance of the importance of education. However, they have to balance the two. As one parent put it, 'If we allow all our children to go every day to school, our cattle will die of hunger and get lost.'

Questions on culture were posed to both nomadic learners and mobile school teachers, such as, 'Tell me about some of the cultural practices and customs that may have an influence on their teaching and learning'. Responses were similar to those of the parents, in that they believe schools are centres of bad behaviour. As one nomadic learner put it:

Our parents fear that our culture and religion might be eroded if they allow us to attend schooling.

This was echoed by number of nomadic learners at most of the visited mobile school units. Himba and Zemba parents, in some cases, were adamant in taking their daughters out of school to preserve their culture.

One nomadic learner added:

[There is] Ignorance of our parents about the importance and value of education, and they take animals as their main source and value animals more. Equally, our parents have doubts about the importance of education, since nomadic life is their only way of their life.

From the interviews, repeated concern was raised by mobile school teachers that some nomadic parents believe that education reduces their labour and livestock resources. Labour is lost when children go to school to learn, and parents are aware that school comes with expenses which they have to bear by selling some of their animals or getting someone to look after their livestock and paying him/her.

- Cultural alienation

Such remarks sum up the traditional values the Himba and Zemba parents are concerned about. The attitudes of the children who go to school and graduate with ideas are at odds with traditional pastoral practices. These parents further express their fear by stating that the mobile school teachers, instead of teaching pastoral procedures, spend too much time on teaching the history and culture of societies the pastoralists do not want to know about.

Similar views are found by the study conducted by Jama (1993), funded by UNICEF, in Somalia on education provision to nomads. Nomads in Somalia view both schools and schooling as alien concepts that do not contribute to the pastoral way of life. They believe that such facilities will, in the end, alienate their children from them and society large (Jama, 1993).

The alienating dimension of schooling is not mitigated by an approach focusing on curriculum relevance, as is the case of Namibia. Even in a responsive approach, school education is seen as ultimately meant to equip children to leave their communities.

Equipping children with new knowledge can be perceived as disempowering the parents and limiting their ability to provide critical skills and knowledge which their children will need to survive in the type of life that they were born into. Some parents do take the risk of sending their children to school due to the prospect of high rewards in terms of income or status. However, they normally try to minimise this risk by carefully selecting who should go to school and who stays to look after the livestock. In most cases, the first-born son is normally kept out of school because this is the person destined to preserve ritual continuity and the future management of the clan.

- Child labour

According to International Labour Organization (2002), children constitute part of the labour force virtually worldwide. Their involvement in household work is a common phenomenon in all levels of livelihood security in nomadic societies, in particular. Children's involvement in the household division of labour is negatively referred to as 'child labour' and represents a situation that deprives children of their fundamental rights to education (United Nations Human Rights 1948). Although children's work is presented in negative terms within the mainstream literature, in the nomadic communities like the Himba and Zemba, household work often appears to be perceived by the children as a positive experience, and by their parents as a process of crucial education value.

Children's work is perceived as a process of socialization, progressively initiating children into work and transmitting skills that will enable them to support themselves and their parents and contribute to their communities (Kratli, 2001:38).

Leaving a child without knowing basic household work is considered by the nomads, in the African context, as a sign of parental negligence. 'Only parents who did not have their children's best interests at heart would let them grow up without work responsibilities' (Kratli, 2001:93, as quoted by Save the Children Fund, 2000).

- Mobility of community

Unscheduled movements and migration of the Himba and Zemba communities makes educational planning difficult in the Kunene region, and in the country as a whole. The poor planning and under-funding of nomadic education is partly blamed on inaccurate demographic data. The lack of authentic data or reliable statistics on the nomads leads to planning based on guesswork. In one of the mobile school units visited, it was found that about half the children who had attended the school in the previous season had moved with their parents.

Many attribute such erratic attendance and low enrolment in school to habitual movement. More than 70% of the mobile teachers interviewed affirmed that unscheduled movements have an effect on the children's performance. As a result of these movements, the mobile school teachers face the extra task of adjusting their teaching to fit the dynamics of the transient population.

One of the important observations was that learners are just as important as the teachers in facilitating quality teaching and learning. However, due to the sparsely populated nature of the region, up to 80% the children start school very late, as has been confirmed by the age of children enrolled in the first grade in mobile school units. The inequitable access to primary education for nomadic children means that they often enter primary school less ready than their counterparts from more affluent homes. These disadvantages do not augur well for a country that aspires to the notion of Education for All by 2015.

The research also found that mobile school units end their school term one week before the official school term ends. The reason given is that the mobile school unit teachers have to come to the Ondao mobile school office in Opuwo in the last week of school term to finalise their administration work (i.e. reports, assessments, etc) and submit them to their Heads of Departments on the last day of the official school term. A concern was raised by all nomadic learners interviewed that when the mobile school units close for vacations, they normally face a problem of where to stay and how to survive, as in most cases their parents have left their original location. They usually keep track of the shifting patterns of the nomadic families and once schools close they go with any other nomads who come from the same area as their family.

The following are examples of citations made from some nomadic learners who responded to the questions concerning difficulties in accessing education:

Sometimes our family migrates from the original place of settlement we knew and we get lost from the direction (of home). Because we do not have place to stay after schools close, we have to walk [long] to find where our family has shifted to.

Similarly, the majority of the interviewed nomadic learners constantly repeated that the lack of basic needs such as foods, clothes and shelter, are obstacles to educational access for children from nomadic communities. As one child put it:

Poor nutrition, drinking water, a permanent home to stay, and school uniforms are affecting our access to basic education and our performance.

The message was very loud and clear to the government and policy makers that since their parents are mobile, they should be provided with all above-mentioned basic needs.

The information from the field study also illustrates that children from nomadic communities do not proceed with their upper primary to secondary education because their parents cannot afford to pay school development fund, school uniforms and other basic requirements such as soap.

In terms of the provision of parental choice, Ball (1993) discusses the markets in education and claims that in the ideal environment every parent is free to make a choice on a school he/she wants to educate his/her children, but this choice is not “open” to Himba and Zemba parents. This is due to their mobility and remoteness where only one mobile school unit with poor resources and poorly trained teachers is available to their children. This constrains the school choice, and may result in no choice at all. This, in practical terms, implies that the right to education for all is limited by the socio-economic realities operating at grassroots level. In addition, some of the teachers deployed in the mobile school units lack a pastoral background, and as a result they find it very difficult to adopt teaching cycles to pastoral seasonality.

Against the above mentioned conditions, this study found that the wide gap in the provisioning of education between the nomads and none-nomads continues to be one of the biggest problems facing pastoralists, and contributes to their continuing impoverishment and social marginalization in developing countries such as Namibia.

Furthermore, this study found that where education is available, there are considerable disparities between conventional and mobile school units with regard to basic facilities (classrooms, and sanitation), basic services (clean water, electricity and telecommunication), qualified teachers, pupil–teacher ratios, and examination pass rates. Although the education policy in developing countries like Namibia provides compulsory basic education for all children, this is not the reality on the ground. Disparity in educational opportunities, both in services and access to formal basic education among nomadic groups, results in high illiteracy rates; particularly among the nomad pastoral peoples in the north west of Namibia and the hunters (San) in the east and north east Namibia.

The general picture that emerged from field study was that some Himba and Zemba parents, community members and leaders make positive comments, such as ‘nowadays it is necessary to send some of your children to school’. However, they also seemed to harbour a considerable amount of negativity towards formal education. Himba and Zemba parents and the community members don’t see the importance of being educated, as they don’t see that education will provide the family with a source of income and make them less dependent on livestock (Krätli & Dyer 2009). These reservations were articulated on the basis of their experience, as some of their children with a formal education are unemployed and roaming around in their communities. Some Himba and Zemba communities added that the current school education is creating an unbridgeable cultural distance between the nomadic children and their parents, as educated nomadic children might learn to despise the way family lives and stay away from a herding life style.

- School feeding scheme

One of the important features observed during the field study was the school feeding scheme at all seven visited mobile school units. The school feeding programme has impacted on the mobile school units’ enrolment rates and attendance as the programme encourages mobile children to enrol and attend school. Women in the village volunteer

to prepare a soft porridge once a day during the school hours. In order to do that each learner has to bring a bottle of water and firewood to school to prepare the meals in large pots over an open fire from Monday to Friday.

Most of the water is collected from water holes or wells dug by the community members. These water sources are also used by the animals. Bore holes drilled by the Government are sparse, and often the pumps do not work for months. Very few of the mobile units had clean potable water at their disposal. During the field study, the researcher saw water that was brought in dirty bottles or even polluted water that was added to the flour to be cooked. The result of the practice whereby children have to bring their own water and firewood is that the school day is substantially reduced - the school day can only start when most of the children have done their home chores and collected the water and firewood. At one of the mobile school units, it was about 9.30 am before school finally started. Equally, the one week earlier closure has also reduced the school calendar by 15 days a year.

During the field study, it was observed that feeding nomadic learners lodging at the mobile units is one of the challenges posed on the education system. Due to long distances, and the movement of parents searching for water and better grazing, mobile units are left with no choice but to allow children to camp at the mobile units. This has created serious challenges in terms of feeding children, as well as the parental roles imposed on the mobile school teachers. For example, since last year (2009), only 15 units moved from their original place, but most of communities move annually, starting normally in second term or at the beginning of the third school term. Parents leave some children to attend school.

The food that mobile units receive through the Regional Office is calculated as one meal per learner per day. Due to this state of affairs, mobile teachers have no choice but to feed the learners lodging at the mobile units at least twice a day. But they often run-out before the end of each school term.

In addition, mobile school teachers have to take up parental roles, as some of children are very young – about six or seven years old. In most cases teachers use their own money to buy food (especially bags of maize meal) to supplement the school feeding programme, and transport them to the health centres and clinics when they are sick. In some cases these children are left with grandmothers/fathers, and as a result some

children then have to look after the elderly people as well as the siblings.

This study is in agreement with Baxter (2005) who argues that school feeding can create a culture of dependence, waste mobile teachers' time with logistics, results in school attendance only during the availability of food, and creates expectations that cannot be sustained by the education systems. In all seven mobile school units visited, the majority of teachers repeatedly stated that the time involved in logistical arrangements involved with the school feeding scheme often exceeds the management of running an educational institution itself.

- Early marriage

Early marriage and teenage pregnancies are some of the common challenges facing the mobile units. Early marriage is a global issue. In Namibia it is quite common, especially in the nomadic groups, and is part of their cultural practices and customs. The consequences of early marriage are serious; simply put, early marriage can violate children's basic rights to a childhood, education, good health and the ability to make decisions about their own lives. It affects the education and well-being of millions of children and has a knock-on effect on poverty and the development of any society.

The physical, emotional and social effects of early marriage are varied, but one of the most common outcomes in Namibia is the withdrawal of girls from formal education. Traditionally, in the Himba and Zemba culture, people in rural villages value marriage more than education for girls. Many girls stop school when they marry. Husbands of young wives are often older men who expect their wives to follow traditions; stay at home and undertake household and child-care duties. In some countries, or schools, they often have a policy of refusing to allow married, pregnant girls, or girls with babies to return. So all the rules, timetables and physical conditions make it too difficult for a girl to attend school and perform her duties as wife and mother.

6.10. Conclusion

Drawing largely from the literature review and field study findings, nomads are faced with many problems; ranging from difficult access to basic education, land degradation, loss of land to expanding modern farming practises, urban migration, expansion of tourist game parks, and political instability (Krätli, 2001). Yet countries where nomads are found, including Namibia, experience positive signs as nomads are gradually beginning to embrace formal education and are glad to see their children read and write their mother tongues and English.

During the field study, the Himba and Zemba parents and mobile school teachers confirm the enthusiasm for the formal education rendered through mobile school programme. Most of the respondents consider sending children to school to be important and beneficial. This has been demonstrated by their growing interest in formal schooling by the increase in the demand for more mobile school units in other communities. In some villages the communities have even built their own mobile school units with traditional structures, and only asked the Ministry of Education to provide teachers, and teaching and learning materials. They are happy that their children are receiving a basic education.

Moreover, the mobile school programme marks a significant step forward in providing culturally appropriate education to those who are marginalized due to their traditional lifestyles. They realize that the knowledge and skills that children gain from formal education will help them to diversify their occupations and access new income-generating opportunities. The majority of Himba and Zemba are now aware that they have a right to education, which is linked to their right to vote and to participate in decision-making about policies that may affect their lives.

Political and socio-economic change in African countries like Namibia affects, directly or indirectly, the life of nomadic peoples such as Himba and Zemba in the north west of Namibia. New developments, combined with a rapid population growth, have made it difficult for the nomads to maintain the herd size necessary to feed each clan. Furthermore, it was also found that the majority of Himba and Zemba peoples have realized that the herding sector cannot absorb all the children, and that not every child will want to remain a herder if given a choice. Considering the bleak future of nomadic pastoralism, many Himba and Zemba are now looking for an alternative to herding, and

being educated seems a good option. They also understand that part of the problem stems from the lack of educated men and women, compared with the non-nomads. The absence of nomad groups in production and policy-making has put them at the mercy of their more educated counterparts in the society. The Himba, Zemba and other nomad groups such as San people, therefore now believe that sending some of their children to school is key to achieve participation in all levels of economic activity in society, and the best way to fight for the rights denied them for so long.

Despite the good sign outlined regarding the importance of formal education in general, the Himba, Zemba and other nomads groups continue to be reluctant to send all their children to school. Mobility, lack of funds, faulty curriculum design, and dependence on juvenile labour are some of the causes of poor participation in schooling. Of serious concern to the nomads is the fear that western education will indoctrinate children into western customs and will erode their culture and traditional values. The Himba and Zemba communities believe that the formal education system needs to be adjusted to take into account their values, mobility, social identities, and must respond flexibly to their needs.

To sum up, the challenges affecting nomadic people in developing countries like Namibia in accessing education are various and intertwined with policies, culture and socio-economic lifestyle.

One major factor is that nomadic people around the world are seen as people who are engaged in a lifestyle that is incompatible with modern norms, and it is clear from the onset that the planning and creation of formal education in most of these countries, including Namibia, is premised on a western formal way of life and culture which excludes the nomadic lifestyle.

As a final point, those who are active advocates for education for all need to reflect again on what education should be. It is fallacious to claim that traditional cultures had no education. The only way the nomadic people around the world can overcome their difficulties is by directly participating in the process of development, including the formulation of social policy, the development of education programmes, implementation at the ground level, and sharing in the benefits of such programmes.

CHAPTER 7. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1. Introduction

The main thesis of this study is that physical access to education, important as it is in terms of the Millennium Development Goals, is not enough. Education that is not of an acceptable quality may not serve the purpose or the intent of the MDG, nor of the Education for All movement. In deliberations about education provisioning, quality in education needs to be foregrounded. In the era following the Second World War, the well known actress, Audrey Heburn, became involved with the work of UNICEF and stated:

‘A quality education has the power to transform societies in a single generation, provide children with the protection they need from the hazards of poverty, labour exploitation and disease, and given them the knowledge, skills, and confidence to reach their full potential.’

My study advances the idea that achieving universal quality education for all requires a rethink of equity in education that goes beyond the notion of mere equal of opportunity. As indicated in Chapter 1, this study therefore explored the issue of educational equity and quality in a developing country context by focusing on the case of mobile schools in Namibia. The research question that motivated this study was:

Did the equity and quality in education policies in Namibia that include nomadic people living in the country, achieved their goals?

To be able to answer this question, the researcher had to consider the socio-economic and cultural factors that work against the provisioning of education in certain hard-to-resource areas in Namibia. To guide the researcher in answering the central question, four sub-questions were formulated:

- How do the nomadic people in the research group conceptualise education (its goals and objectives as well as the cultural dimension)?

- To what extent does education provisioning to nomadic people realise their educational goals in broadening access and to ensure equity and quality?
- How effective are the current policy instruments in achieving equity and quality of education for nomadic people?
- What policy options could be considered to address short comings in equity and quality in education for nomadic people?

The research questions also served as an ordering structure for the thesis in the sense that each of the questions posed was first examined from a theoretical perspective, and thereafter studied within the research site. In this chapter, the theory and the research findings will be presented in an integrated manner, using the categories that emerged in the data analysis phase as the basic structure.

7.2. Summary of findings

The Education for All (EFA) movement and the education targets within the MDG have provided an impetus for many developing countries to push for Universal Primary Education (UPE), often with extensive external support. Aside from the rights-based argument for the importance of Universal Primary Education, policy documents have frequently justified the need for investment in primary education by pointing to its poverty alleviating benefits (UNESCO, 2002; UNESCO, 2003).

The World Declaration on Education for All (1990) drew attention to removing educational disparities within countries. The needs of particular groups were highlighted, and nomads and pastoralist groups were specifically mentioned (Article 3). The World Declaration also encouraged 'learning through a variety of delivery system modes' (i.e. mobile school classrooms, distance learning, etc.) and the adoption of 'supplementary alternative programmes' (Article 5). The achievements made by Namibia to move in the direction of achieving the MDG are presented in terms of certain key indicators identified in the study.

7.2.1 *Equity in education*

According to the literature reviewed, the definition of equity is broad and emphasises equity in opportunity and equity in educational outcome (Berne & Stiefel, 2001; Sayed, 1997; Nieuwenhuis, 2010; UNICEF, 2000; UNESCO; Pigozzi, 2004). In education, equity is thus not only a question of opportunities provided in the educational system, but it is also concerned with the actual results of the various educational choices and performances of different groups of learners in the education system (Berne & Stiefel, 1984; Nieuwenhuis, 2010).

In the definition of equity in education lies a concern that children are different along several dimensions, which has an impact on their need for learning and follow-up in the educational system. If all were alike, equity in education would simply be a question of providing an equal distribution of educational resources to all children. But because children are different, both individually and in the type and amount of resources they require to benefit optimally from education, their individual needs for learning will vary (Hanushek, 2005). What these differences are, and how they may be met by educational policy, are questions that researchers and policymakers need to answer. The World Declaration on Education (UNESCO 2003) defines the principles of equity as:

- An integral part of the school improvement process and applies to all programmes within educational systems.
- Must be viewed as inseparable from quality in the measure of educational excellence.
- A principle which helps an education system to ensure that all children experience the highest levels of academic success possible, economic self-sufficiency, and social mobility.
- A principle that educational environments need to create that honour diversity and respect individualism.

In this study the researcher used the approach of Berne and Stiefel (1984) in analysing the degree to which equity has been achieved in Namibia. The researcher also utilised the Fiske and Ladd (2004) concept of equal opportunity, which shifts the focus solely on the definitions of equity as equal opportunity. The researcher has therefore used their classification of equity as 'horizontal, vertical and equal opportunity' to analyse the provisioning of education to the nomadic Himba and Zemba people. Using this, the researcher found the following:

- The policies developed in Namibia support the notion of horizontal equity. In other words, equity is based on allocating the same level of resources to all schools, irrespective of their unique needs. This is best illustrated by the Teacher Staffing Norms which prescribe that the provision of teachers will be based on the number of learners and available posts. The policy intent was to approach *horizontal equity* to redress the issue of quality education, enhance learning and teaching, and subsequently the provision of quality education. In practice, however, the best teachers are still retained in urban and semi-urban areas, while rural areas are still faced with unqualified and under-qualified staff. Furthermore, such an approach is problematic and has not been successful, because in practice, an equal number of learners in the class and equal learner expenditure did not yield the intended results as learners enrolled in hard-to-staff schools, and mobile units continue to receive unequal education service in terms of quality (see Chapter 4).
- Despite Namibia's government having enacted various important education equity driven policies and strategies, like the education for all and staffing norms, as a step in furthering the goals of equity, one has to examine the assumption, often implicitly made in some of these policies, that there is an essential conflict between efforts at improving equity and those geared towards improving the quality of education for all (Bacchus 1986). As stated in chapter 2, it is obvious that any efforts in achieving equity in education call for additional resources; whether through the allocation of extra funds, or the reallocation of resources between the different education programmes in education sectors to compensate the differences (vertical equity). The notion of vertical equity underlines the 'weighting' policies that provide additional

resources to schools like mobile units that enrol learners from lower income groups, since these children are generally understood to require greater attention to achieve equal performance (Metzler, 2003:8).

Therefore, if children from nomad and pastoralist communities, such as the Himba and Zemba, are to have similar chances in life, the Namibia government needs to treat them differently. This study, however, found that although the principle of vertical equity has been embedded in Namibian education policy and strategies, this notion has never been implemented for a number of reasons. One of the main reasons is that to achieve vertical equity, affirmative action or 'positive discrimination' has to be applied, but because of the sensitivity surrounding notion, it has been left hanging in what Jansen (2002) calls a 'political symbolism.' This is related to Namibia's history of segregation based on ethnic groups, and the unifying function education has to play without favouring any particular group, irrespective of the of their socio-economic status.

- The notion of *equal education opportunity* is based on the principle that all children should have an equal chance to succeed. However, this does not mean providing the same education for every child, irrespective of their different learning needs, but providing opportunities for every child according to his or her ability (Berne & Stiefel, 1984). The issue of equity in education is not only concerned with the provision and utilisation of educational services, but also with learning outcomes. Curriculum material developed for the instruction of children from different backgrounds should be relevant to their own experience and environment. This obviously brings up the question of what counts as 'official' or 'school' knowledge, as opposed to 'public' or 'community' knowledge and their respective claims for a place in the curriculum. But the important point is that the special needs of various groups, such as the marginalised and the nomads, have to be taken into account if the Namibian education system also hopes to achieve more equitable academic outcomes (*equal education opportunity*) in terms of learner performance (see Chapter 2).

Behrman (1997), states that the concept of equity is based on fairness, and most empirical evidence shows that fairness does not require equal per-learner expenditure. The important message from these studies that can support an argument in another

direction is that unequal distribution of resources can be equitable, or fair, when the variation is based on legitimate differences in learner needs. For instance; higher per-learner allocations for learners receiving special education represents an unequal distribution of resources that is considered equitable. Equally, equitable distribution and/or equal educational opportunities means that per-learner expenditure cannot vary across the country solely because of variations in socio-economic status or geographical allocation, but should be based exclusively on learner characteristics and needs (such as learners' needs for compensatory or special education). Furthermore, equity in education is a principle that opens economic and social opportunities, regardless of gender, ethnicity, race or social status.

7.2.2 *Quality in education*

There have been many declarations and conferences held around the globe associated with the development and improvement of the quality of education. The United Nations, for example, in 1948, declared that education is a basic human right. Article 26 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights states:

Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit (quoted in Bishop, 1989, p.1).

The Namibian education policies support the notion of quality in education in relation to broadening access, and to ensure that all primary school age children are in school and receive quality education. The policies not only reflect what a society wants in terms of an educated citizenry, but at a deeper level perhaps, shared visions of what it means to be human.

However, quality does not happen just by producing policy and strategies as a result of external pressure. It is not just about changing curricula, teaching and learning strategies, assessment, structures and roles and responsibilities. Nor does it happen just by setting targets and extolling learners or teachers to do better. It requires an understanding of, and respect for, the different meanings and interpretations people bring to initiatives to improve quality, and work towards developing shared meanings

underpinned by cultural norms that will promote sustainable improvement (Prosser, 1999).

Quality in education can only be assured when all its components are understood from the perspective of the learners themselves, and take into account their individual characteristics, capabilities and goals; as well as being viewed from a local perspective, and reflecting society's unique cultural values, educational priorities and aspirations (UNESCO, 2008).

To relate to the first sub-question, on how the nomadic people in the research group conceptualise the current Namibia education system in terms of its goals and objectives as well as the cultural dimension, the findings of this study generally show that there is overwhelming agreement or recognition about the expansion of access to the provisioning of formal basic primary education. The majority of respondents agree that since independence, there is evidence that access to education has been expanded to primary education age children, as Namibia has more primary school age children in school compared with other SADC member countries, especially when it comes to enrolment rates (see Chapter 3, Figure 3.1).

However, it is the quality of the expanded education that is problematic, and which seems to be limited by various factors such as resource constraints, poor quality teachers, social-economic levels, and other factors associated with background and cultural dimensions. The Namibian statistics continue to show that figures for the increase in number of schools, number of qualified teachers and number of learners are impressive (see Chapter 3, Table 3.1). However, there are several problems and a long way to go to fulfil the political aim, which is good quality education for all Namibian children, including those from marginalised, nomad and pastoralist groups.

Added to this, multi-grade teaching in mobile school units is a labour intensive, and requires more planning, and preparation compared to the conventional or mono-grade teaching. This study found, mobile school teachers are not provided with the necessary skills required to manage and teach multi-grade classes in their respective units. Since, multi-grade teaching in mobile school unit; sufficient planning time, and preparation is required and need to be available in order to meet the needs of both learners and teachers. This is because insufficient planning time, preparation, professional development, materials, support can have negative effects on the success of the multi-

grade teaching in terms of equity and quality of education received by Himba and Zemba children.

In terms of cultural dimensions, children play a key role in the survival of the Himba and Zemba society, by either contributing income or taking care of household chores like looking after animals, elderly and young siblings. This research generally found that there is a mismatch between the government school calendar and the pastoralists' household activities (e.g. herding animals, fetching water, collecting firewood, cooking, caring for young siblings and migration) resulting in some children not being able to go to school. These barriers weigh most heavily on the poorest, marginalised and nomadic communities. The Himba and Zemba parents think that formal schooling does not prepare their children to be better pastoralists and hunters; rather, it motivates them to go to town to seek jobs which are few, and they do not have the requisite knowledge and skills to manage them. As a Himba parent stated:

Curricula and textbooks are often urban-biased, which content is not particularly relevant to the needs of rural people and hardly focuses on the skills needed for improving pastoralist's livelihood. The margin for adopting the curriculum to fit nomads' pastoralists and local learning needs is often too limited.

The problem of the cultural impact and the political intent to improve the lives of nomad and pastoralist communities through formal education can be illustrated by the fact that most of the education provision is conceived, designed and delivered in the mobile schools, and competes with the generation, distribution and reproduction of pastoral specialisation. In so doing it creates a threat to the livelihood of the pastoral household, particularly the more vulnerable groups such as the Himba and Zemba. Overall, the Himba and Zemba parents see the curriculum, as it is presently designed and delivered in the Namibian mobile school units, as undermining their pastoral way of life. As a group of parents put it:

'Formal education is undermining our young people's sense of identity and belonging to their own ethnic group, their understanding of the pastoral way of life as a life of dignity, and their independence'.

What has come out strongly from this study is that there is a casual link between the culture, expressed both within the school environment and within the wider formal education discourse, and the success of education policies for nomads. This brings the researcher to conclude that the success of policies of formal education among nomads and pastoralists, like Himba and Zemba communities in the north west of Namibia, depends more on a contextual understanding of the nomadic culture than on the adoption of a particular strategy or methodology of curriculum delivery. What was found is that Himba and Zemba parents would like their children to be taught the values, norms and customs of their societies to enable them grow as true members of their society; formal education merely prepares children for modern society. Furthermore, they would like their children to be given knowledge and skills of animal husbandry, and a range of management practices to enable their children to stay connected to their communities and environment (Krätli, 2001). Due to the problem of the delivery mode, this has led to low interest in formal schooling, irregular attendance, and a high dropout rate among children from the nomadic and pastoral communities.

The second sub-research-question sought to discover the extent of the current Namibian education policies and strategies for nomadic people; i.e. the educational goals to broaden access and to ensure equity and quality in education. Namibia has ambitious education policies and strategies for marginalised and nomadic pastoralist groups, responding to mobility, sparse population and remoteness obstacles by introducing various alternative education delivery modes, most commonly mobile and boarding schools.

This study found that there are positive results from government efforts, especially when it comes to broadening primary education access to nomadic pastoralist communities. One of the notable strategies is the provisioning of boarding facilities in an effort to enable children from nomadic and pastoralist groups to have access to education. This study, however, found that boarding facilities have little impact on the studied groups because the Himba and Zemba parents do not like the idea of boarding schools, i.e. giving custody of their children, especially the younger ones, to people (teachers) they do not know, to whom they are not related, and whose moral integrity they sometimes doubt (Krätli, 2001).

This concern is about more than the physical separation of children from their families, and includes the loss of their labour in the household economy. This has led to a poor response from Himba and Zemba children, and resulted in non-nomadic children filling

up these spaces. Furthermore, this study found that there are areas that require further research to answer many outstanding questions regarding provisioning of boarding facilities for children from marginalised and nomads groups. Do boarding schools serve their purpose well? Do they succeed in giving equal access opportunities and quality education to the nomadic children? To what extent do these schools alienate the children from their culture and their way of life?

Policy makers and education implementers also need to consider the possibility that the poorer utilisation of educational facilities by these groups might be due to a variety of underlying factors - cultural, economic and educational. These are some of factors that organisational structures in education might have failed to take fully into consideration. It cannot be assumed that this results simply from the lack of appreciation of the value of education by these groups.

In terms of physical access, as stated earlier, the respondents confirmed that there is an improvement in the provision of education for the Himba and Zemba communities. The evidence shows that inequity and disparity continue to persist in the Namibia education system, despite the positive efforts made in this regard. The various sources of disparities would normally have to be tackled together, since they are usually closely inter-linked. The education policy instruments related to equity and quality for marginalised and nomad groups should go beyond the school classrooms to address issues like socio-economic status, poverty in general, learner's different needs, and poor home backgrounds.

In conclusion, this study found that what has taken place in the Namibian education system, in terms of resource allocation between regions and schools, is not sufficiently differentiated in terms of resource allocation between regions and schools, including mobile schools. What it does attempt to do is to equalise and standardise the provision of education resources, despite highly unequal regions, schools and learners with different needs, and differing social circumstances.

The third fundamental question to be answered is whether the current policy mechanisms have succeeded in achieving equity and quality of education for the nomadic pastoralist Himba and Zemba people in the north west of Namibia. Since independence, as stated in the first sub-research-question, Namibia has developed ambitious education policies and long-term strategies like 'Vision 2030', and the

keywords are access, equity and good quality. Vision 2030 is a broad framework for accelerating growth and social equity and improving quality of life. Vision 2030 sets an ambitious goal for Namibia to become a high-income, knowledge-based society with a good quality of life for all. It wants to make Namibia comparable with the developed world.

The current policy strategies have made some impact in the provisioning of equal access to all primary school age children; however, equalising efforts do not make a significant impact on the differential distribution of teachers, based on the different needs. This research considered the effect of Namibia's three key education policies' drivers of equity and quality: the Standard Teaching Staffing Norms 2001, the Educationally Marginalised Children Policy of 2000, and Education for All 'White Paper' (1993). The three key education policies' primary goals and objectives are to promote equity and quality across regions and equal ratios of learners to educators across schools. Namibia has utilised a concept of distributional equity, focusing only on the equalisation of resources model.

In the scrutiny of teaching staffing norms policy, it is clear that there are two main streams of objectives converging in this document: first, to unify learner and teacher ratios of one teacher to 35 learners for primary and one teacher for 30 learners in secondary at all schools across the country. The second, to eliminate the inherited imbalances in service delivery by promoting equal education opportunities among regions and schools; particularly to address the issue of inequitable distribution of educators across the country by re-allocating teachers according to teacher: learner norms.

The evidence shows that the policy in question is mainly driven by budgetary constraints, without consideration of other important factors. For example, the terms 'teacher distribution' used in the policy include school principals and heads of departments, who are often not in the classroom all the time. The study argues that staffing norms only redistribute quantities (number of teachers) but not quality (qualification and experience), and therefore schools and regions endowed with better qualified and experienced teachers will continue to get a much higher per capita allocation (see Chapter 3).

In measuring the effect and impact of this policy on the Namibian education system, especially at mobile school level, it is clear the intended goals and objectives have had a smaller impact in addressing persisting disparities of equity and quality in education in terms of provisioning human resources, especially in the previously disadvantaged regions like Kunene where nomads pastoralist groups are to be found. The intended aim was not to differentiate the distribution of human resources, but rather the equalisation and standardisation of resource allocation between and within regions. What it does rather, is promote equalisation and standardisation of education resources despite highly unequal regions, schools and learners with different needs and social circumstances. This study found that the intended aims of the teacher staffing norms policy in equalising the allocation of teachers among schools does not necessarily result in equalising educational outcomes. Equally, equalising the allocation of teachers among schools is not enough, especially in mobile school units, as there are numerous factors that need to be considered, like social economic and cultural dimensions which hamper the policy implementation.

The second key policy document is *educationally marginalised children policy*, aimed at addressing bottlenecks and obstacles that prevent primary school age children from marginalised and nomad communities to attend formal basic education. The study generally found that the policy's intended objective has been partly achieved in terms of expanding access to nomadic pastoralist groups, but the quality of education that these children receive is a matter of concern. This study found that expanding the provision of schooling to nomadic Himba and Zemba children does not translate into quality schooling. The study found that education enrolments and attainment in Namibia are significantly influenced by disparities in the distribution of resources such as qualified teachers, teacher-learner ratios, and access to basic services such as water, electricity and communication, especially in mobile schools.

The third key policy document is the 1993 White Paper, known as 'Toward education for all' which embodies the principle of redressing imbalance between regions and within regions, using per capita expenditure. The policy state that, 'to reduce (redress) the inequalities of the past will require affirmative action in the processes' (Ibid:108). The policy continues to emphasise that to achieve equity, there is a need to pursue policies that treat different groups of children in different ways. Virtually all equity and quality enhancement efforts outlined in this policy will be in vain unless the Namibian government develops implementation strategies and plan to support this endeavour.

From a policy perspective, it is clear that the limited success of these key three equity driven policy documents' notion of 'redress[ing] imbalance in order to achieve equity and quality in education has not been achieved. What this study found is that since these key policy documents have been enacted, their impact has not been significant, especially when it comes to equity and quality education among those who are most disadvantaged. It is clear that the real issue is the resource allocation. For example, since independence in 1990, the Namibian government continues to allocate its education resources on an incremental basis, instead of allocating resources based on the learners' different needs. What is missing in the Namibian education system is an equalisation mechanism or strategy that can address the current disparities between schools, especially in mobile school units because of their different needs. Currently, the Namibian government only employs horizontal equity, contrary to the policy of toward education for all's broad goals (access, equity, quality democracy).

In terms of quality, as has been shown; Namibian learners continue to perform poorly in international comparisons of learner reading competency and mathematics. The World Bank study conducted by Marope (2005) on 'Human Capital and Knowledge Development for Economic Growth with Equity' argues that the current Namibian education polices and strategies would not deliver on the expectation of Vision 2030, particularly in terms of quality, equity, relevance and responsiveness to HIV and AIDS (Chapter 3).

According to the World Bank study, in substantive terms, Namibia is much further from attaining the MDGs and EFA goals than it seems (Marope, 2005). A high proportion of children enrol and complete primary education, but the majority of them do not have the foundation skills and competencies they should have acquired. A SACMEQ III survey of student reading skills and mathematics also confirmed these findings. The UNESCO study also found that two thirds of Grade 6 Namibian learners could not read with any level of competency. Only 7.6% of Grade 6 learners had the desirable level of reading skills, while 25.9% had minimum reading skills (UNESCO, 2001). The findings of this study tend to reaffirm these findings of persisting disparities in the Namibian education system in terms of equity and quality, especially among the nomadic pastoralist Himba and Zemba peoples.

It became visibly clear in this study that the current Namibia mobile education programme has not, and probably may not close the existing gap with the nomadic population in terms of equity, and quality education in the foreseeable future. The

challenges posed by the provisioning education to children from nomadic populations in developing countries like Namibia cannot be dealt with as part of the national education programme. Including nomads in EFA requires a dedicated framework with a specific focus and a specific set of competencies.

The last research sub-question was whether there are policy options that could be considered to address shortcomings in equity and quality in education among nomadic pastoralist groups. Drawing from general findings and from participants' views, policy option strategies are needed that can provide flexibility in terms of education delivery mode, compatible with nomad pastoralist peoples' way of life and their aspirations. The findings, supported by previous works of authors such as Kratli (2001), Bishop (1989), Arero (2005), Kasunga (1994) and others, show that provision of education for nomad and pastoralist groups should be flexible, multi-faceted and focused enough to target specific structural problems such as social and economic marginalisation, the lack of political representation, and must interact successfully with the new challenges brought about by globalization.

Mere expansion of formal education provision, based on a model of what works in urban situations, is not enough to ensure equity and quality education for all primary school age children, especially those from nomadic and pastoralist groups. Limited provision of static schooling, or projects which have focused on getting nomadic children to adapt to the formal system, have failed in some cases. Appropriate modifications, such as adjusting the school calendar to ensure appropriate timing, or adapting the curriculum to ensure its relevance and accommodating children from different backgrounds are necessary.

It is clear that to eradicate enduring historical inequalities, additional resources should be provided to schools that fail to meet the resource input norms; even after applying normative financing. This can only be done if normative per capita financing and a fair and transparent funding formula have been developed. This will enable schools like the mobile school units to acquire resources that meet the unique needs of the learners they serve.

Revised staffing norms and agreed quality and learning targets should be used as a basis to develop strategies and procedures on how to implement new norms. The revised norms should be comprehensive enough to include the holistic provisioning of educational resource inputs: classrooms and other physical facilities, textbooks and instructional materials, appropriate curricula, qualified and competent teachers, other professional cadre, etc.; and processes such as school management, accountability measures, pedagogy, system assessment and others that are required to achieve set quality and learning targets. Procedures should be developed for enforcing the norms.

Added to this, if equity and quality in education among nomadic pastoralist groups are to be achieved, then policy makers and implementers have to be prepared to be more flexible in the kind of practices and organisational structures which they develop in order to provide education, especially for these marginalised groups. In doing this they would need to take into consideration more fully the lifestyles and constraints which these groups face in their efforts to send their children to school. Indeed there are administrators who are increasingly aware of the importance of such flexibility in their efforts to achieve equity; not only in the provision but also in the utilisation of educational services. But these are far too few in number.

7.3. Findings related to the culture/education interface

On the basis of the data presented for this case study of mobile schools in the Kunene region, and the analysis thereof, it is important to include the following observations regarding the culture/education interface:

- Economic and development thinking of the Himba and Zemba are not aligned with that of Western or modernised communities. The popular educational discourse that informs UNESCO, the World Bank and other agencies does not resonate with the realities of people dependent on a subsistence economy. Wealth is not found in education, but in the number of cattle that one owns.
- The harsh realities of community life resulted in the Himba and Zemba people adopting a survival mode of existence, aimed at satisfying the basic needs of its members. Taking care of cattle and livestock is a first priority

and therefore the clan needs to move anytime when it is needed to find better grazing for their animals. A permanent settlement, as is understood in western terms, does not exist and mobile schools have evolved where some now need to take care of the children who use the tent as a dormitory.

- Children's first responsibility is towards the family and the herding of livestock, and this is not regarded as child labour in the nomadic pastoralist Himba and Zemba society.
- Early marriage of the girl child is encouraged in their culture, and once married, the girl child exits schooling, due to early pregnancy; thus limiting her literacy.
- Parents do not appreciate the value of modern education but tend to regard education as an externality, and simply rotate their children so that the teacher will have some children to teach and can get a salary.
- The culture and the curriculum prescribed often stand in direct opposition. For example, aspects related to hygiene and sex education cannot be taught at school as it is prohibited by their culture, and teachers of Himba origin simply ignore those aspects of the curriculum.
- The Himba and Zemba parents are aware of the importance of formal schooling as it provides the literacy needed in modern times; nevertheless they strongly believe that the content of the curriculum is too foreign for the pastoralists.
- It teaches the value of sitting in offices behind desks, rather than the value of the land and animals.
- The cultural demands and the need for mother tongue instruction as legislated necessitate that only a member of the Himba and Zemba culture may teach Himba and Zemba children. Given the low levels of education

attained by the majority of the group, teachers are recruited from local people with only a Grade 10 or 12.

- The Himba and Zemba communities, whose main focus is animal production as their source of income in dry land conditions, allow their children to attend school, but this has three direct and indirect negative effects:
 - Firstly, the clan/household - the production team has to be split in a way that is functional for school attendance but not for the running of a family enterprise.
 - Secondly, herd management and livestock mobility patterns have to be modified in ways that impact on their productivity, and ultimately on the reliability of the production system.
 - Thirdly, some, but not all, the children in the family will be enrolled in school, as this will prevent them from being part of the production team (Krätli, 2008). This limits the chances of success of both formal education and animal production, and to make matters worse, when children don't succeed through schooling they often become equally hard to employ in the livestock economy because they have not been part of the livestock production team (Arero, 2005).

7.4. Contribution of this study to knowledge production

The study has tried to respond to the main research question as to whether Namibian policies related to equity and quality in education that include monadic pastoralist people living in the country have achieved their goals. This study aimed to clarify the specific application of equity in quality in education in the Namibian context. In doing so, it contributed to the body of knowledge about equity in developing countries which share similar circumstances.

This research study found that the Namibian education policies have partly achieved the goal of access to basic primary education, as most of its primary school age learners are in school. The study also found that the objective of equalisation and standardisation of education resources partly has been achieved, especially among conventional government schools. There has been significant improvement in the equalisation to learner: teacher ratios across government schools, especially visible in

previous disadvantaged regions and schools.

However, learners in rural and remote schools or hard-to-staff schools, including mobile units, have not benefited much from such equalisation and continue to attend schools with learner: teacher ratios of 45.1 and above. The study agrees with Hanushek (1997) and Case and Deaton (1999) that high learner: teacher ratios, coupled with socio-economic disadvantages, are likely to erode equity and affect quality learning negatively.

The study found, however, that policies in Namibia are developed with the notion of education for all, and guidelines are designed for sedentary groups, although implementation occurs in different contexts. Implementation of policies has to be achieved in conditions that are not conducive to policy implementation (i.e. poorly trained and/or unqualified teachers; high learner-teacher ratios; insufficient textbooks, learning and teaching materials and resources; poor physical facilities, etc.). The researcher concluded that the design of education policies in Namibia does not take into account the context of its implementation. The implementation process is characterised by the above-mentioned challenges, including the problems of policy coherence which affect the implementation process.

Added to this, the current Namibian education policies that are aimed at nomadic groups like 'Policy Options for Educationally Marginalised Children' and 'Toward Education for All' have little to offer in terms of policy changes specifically formulated for Namibia's marginalised and pastoralists' children. These policies do not go far enough to sufficiently address the unique and different needs of children in the arid areas, over and above those faced by the sector as a whole. Nomads and pastoralists are expected to conform in order to access quality educational services. However, treating the regions like Kunene, and its nomadic people that live there, as if they are the same as the rest of the country, is not an effective way of addressing decades-old disparities of inequity in education.

Furthermore, it appears that there is a lack of understanding in Namibian policy circles of the realities of equity and quality education in nomads and pastoralist arid areas, partly because data on these groups is scarce. The relative reluctance apparent in Namibian education policy and practices to address the specific challenges of equity and quality educational service provision for nomads and pastoralists is also related to

Namibia's past and current national ethos of de-emphasising differences and promoting conformity, and the Namibian government's agenda with respect to pastoralism.

In terms of the notion of *equity and quality* in education, these principles have to be addressed in totality. Nomad pastoralist parents, community members and leaders interviewed want their children to be educated, contrary to prevalent beliefs that they are not interested in formal education. Their hope, however, is that culturally appropriate and alternative education for their children would address the poor performance and dropout problems prevalent in the mobile school units. However, these groups want assurance that the alternatives to education delivery modes like mobile schooling will bring their children to the same academic standards as the other non-nomadic groups in the modern global world.

Quality education output can be achieved only if quality is ensured at each level of the educational process; from standards, learning enrolment, teacher training, and learner: teacher ratio, adequate learning and teaching materials and other conditions that provide a conducive environment for learners and teachers.

In terms of finance, a number of studies (IIEP, 2005; Ibrahim, 2004; Kratli, 2001) have cited that mobile schools by nature are expensive to resource and manage. For example, although capital construction and materials costs are minimal, the level of effort, operational costs like transport and human resources are higher in the long run. In Namibia, for example, the Ondao Mobile School is the largest school in the country with more than 2 105 learners dispersed over 45 mobile units in the Kunene region, and is one of the most expensive schools in the country. Yet learner/teacher ratios are considerably lower than the national average.

In 2008, the NAMAS financial assistance to the Namibia mobile school programme came to an end and the mobile school units were taken over by the Ministry of Education. The study found that the financial and logistical implications of the mobile schools are totally different from those of conventional schools, and the Ministry has not made sufficient arrangements to carry on with the costs incurred by the mobile schools. Some of these factors that were integral to the success of the project involved the availability of good condition vehicles to regularly visit and supervise the mobile school units, the availability of radio contact with the units, and decision-making structures (in the form of a steering committee) close to the beneficiaries to expedite decisions

regarding the management of units (e.g. the appointment of educators, opening of new mobile school units or the closing of units).

At the time of this research, there was only one vehicle used by five Ondao Mobile School Managers (1 Principal and 4 Head of Departments), none of the units had basic facilities like toilets, telephone, electricity and water. Added to this, it is more or less impossible to maintain any Government services in the Kunene region without a reliable source of transport. It is impossible to provide education to the community at Otjinungwa, for example, about 300 kilometres from Opuwo, the capital city of Kunene region, unless there is a reliable form of transport which can freight food, fuel and school books, learning and teaching materials to the mobile units and which can allow the teachers to travel to Opuwo to cash their pay and to attend training sessions.

7.5. Conclusion

Education is an essential human right that every child is entitled to. It is crucial to society that every child has the developmental skills that are taught through education. This assists individuals in paving the way to a successful future. It is society's responsibility to ensure that children have access to quality education in respect of race, gender, social class, etc. The importance of education is clear to people all over the world. Without education, one can't use the knowledge of each individual's potential to maximum use.

It is obvious that an illiterate human being will most likely not be able to use his or her maximum intelligence till he or she is educated. The training of a child's mind is not complete without an education. Through an education, one is enabled to receive information from the outside world. One learns the past history and all the information regarding the present. A good example is that without an education, one is like a closed book, and with an education one finds one can open a book with several readers and views from the outside world (Kratli & Dyer, 2009).

In the researcher's view, it is the dominance of the schooling-based system and national curriculum that contribute to the persistence of poor records of ensuring that marginalised and pastoralists can access good quality education where ever they are. Both the structure and the culture of the schooling-based system have so far offered education as an alternative to pastoralism and have been locked into the 'classroom'

model of teaching (Kratli, 2010). For children in pastoralism, schooling-based provision raises an unnecessary barrier to learning as it does not match their lifestyle of mobility.

The message coming loud and clear from the nomad pastoralist Himba and Zemba themselves is a demand for a formal education – in the sense of equal status with school education – capable of complementing pastoralism and adding further opportunities to the pastoral livelihood, rather than trying to replace it altogether or undermining it by virtue of its fundamental requirements. At the moment there is no service supply to match this kind of demand.

Educational provision for nomads and pastoralist groups must be oriented towards animal keeping (veterinary) which is the major economic activity, as well as a symbol of social status in the pastoral and mobile communities. In this regard, there is a need to design an educational package and an educational process catering for these communities: theoretical and mainly practical training in animal husbandry, improved grazing methods, and better veterinary services, as well as the special needs of livestock keepers (Ndagala, 1994; Prime Minister and First Vice-President's Office, 1990). Teachers involved should receive special training to enable them to understand pastoral livelihoods, resource tenure and management procedures, as well as the pastoral indigenous knowledge (Drabner, 1991, quoted by Mlkwa 1996).

Changes in policy and practice are essential if education is to reduce poverty in nomads and pastoralist groups in Namibia. Those formulating educational policies in Namibia need to do the following:

- Re-evaluate their agendas concerning pastoralism in order to put into action the Namibian government's commitment to recognise pastoralism as a sustainable livelihood, in realisation of the National Vision 2030 of a knowledge-based society and industrial nation by 2030.
- Acknowledge and face up to the special challenges of promoting equity and improving quality basic education to pastoralist areas and/or population.
- Be aware of the reality of the situation in which policies are being implemented.

From this study, one can learn that there is a need for more research related to policy development and practice for nomadic pastoralist groups in particular. Furthermore, one can learn that there is a need to do more research on a large scale related to policy and practice in order to gain more insight about the issues related to the persisting inequity and disparity in education among marginalised and nomad and pastoralist groups, as well as to generalise the outcomes.

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ANNEXURES

Annexure A: Interview schedule for mobile school teachers

Research Title: Exploring the issues of education equity and quality in developing country context: A case study of Namibia

Date & time	
Teacher participants	
<p>I am doing research about how quality and equity in education could be achieved for nomadic people living in a developing country context where socio-economic and cultural factors mitigate against the provisioning of education, a case study of Kunene Region, Namibia. In this research I will be asking you to tell me about your experiences teaching in mobile schools, aspirations and expectations regarding educational provisioning among your community. I will ask you additional questions to help me better understand your experiences, aspirations and expectations about equity and quality in education provisioning. The research will help me to understand better the success of the mobile school programme and specific challenges pertaining to equity and quality as well as teaching in mobile school.</p>	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tell me about your experiences teaching in mobile school? (Note specific aspects that need to be followed up in future interviews) 2. What resources and facilities do you have at your disposal in the mobile school? 3. Do you think these resources are adequate? (Probe in terms of specific needs) 4. How often do your school move, and when was the last time that it moved? 5. Tell me about the last time the school had to move. What influence did it had on your teaching programme (Probe to get a complete picture of the impact that it had on teaching and learning) 6. When the community move, do they inform you where they are going? 7. Do you visit the new area before the community move in? 8. Who takes responsibility for moving the school facilities to the next location? 9. How do you move the school and educational resources physically? 10. Is there anything else that you would like to share with me about the relocation of the school? <p><i>Interview 2:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 11. Tell me about a normal school day for your school. At what time do your classes normally start? (Probe in terms of culture and customs e.g. herding of cattle that may impact on the starting time) 	



ANNEXURE A

12. Do you follow the normal curriculum and government school calendar; in terms of school terms, school holidays and starting time?
13. How many learners do you have in your schools and in which grades are they?
14. Do you have normal classes or multi-grade teaching? And if so, how to you approach multi-grade teaching?
15. What problems do you encounter teaching learners from different grades in the same class?
16. Do you have the necessary learning support material available for the different grades?
17. Tell me about learners' home work? (Probe where and when do they do it and support from parents)
18. Are there anything else that you would like to share with me about the teaching and learning of learners in mobile schools?

Interview 3:

19. Based on your experience with teaching in a mobile school, how would you describe parents' aspirations and expectations regarding the teaching of their children?
20. Are parents supportive of the school (probe in terms of the type of support or their specific expectations)
21. Do parents visit the school (how often and why?)
22. Do learners/parents pay school development fund?
23. What challenges do mobile schools pose in terms of educational provision among the nomadic community?
24. Where do you stay/live during the school term?
25. What facilities and resources do you have at your disposal to plan for your lessons
26. Tell me about some of the cultural practices and customs that may have an influence on your teaching and learning (Probe for specific examples like initiation)
27. Where do your learners go after completing their higher grade e.g. grad 4 or 7?
28. In your view, how could equity and quality in education provisioning best be improved that would benefit nomadic people?
29. Are there anything else that you would like to share with me about equity and quality in education provisioning among nomadic communities?

Annexure B: Interview schedule for community members and leaders

Research Title: Exploring the issues of education equity and quality in developing country context: A case study of Namibia

<i>Date & time</i>	
Community members and Leaders	
<p>I am doing research about how quality and equity in education could be achieved for nomadic people living in a developing country context. I would like to understand how socio-economic and cultural factors influence the provisioning of education in the Kunene Region, Namibia. In this research I will be asking you to tell me about your experiences with mobile schools, about your aspirations and expectations regarding educational provisioning among your community. The research will help me better understand the use of mobile schools and specific challenges pertaining to equity and quality as well as teaching in a mobile school.</p>	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tell me about your experiences with the mobile school that serves your children? (Note specific aspects that need to be followed up in future interviews) 2. Do you know what resources and facilities are available in the mobile school? 3. Do you think these resources are adequate? (Probe in terms of specific needs) 4. How often does your community move to new grazing, and when was the last time that it moved? Did the school follow you? 5. Who decides that it is time for the community to move? Where and when is this decision taken? 6. Do you visit the new area before the community moves in? 7. Tell me about the last time the community had to move. What influence did it had on the teaching and learning of the children? (Probe to get a complete picture of the impact that it had on teaching and learning) 8. When the community move, do you tell the school where you are going? 9. Who takes responsibility for moving the school facilities to the next location? 10. Is there anything else that you would like to share with me about the relocation of the school? <p><i>Interview 2:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 11. Tell me about a normal day in the lives of the community. What do men and women do? (Probe in terms of culture and customs that may affect children e.g. herding of cattle) 12. Tell me about your child's education. What do you expect the school to teach the children? Is this taught at school? 	



ANNEXURE B

13. Who should teach your children? (Probe in terms of the ethnic and cultural background of the teacher and qualifications)
14. Are parents in the community generally supportive of the school (probe in terms of the type of support or their specific expectations)
15. Do you sometimes visit the school (how often and why?)
16. Do you have to pay school development fund?
17. Tell me about your child's home work? (Probe where and when do they do it and support from parents)
18. Where do your children go after completing higher grade e.g. grade 4 or 7)?
19. Are there anything else that you would like to share with me about community life and your expectations regarding teaching in mobile schools?

Interview 3:

20. In your view, how can mobile schools be improved to best serve the needs of your people who normally move from one place to another (nomadic people)?
21. Do you ever meet officials from the education department other than the teacher? (Who, when and why?)
22. Do you think that your community's needs are adequately catered for by means of the mobile school? (What else could be done?)
23. Do you think that teachers should understand your culture or should be from your own group? (Why or why not?)
24. How would you describe the ideal teacher for your children?
25. How would you describe the ideal school for your children?
26. Are there anything else that you would like to share with me about equity and quality in education provisioning among nomadic communities?

Annexure C: Interview schedule for nomadic learners/Children

Research Title: Exploring the issues of education equity and quality in developing country context: A case study of Namibia

<i>Date & time</i>		
Nomadic learners/Children		
<p>I am doing research about how quality and equity in education could be achieved for nomadic people living in a developing country context. I would like to understand how socio-economic and cultural factors influence the provisioning of education in the Kunene Region, Namibia. In this research I'm asking people old and young to tell me about their experiences with mobile schools, about their aspirations and expectations regarding educational provisioning among their communities. The answers will help me better to understand the use of mobile schools and specific challenges pertaining to equity and quality as well as teaching learning in a mobile school.</p>		
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tell me if you enjoy your education (at your mobile schools)? (Note specific aspects that need to be followed up in future informal question) 2. Are you happy with the education system (Ondao Mobile school)? 3. Do your school have adequate resources (i.e. textbooks & learning materials, table/chairs, etc)? (Probe in terms of specific needs? 4. Do you or your parents pay school development fund, and how much? 5. Tell me about your home work? (Probe where and when do they do it and support from parents) 6. Do you remember how often does your community move to new grazing, and when was the last time that it moved? Did the school follow you? 7. Do you move with your parents of do you remind behind to continue with your schooling? 8. When is the last time do your community move, do your parents or yourselves tell your teacher where you are going? 9. Is there anything else that you would like to share with me about helping your parents at home before or after your classes? 10. Are there anything else that you would like to share with me about community life and your expectations regarding teaching in mobile schools? <p><i>Informal questions 2:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 11. In your view, how can mobile schools be improved to best serve the needs of your people who normally move from one place to another (nomadic people)? 12. Do you ever meet officials from the Regional education Office other than your teacher? (Who, when and why?) 		



ANNEXURE C

<p>13. Do you think that teachers should understand your culture or should be from your own group? (Why or why not?)</p> <p>14. How would you describe the ideal future of your school ?</p> <p>15. Where do you go after completing your higher grade e.g. grad 4 or 7?</p> <p>16. In your view, how could equity and quality in education provisioning best be improved that would benefit nomadic community?</p> <p>17. Are there anything else that you would like to share with me about equity and quality in education provisioning among nomadic communities?</p>	
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Annexure D: Interview schedule for Educators

Research Title: Exploring the issues of education equity in developing country context: A case study of Namibia

<i>Date & time</i>		
Educator Participants		
	<p>I am doing research about how quality and equity in education could be achieved for nomadic people living in a developing country context where socio-economic and cultural factors mitigate against the provisioning of education, a case study of Kunene Region, Namibia. In this research I will be asking you to tell me about your experiences as a manager/principal/Head of Department of Ondao Mobile Schools and what challenges posed by the mobile schools, in terms of equity and quality in education provisioning as well as resourcing, and staffing. I will ask you additional questions to help me to understand better your experiences, aspirations and expectations about equity and quality in education provisioning. The reason I want you to explain in more details about your experiences and expectations regarding equity and quality in education provisioning in your mobile schools as well as in general will help me better understand the achievement of mobile school programme and challenges pertaining to equity and quality as well as managing, resourcing mobile school.</p>	
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How many mobile schools you are managing? 2. What would you regard as the achievements made by mobile schools? 3. Tell me about the challenges posed by the mobile schools, in terms of equity and quality in education (probe in terms of provisioning as well as resourcing, and staffing). 4. How often do they move from one location to the next? (Probe if they move more than once every year or only some years and the reasons, and determine when it last moved?) 5. When the community move, do they inform the school teacher or your office where they are going? 6. Does the movement of community interrupt the teaching and learning? (Probe for how long and the teaching time lost during resettlement) 7. Does the school teacher or your office visit the new area before the community move in? 8. Do the mobile schools follow the normal government school calendar: in terms of school terms, school holidays and starting time? 9. Normally, at what time does the school day start? 10. Where do the learners go after completing their higher grades (e.g. grade 4 or 7)? 11. Do learners/parents pay school development fund 12. In your view, how could equity and quality in education provisioning best be improved that would benefit nomadic people? 13. Are there anything else that you would like to share with me about equity and quality in education provisioning among nomadic communities? 	



Annexure E: Letter from the Permanent Secretary of Education

ANNEXURE E

The Permanent Secretary
Ministry of Education
Luther Street
Government Office Park
Private Bag 13186
WINDHOEK

From: Onesmus Hailombe
P. O. Box 6990
Windhoek
NAMIBIA
Tel: (+264) 61 23 9975
Cell: (+264) 81 260 4799

REQUEST TO OBTAIN AUTHORISATION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE
EDUCATION AND TRAINING SECTOR FOR DOCTORAL STUDIES

I am studying towards a Ph.D in Educational Policy Studies at the University of Pretoria. With reference to the above-mentioned matter, this letter seeks to obtain authorisation from the Permanent Secretary of Education to conduct a research study in the Kunene Region. My area of investigation is **“How equity and equality in education could be achieved for nomadic people living in a developing country context where socio-economic and cultural factors mitigate against the provisioning of education”**. The focus of my study is to explore the issues of education equity and equal education opportunity in developing countries in the context of Namibia, focusing on the Kunene Region.

As part of the research I need to collect data from mobile schools in the Kunene region. The data collection in three Ondao mobile schools will involve semi-structured interviews of teachers, observing classrooms, and documentation analysis. The results of the research will inform both policy and practice. During the period of the research, I commit myself to be ethical and professional.

I therefore seek the Permanent Secretary’s authorisation to collect data in the Education and Training Sector as part of my doctoral studies.

Yours sincerely

 01/06/2009
O H Hailombe
Senior Education Planner: PAD

Authorisation granted/~~Not granted~~


I. V. Ankama
Permanent Secretary: Ministry Of Education





Annexure F: Letter signed by the Director of Education

ANNEXURE F

From: Onesmus Hailombe
 P. O. Box 6990
 Windhoek
Tel: (+264) 61 293 3331 w
Tel: (+264) 61 23 9975 h
Fax: (+264) 61 293 3933
Cell: (+264) 81 260 4799

The Regional Director of Education
 Kunene region
 Private Bag 3034
 OPLUWO

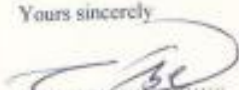
PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN MOBILE SCHOOLS IN THE KUNENE REGION

I'm a Senior Education Planner in the Directorate of Planning and Development, in the Ministry of Education. I am studying towards a PhD, in Educational Policy Studies at the University of Pretoria. With reference to the above-mentioned matter, this letter seeks to obtain permission from the Director of Education, Kunene Region to conduct a research study in the Kunene Region. My area of investigation is "**How equity and equality in education could be achieved for nomadic people living in a developing country context where socio-economic and cultural factors mitigate against the provisioning of education**". The focus of my study is to explore the issues of education equity and equal education opportunity in developing countries in the context of Namibia, focusing on the Kunene Region.

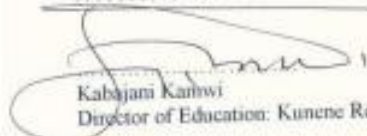
Kindly be informed that I have obtained permission from the Permanent Secretary of Education to conduct a research study among mobile schools for my private studies i.e. Doctoral Degree (*see attached Authorisation letter*).

As part of the research I need to collect data from mobile schools in the Kunene region and the results of the research will inform both policy and practice. The data collection in three mobile schools will involve semi-structured interviews of teachers, observing classrooms, and documentation analysis. Apart from the schools, semi-structured interviews of education officials (Director of Education for Kunene Region, Principal, and Heads of Department for Ondao Mobile School) will be conducted. During the period of the research, I commit myself to be ethical and professional.

I therefore seek your permission to collect data from Ondao mobile schools in your region as part of my doctoral studies.

Thank you,
 Yours sincerely
 08/06/2009
 O H Hailombe
 Researcher student: Education Management and Policy Studies

Permission granted/Not-granted
unconditionally


 Kabajani Karhwi
 Director of Education: Kunene Region

Annexure G: Letter signed by the Ondao Mobile School Principal

ANNEXURE G

The Principal
Ondao Mobile School
P. O. Box 51
OPUWO

From Onesmus Hailombe
P. O. Box 6990
Windhoek
NAMIBIA
Tel: (+264) 61 23 9975
Sell: (+264) 81 260 4799

Kindly be informed that I have obtained a written permission from the Permanent Secretary of Education and the Director of Education, Kunene region to conduct a research for my private studies i.e. Doctoral Degree. The focus of my study is "How equity and equality in education could be achieved for nomadic people living in a developing country context where socio-economic and cultural factors mitigate against the provisioning of education". The focus of my study is to explore the issues of education equity and quality in developing countries in the context of Namibia, focusing on the Kunene Region.

As part of the research I need to collect data from three mobile schools and the results of the research will inform both policy and practice. The data collection in the three mobile schools will involve semi-structured interviews of teachers, observing classrooms, and documentation analysis. Apart from the schools, semi-structured interviews of education officials (Director of Education for Kunene region, principal, and Heads of Department for Ondao School) will be conducted. During period of the research, I commit myself to be ethical and professional.

I therefore seek your consent to collect data from your three mobile schools which will random stratified selection as part of my doctoral studies.



O H Hailombe

Researcher student: Education Policy Studies

CONSENT GRANTED/NOT GRANTED



Amon M'Kapi
Principal: Ondao School



Annexure H: Ethics clearance certificate



UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
FACULTY OF EDUCATION
RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

DEGREE AND PROJECT

INVESTIGATOR(S)

DEPARTMENT

DATE CONSIDERED

DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE

CLEARANCE NUMBER :

EM 09/07/02

PhD

Education equity in Namibia: A case study of Mobile schools in the Kunene region

Onesmus Hailombe

Education Management and Policy studies

17 May 2011

APPROVED

Please note:

For Masters applications, ethical clearance is valid for 2 years

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

CHAIRPERSON OF ETHICS COMMITTEE Prof L Ebersohn

DATE

17 May 2011

CC

Jeannie Beukes
Prof Jan Nieuwenhuis

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

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

Please quote the clearance number in all enquiries.

Annexure I: Letter of consent from the researcher to participants

ANNEXURE I



Faculty of Education/Fakulteit Opvoedkunde
Department of Education Management and Policy
Studies/Departement Onderwysbestuur en Beleidstudies
Enquiries: Prof Jan Nieuwenhuis
Tel: 012 4202842

Dear Sir/Madam

Research Title: Exploring the issues of education equity and quality in Namibia: A case study of Mobile School in the Kunene Region

Researcher: Mr O Hailombe

Supervisor: Prof FJ Nieuwenhuis

I am doing research about how equality and equity in education could be achieved for nomadic people living in a developing country context where socio-economic and cultural factors mitigate against the provisioning of education, a case study of Kunene Region, Namibia. In this research I will be asking you to tell me about your experiences as a Head of Department of Ondao Mobile Schools and what challenges are posed by the mobile schools, in terms of equity and equality in education provisioning as well as resourcing, and staffing. I will ask you additional questions to help me better understand your experiences, aspirations and expectations about equity and quality in education provisioning. The information provided will help me to better understand the achievements of the mobile school programme and the challenges pertaining to equity and quality as well as managing, resourcing of mobile schools.

If you do not want to take part in the research I will not be upset or be disappointed. Know that whatever we talk about will be kept private, meaning no one, not even your mobile school teachers, other HOD or someone in your workplace will know what we talked about. I will not even use your name in my research report, as you will be given a code for the purpose of avoiding revealing identities. It is also critically important to know that, I can assure you that there are no known risks and discomforts with this study.

If you agree to take part in this research but later change your mind, you are most welcome to tell me so and I will not be upset with you because I will not force you to do something that you don't want to do. If you agree, during my conversations with you, I would like to use a tape recorder to record our conversations.

(a) If you agree to be part of this research, please tick Yes/No in the box and write date below:

Yes/NO: Date _____

Name of researcher (*optional*) _____ Signature _____ Date _____

(b) If you agree to have our conversations tape recorded please tick Yes/No in the box and write date below:

Yes/NO: Date _____

Name of researcher _____ Signature _____ Date _____



Annexure J: Letter of consent from the researcher to community members and leaders (translated into Otjiherero)

ANNEXURE I



Faculty of Education/Fakulteit Opvoedkunde
Department of Education Management and Policy
Studies/Departement Onderwysbestuur en Beleidstudies
Enquiries: Prof Jan Nieuwenhuis
Tel: 012 4202842

Omunene/Okanepe kotjiuana/Kovanatje votjiskole Yondao Mobile (*Translated in Otjiherero*)

Ena rongondoneno: Omatarero koviune vyo matekisiro pamwe yo mahongero momahi omekure:
Ongondoneno mo Namibia.

Omukondonone: Omutengua Onesmus Hailombe

Omumutjevere: Onongo FJ Nieuwenhuis

Ami me kondonona omiano vyo matekisiro pamwe mo maandjero womahongero kovandu mbe hahandura poruveze rumwe momahi omeritunge, ozongaro no vitjitwa vyo muhoko puvu kuramena omaandjero wo mahongero momurungu. Mongondoneno indji ami mekuningire kutja undjiraere otja kondjiviro yoye otjo munene poo otjo kanepo kotjiwana ohunga no zondando no ma undjireko woye ohunga nomaandjero womahongero motjiuana itji. Ami wina metara ko maandjero wombatero no makutiro wozomitiri. Ami wina mekupura omapuriro warwe ngumayenene okundjizuvisa nawa ohunga no ndjiviro yoye, ozondando no maundjiroko woye ohunga no matekisiro pamwe wo maandjero womahongero. Ondjiviro ndjiwendjipe indji mai ndjivatero kutja mbizuve nawa ohunga nozondoneno zorutuu rovitjitwa vyo zoskole inda no matokero nga tjama nomatekisiro pamwe, no ndengu nawina omananeno no maandjero wombatero kozoskole inda.

Nu tjiuhena okuvanga okukara norupa mongondoneno indji ami hina kukara nomuihamwatima. Nu imbi mbi matuhungure imba mavirire oviundikwa vyetu, nu kapena omundu warwe ngu makazuva ohunga ne hungi retu. Na ndarire ounepe we tundu roye, poo ovature vapuna ove kanaa vetjiwa ohunga nehungi retu. Hina kuungurisa ena roye mo rutuu rongondoneno indji. Me ungurisa ozonomora kutja ehatjiwa kutja oune ngwa hungire otjina tjorive tjo. Me vanga okukutjivisa oukahu kutja kapena omwano mbumokongorerwa mena rokukara norupa mongondoneno indji.

Nu tjiweri yandjere okukara norupa mongondoneno indji, nukombunda orundurura oumune woye ove unousemba okundjiraera nu ami hina okupindika kunaove mena rokutja hineeku njikuza okutjita otjina tjiuhina okuvanga. Nu tji we riyandjere okuhungira kuna ami etje vanga oku kambura eraka roye momahina ongambure yomaraka.

Mo riyandjere okukara no rupa mongondoneno indji? li: _____ Kako: _____

Ena ro Mukondonone: _____ Omunue kembo: _____ Omayuva: _____

Mo riyandjere kutja eraka roye rikamburwe mo mahina ongambure yomaraka? li: _____ Kako: _____

Ena ro Mukondonone: _____ Omunue kembo: _____ Omayuva: _____

Annexure K: Proof of submission of an article to an accredited journal

ANNEXURE K



The Editor: I.M. Ntshoe, tel: +27 12 429 4096, fax +27 12 429 4000, e-mail: aer@unisa.ac.za
College of Human Sciences, Room 8-03 and 8-14, Theo van Wijk Building,
University of South Africa, P.O.Box 392, UNISA, 0003

27 July 2010

Dear Prof Jan Nieuwenhuis

Africa Education Review would like to thank you and also acknowledge receipt of the article entitled "**Paha Ondjiviro: is the mobile schools project in Namibia succeeding in achieving the goals of education for all?**".

The editor can only provide a formal response within a month indicating whether the article has been forwarded for review or whether it is not suitable for publication in the journal.

Thank you again for your interest in our journal.

Best wishes

Ms Innocentia Ngobeni
AER Administrator
Tel: (012)429-4346
On behalf of Prof IM Ntshoe
Editor: Africa Education Review



Annexure L: Ondao Mobile School Statistics 2010



Republic of Namibia

**ONDAO MOBILE SCHOOL
STATISTICS**

2010

PRINCIPAL: MR. KAPL A.M.

Cluster	Circuit	Teachers At Units	teachers	1			2			3			4			5			6			7			GT
				B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	
1. Omuhonga	1	Gases Mambuu	2	8	10	18	6	6	12	5	5	10	7	1	8										48
2. Omuangete	1	Japuhua	1	5	11	16	3	9	12	2	7	9													37
3. Ovijere	1	Hepute	1	3	4	7	9	5	14	9	6	15	10	3	13										49
4. Ovituambu	1	Kakava	1	5	4	9	4	3	7	5	4	9													25
5. Oruseu	1	Kavari	1	9	11	20	4	3	7	3	1	4													31
6. Ombaka	1	Hepute	1	12	8	20	5	5	10	9	6	15	3	4	7										52
7. Otjikojo	1	*Uaroua *Mustiaovahimbo	2	6	14	20	8	6	14	7	0	7													41
8. Ombandsondu	1	Nderuta	1	17	11	28				7	4	11													39
9. Okapara	1	Ngombe	1	7	5	12	2	9	11	6	2	8													31
10. Epupa	1	Mahenje Kakava	2	6	11	17	10	2	12	3	2	5	8	2	10	8	2	10							54
11. Omuhoro	1	*	1	25	38	63	4	6	10																75
12. Ohajaua	1	*Mahenje *Willem	2	9	10	19	3	6	9	10	7	17	4	9	13										58
13. Otjomuru	1	Harmukalu *Tjindunda	2	3	2	5	4	7	11	9	0	9													25
Total			17	115	139	254	62	67	129	75	44	119	32	19	51	8	2	10							563

Cluster	Circuit	Teachers At Units	teachers	1			2			3			4			5			6			7			GT
				B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	
Opauwo Ms.Karutjaiva HOD																									
1. Okoupaue	1	Tjeundo	1	10	6	16	4	3	7																23
2. Okahozu	1	Muharukua Tjonzogoro Muhenje Maundu Kavari	5	20	15	35	7	8	15	10	17	27	9	2	11	7	4	11	6	0	6	5	1	6	111
3. Otjirumbu	1	Ngorera	1	9	2	11	5	1	6																17
4. Orojitombo	2	Berendy Rutjindo Matundu Muhenje Thom Tjitombo	6	13	22	35	10	15	25	11	20	31	14	5	19	11	8	19	3	8	11	3	6	9	149
5. Otutati	2	Tjiposa Tjiposja	2	20	12	32	12	16	28	7	5	12													72
6. Ohungumure	2	Rutjindo	1	8	6	14	6	2	8	3	4	7													29
7. Okarukoro	2	Mbendara Uhewa	2	13	13	26	14	20	34	10	15	25	7	7	14										99
8. Ouzondaombe	2	Mbinge	1	4	13	17																			17
9. Omanguindi	2	Kapi.E.	1	16	11	27	2	1	3																30
10. KM Maundu	2	Ndjengua Ruhumba Tjimbi Tjikotoke Tjindjumba	5	23	17	40	21	13	34	5	2	7				10	12	22	6	2	8	8	2	10	121
Total			25	136	117	253	81	79	160	46	63	109	30	14	56	28	24	52	15	10	25	16	9	25	668
Ehomba Mr.Kambaekua HOD																									
1. Etoto West	1	HERUNGA Mbunguha Thom	3	19	24	43	9	7	16	11	7	18	5	5	10										87
2. Okaaaphuri	1	Amuthiru	1	5	4	9	10	3	13																22
3. Orokakaru	1	Nguende	1	0	3	3	2	2	4																7
4. Otjamaungu	1	VanDerMerwe	1	3	11	14	4	7	11	8	4	12													37
5. Otjimuhaka	1	Tjiposa Kutako	2	12	15	27	7	6	13	6	8	14	3	4	7										61
6. Oroutumba	1	Tjikotoke Mbunguha	2	9	5	14	4	6	10	1	5	6	5	4	9	1	4	5							44
7. Orue	1	VanDerMerwe	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	2													6



Annexure L

8. Epembe	1	Tjindunda Tjituri *Tjijabura	3	8	7	15	3	2	5	14	3	17	7	3	10	8	2	10	3	2	5	4	0	4	66	
9. Otjisoko	1	Kakuva Mubenje	2	10	14	24	2	2	4	7	3	10	5	3	8										46	
Total			12	67	84	151	42	36	78	48	31	79	25	19	44	9	6	15	3	2	5	4	0	4	376	
Far West Mr Tjambiru HOD																										
1. Onguta	1	Kapi Kavetu	2	7	14	21	9	10	19	5	8	13	9	5	14											67
2. Ondevete	2	Kakondo	1	4	11	15	3	3	6	4	6	10														31
3. Purros	2	Hepute Ngorera Rafjindo	3	11	11	22	14	14	28	6	4	10	2	5	7	2	3	5								72
4. Okapembabu	2	Hijajivi Humu	2	9	5	14	9	5	14	6	8	14	5	6	11											53
5. Omuhiva	2	Kakuva	1	9	7	16	8	8	16	8	8	16														48
6. Ozonangu	2	Uatokuja	1	15	17	32	12	10	22	8	10	18	3	12	15											87
7. Okondjombo	2	Tjambiru	1	13	8	21	2	3	5	5	1	6				2	1	3								35
8. Ondje	2	Tjimingire	1	6	1	7	3	0	3	4	1	5														15
9. Onjuva	2	Tjipombo	1	6	3	9	2	1	3	3	0	3	4	1	5											20
10. Otjimangua	2	Tjipombo Muhcujc Uararavi	3	21	29	50	4	2	6	4	1	5	5	1	6	2	1	3	1	0	1					71
11. Okakuja-kaR	2	Uondari	1	12	10	22	13	13	26																	48
12. Otjikukutu	2	Mubenje	1	10	8	18	9	5	14	5	5	10														42
Total			18	123	124	247	88	74	162	58	52	110	28	30	58	6	5	11	1	0	1					589
Grand Totals:			72	441	464	905	273	256	529	227	190	417	115	82	197	51	47	88	19	12	31	20	9	29	2196	

Compiled by Mr. A.M.Kapi

PRINCIPAL, ONDAGO MOBILE SCHOOL 2010

